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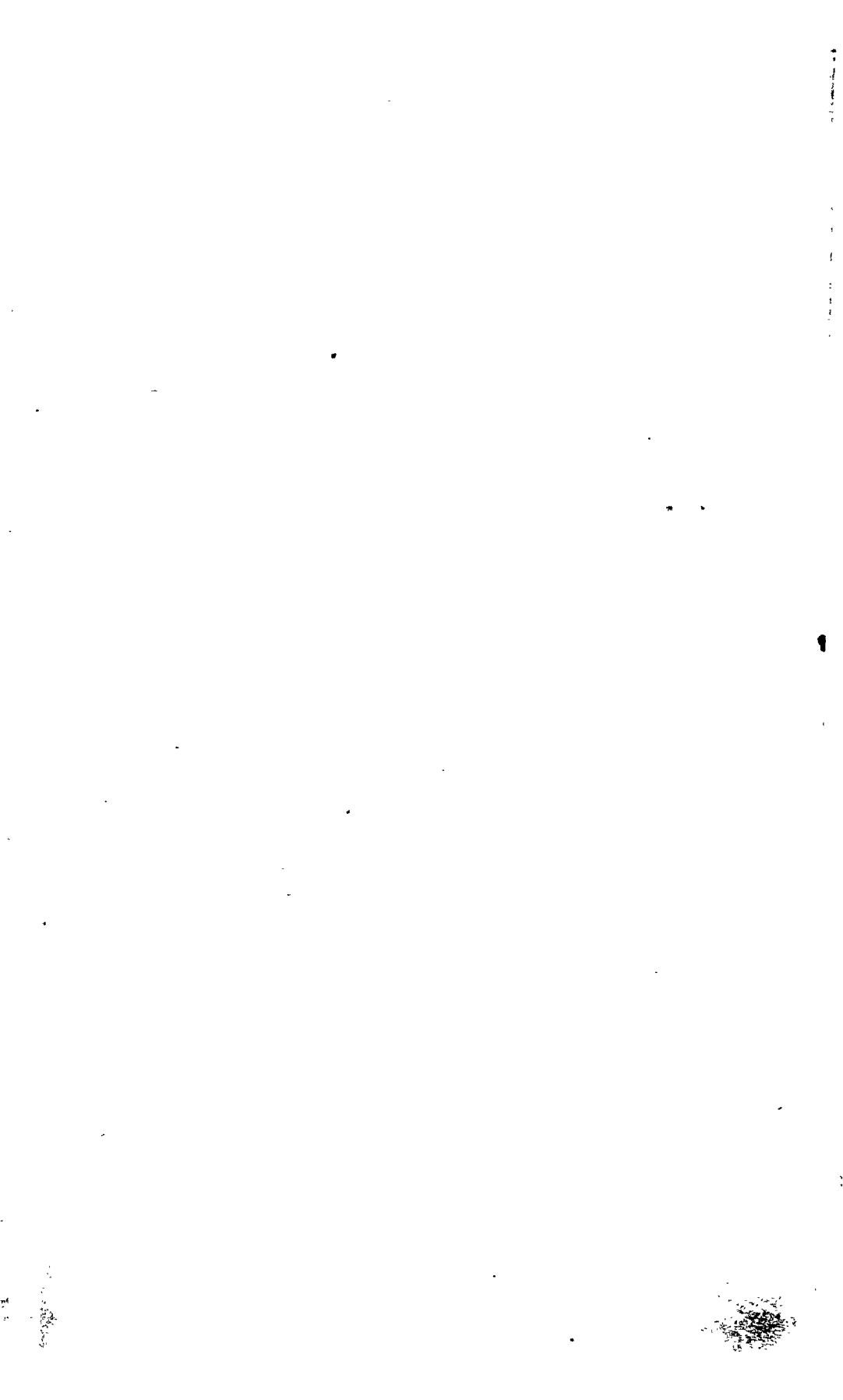
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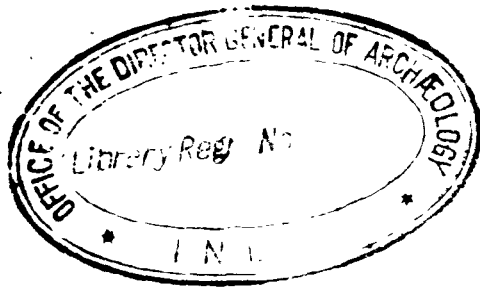
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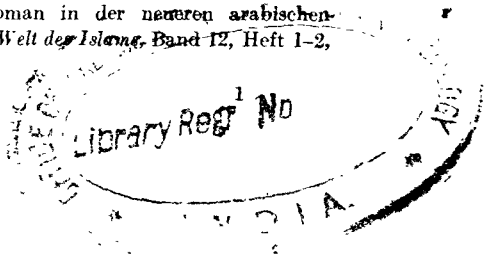
Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature

By H. A. R. GIBB

IV. THE EGYPTIAN NOVEL

THE beginnings of the novel as a literary art in Egypt are so recent that the student of contemporary Arabic literature might well be excused for seeking to trace some genetic connection between its development and the earlier productions of the Syrian school of writers. But except for the possibility that the success of the Syrian novelists (whose works have been admirably described by Professor Kratchkowsky in the study frequently quoted in the previous articles of this series, and now available in a German translation ¹) may have encouraged the Egyptian writers to produce a class of works which would appeal to the same public, the literary movement which forms the subject of the present article has remained in general entirely independent of the Syrian historical novel. Western influences, which are very marked in the later stages, have been exercised directly, but Egyptian recreational literature continued for a long time to lean rather on classical and conventional models. It is only very slowly and hesitatingly that it has emancipated itself, and its progress in this direction has been sporadic and individual rather than the result of a steady evolution. We can, in fact, speak of a "development" of the novel in Egypt only by stretching the term "novel" to include a rather wide range of works with a fictional framework, many of which are not, strictly speaking, novels at all.

¹ Ignaz Krackovskij, "Der historische Roman in der neueren arabischen Literatur," translated by G. von Mende, in *Die Welt der Islam*, Band 12, Heft 1-2, Leipzig, 1930.



The tardiness of Egypt in this field of literature, as compared with Turkey and India, the other two main centres of Islamic culture, may be traced to several causes. The general educational and literary-æsthetic factors which hindered the rise of a new type of recreational literature have been examined in an earlier article,¹ and the greater variety and satisfaction to be enjoyed in classical Arabic literature than in either Turkish or Urdu may also have played a part. Added to this were several special or local causes, which will be discussed more fully below. But at least part of the explanation lies in the fact that the rather narrow sections of the Egyptian public which had received a modern education were able to find for themselves all that they wanted in French (and to a lesser extent English) literature. The incentive was thus lacking in literary circles to the composition of works of a similar kind in Arabic. As the demand grew, the most natural course was to meet it by translating French and English novels, instead of setting to the ungrateful task of building up an indigenous novelistic literature, which involved the creation of an entirely new literary technique.² Bald and jejune as these translations may have been, and ill-adapted to Egyptian social and cultural conditions and literary taste, their reception showed that there was a public which appreciated them. With what skill, on the other hand, a translator of genius could adapt a European novel to a Muslim Egyptian public may be seen in 'Osmān Ġalāl's version of *Paul et Virginie*.³ The translation, though slightly abridged and shorn of its more exotic features, remains on the whole faithful to the word and spirit of the original, while the use of simple but elegant rhymed prose throughout and the replacement of the numerous philosophical reflections by short poetic pieces give it a natural Arabic flavour, which is sadly lacking in most of the contemporary and later translations.⁴ Amidst the many hundreds of these there are, of course,

¹ See *Manfalūti and the "New Style"*, v. 2, pp. 311 ff.

² The almost exclusive cultivation of the historical romance by the Syrian writers may possibly be explained by the lighter demands which it made in this direction.

³ *Al-amānī wa'l-minna fī hadīth Qabūl wa Ward Janna*, published by Shaykh Mustafā Tāj, Cairo, n.d. (but in the reign of Tawfiq, i.e. before 1892), pp. 103. On 'Osmān Ġalāl see the first of these studies, *BSOS.* IV, 4, p. 748, and the article of Sobernheim in *Enc. of Islam*, s.v. Muhammad Bey 'Othmān al-Djalāl.

⁴ The following extract may serve as an illustration of the style of this rendering and of the translator's success in adapting it, in spite of the slight deformation of the sentiment at the end. The passage is that in which the missionary priest persuades Virginia to leave her home: "Mais vous, jeune demoiselle, vous n'avez point d'excuse. Il faut obéir à la Providence, à nos vieux parents, même injustes. C'est un sacrifice, mais c'est l'ordre de Dieu. Il s'est dévoué pour nous: il faut, à son exemple, se

not a few in which the translators have adapted the original to a greater or less extent, notably the well-known translations of al-Manfalūṭī, but in spite of the brilliance of the latter's style, his versions lack the quality of 'Oṣmān Ġalāl's work.¹ A full investigation into the character and circulation of the translated fictional literature would no doubt yield important results for the social study of modern Egypt, but for its relation to the literary problem of the Egyptian novel it is not necessary to do more at this point than to note its very large output and apparent popularity.

The characteristic tendency of Egyptian writers to remain faithful to the traditional forms and graft new elements upon them is clearly to be seen, though in a very unusual combination, in the first Egyptian romance with literary pretensions which I have traced, an early production of the famous poet Aḥmad Shawqī (1868-1932), entitled *The Maid of India*.² The traditional background of this work, however, is neither the classical belles-lettres nor the romance of the *Arabian Nights* or *Sīra* types, but the fantastic popular stories known as *ḥawādīth*,³ supplemented and expanded along the lines of the historical

dévouer pour le bien de sa famille. Votre voyage en France aura une fin heureuse. Ne voulez-vous pas bien y aller, ma chère demoiselle ?" The priest is transformed, naturally, into a "Shaykh faqīh" and his argument is rendered thus (p. 44):

وأما أنت أينها الصغيره فلا عذر لك في السفر ولا بد من تسليمك للقضاء والقدر وان
تطعمي أمر الأقارب وان ظلموا وان تسلمي لما به حكموا فان سفرك وان كان لا
أحد يرضاه فهو على ما حكم الله فلقد انزل تعالى في كتابه العظيم على لسان نبيه
الكريم قل لا أسئلكم عليه أجرا الا المودة في القربى وان سفرك ان شاء الله
لنعم العقبى أفتعصين الله ما أمر ام تسلمين للقدر

¹ See the exhaustive and penetrating criticism of M.'s translation of *Paul et Virginie* by E. Saussey: "Une adaptation arabe de 'Paul et Virginie,'" in *Bulletin des Études orientales de l'Institut français de Damas*, Tom. 1 (Paris, 1932), pp. 49-80. It does not appear that M. based his translation in any way on that of 'Oṣmān Ġalāl; cf. his version of the passage quoted in the preceding note, ap. Saussey, p. 71. For a general characterization of the work of recent translators see Tahir Khemiri and G. Kampffmeyer, *Leaders in contemporary Arabic literature*, pt. i. (Leipzig, Cairo and London, 1930), p. 23.

² *Riwāyat 'Adhrā' al-Hind 'aw Tamaddun al-Farā'ina limunshū'ihā 'd-da'if Ahmad Shawqī* (Alexandria: Matb. al-Ahrām, 1897), pp. 150

³ See on these Mahmūd Taymūr, Introduction to *Ash-Shaykh Sayyid al-'Abū* (Cairo, 1344-1926), pp. 39-40; revised German translation by G. Widmer, *Die Welt des Islams*, Bd. 13 (Berlin, 1932), 9 ff., and especially pp. 44-6. This valuable introduction gives a survey of the development of the novel and short story in Arabic literature, both medieval and modern. Particularly noteworthy are the analyses of the styles and powers of characterization of the writers mentioned, coming from the pen of one of the most talented and successful of modern Arabic authors.

novel. The story is frankly preposterous, not so much in plot as in the portentous supernatural machinery of magicians and sorcerers invoked on nearly every page. But it inherits from its popular ancestry a keen instinct for movement and adventure which offers some compensation, and where the supernatural is not too forcibly obtruded there is real pleasure to be got out of the vivid narrative. To its other parent, the historical novel, it owes its quasi-historical setting, which, as the expression of a new sense of pride in the greatness and glory of ancient Egypt, is worthy of notice. The feature, however, which gives this romance its special literary interest is that it is written with all that mastery of language and verbal artifice which has gained for Shawqī his outstanding place in modern Arabic poetry. The rhymed prose in which much of it is composed is of the most elaborate kind, the rhymes often recurring four or five times (more solemn passages, such as prayers and invocations, are generally rhymed throughout), and interspersed with long or short pieces of original verse, and one can only regret that so much virtuosity could not find better materials on which to expend itself.

While Aḥmad Shawqī's romance has remained a solitary *tour de force*, a much more successful attempt was made a few years later to adapt to the new requirements the literary genre known as *Maqāmāt*, familiar to students of medieval Arabic literature as its nearest approach (at least in the domain of belles-lettres) to the novel.¹ The *maqāma* in its traditional form continued to be cultivated right down to the end of the nineteenth century, notably by Nāṣif al-Yāziḡī and 'Abdallāh Pāshā Fikrī.² but with these and other writers of the same school it still moved within the old circle of established themes, and had but little connection with the life and problems of the age. Totally distinct from this was the new function of social criticism, to which the *maqāma*-form, more or less modified and simplified, was now applied by several Egyptian writers in a series of works which constitute one of the characteristic types of Egyptian literary production in the decade prior to 1914.

The earliest and best work of this group, and the one which approaches most closely in conception and treatment to the novel in

¹ See Brockelmann's article "Maḡāma" in *Encyc. of Islam*; also L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Paris, 1922), p. 298.

² See *BSOS.*, IV, 4, pp. 750 and 753. Fikrī Pāshā's famous *Maḡāma Fikrīya*, which is a short story, already illustrates the widening scope of the *maqāma*.

the strict sense, is the well-known and still popular *Ḥadīth 'Īsā'bnī Hishām* of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylḥī (1858-1930),¹ already referred to in a former article in this series.² In this work too (as in all the others of its kind to be mentioned shortly) the supernatural is invoked, as the thread of the narrative hangs upon the experiences of a Pāshā of Muḥammad 'Alī's time who rises from the grave and finds himself, to his confusion and astonishment, in an unfamiliar and Europeanized Cairo. By means of this device the author is enabled to deal in turn with different aspects of the social life of his time, depicting it in lively dialogue, comparing it with the past, and criticizing its falsity and aping of the worst European standards. Such a work lacks, of course, as Maḥmūd Taymūr has remarked,³ the essential characteristics of the novel, namely development and plot, but succeeds to a remarkable degree in the delineation of character. In its original form the work was unfinished, ending abruptly in the middle of an episode. The fourth and last edition rounded off this episode rapidly, and added a short second part (*ar-riḥla ath-thāniya*), in which the scene is changed to Paris at the time of the Great Exhibition in 1900, and the evils of westernization are attacked at their source. Even at the end of this, however, the Pāshā is not safely relaid in his grave, and there are suggestions in the course of the book that the author had forgotten the scene with which his narrative opens.

It is less the story itself and its moral than its brilliant style and power of description that have won for it a deserved reputation. It forges together all the best characteristics of the *maqāma* prose with a modern smoothness and humour. The rhyming prose of the narrative

¹ The Muwaylḥis came of a mercantile family of Sayyids, and Muḥ.'s great-grandfather was *sar-tujjār* of Egypt under Muḥ. 'Alī. Muḥammad studied in al-Azhar and Ismā'il's *madrasat al-anjāl*; he joined the party of 'Arābī Pāshā, and afterwards assisted Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī in Paris in the journal *Mir'at ash-Sharq*. After spending some time in Constantinople, where he published al-Ma'arri's *Risālat al-Ghufrān* and other early Arabic literary works from MSS. there, he returned to Egypt and engaged in journalism (in *al-Ahrām*, *al-Mu'ayyad*, etc.), and subsequently held a post in the Ministry of Awqāf until his retirement in 1915. A number of side-lights on his career will be found in the *Diaries* of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (see Index, s.v. Mohammed Moelhi). His father, Ibrāhīm Bey, was also a man of literary attainments, and published a volume of essays under the title of *Mā hunāka* (Muqtataf Press, 1896). See also *al-Aqqād*, *Murāja'āt*, p. 173. *Ḥadīth 'Īsā'bnī Hishām* was originally published in parts in the journal *Mishbāh ash-Sharq*; 1st collected ed. Matb. al-Ma'arif, 1324/1907; 4th ed. Matb. Mi-sr, n.d. (c. 1928-1930).

² *BSOS*, V, 2, p. 315.

³ Introduction to *Ash-Shaykh Sayyid al-'Abīl*, p. 42; tr. Widmer, *W.I.*, xiii, pp. 47-8.

sections (which, by being put in the mouth of that incomparable master of Ḥaririan *saj*), 'Īsā b. Hishām, openly challenges his creator) is skilfully broken up by dialogue in simple modern language, which does not disdain at times the colloquial idiom, even though the dialogue itself occasionally develops into lengthy explanatory monologue. The *saj* likewise is a skilful blend of ancient and modern,¹ by which the impression of archaizing is avoided and the reader is left free to enjoy what is in effect a very original and lively work, which can afford to bear comparison in style with al-Manfalūṭī and far outdistances him in depth and range of feeling.

Of the other works which follow al-Muwayḥī in applying the *maqāma*-form to the function of social criticism, though without his humanity and lightness of touch, two may be mentioned here. The first is by Shawqī's rival in the firmament of Egyptian poetry, Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1871–1932), issued under the title of *Layālī Saṭīh*.² The framework and plan are simple; a number of persons on successive evenings bring some grievance against the prevailing state of things in Egypt, and to each in turn a mysterious voice addresses a discourse in rhymed prose with occasional verse, analysing the causes of his grievance and pointing out the remedy. Gradually, however, the plan of the book changes, until the greater part of it is taken up with a series of conversations in plain unrhymed prose, in which the original scheme is completely lost from sight. The work was warmly received in Egyptian literary circles,³ but it is interesting to observe that already voices were raised in criticism of the use of *saj* in such productions.⁴

The *maqāma* plan is more strictly adhered to in the second work, *Layālī r-Rūḥ al-Ḥā'ir*, by the publicist and playwright Muḥammad

¹ E.g., the dirty fingernails of a painter are كالمكاحل عقلت بها المراد او كخطوط الحداد على صفحات الجرائد (4th ed., p. 411).

² *Layālī Saṭīh li-munshī'ihī Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm* (Matb. Muh. Muh. Mitr., Cairo, n.d. [1907]), pp. 128. Cf. M. Taymūr, loc. cit., p. 42; Widmer, p. 48. For the legendary and half-mythological character of Saṭīh, see *Encyc. of Islam*, s.v. On Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, see the study by M. Kurd 'Alī in *as-Siassa*, weekly ed., 20th and 27th October, 1928, and *al-Hilāl*, xl, 10, and xli, 1 (October–November, 1932), where the reader will find some account of the personal experiences which influenced him in his selection of material for this book.

³ Cf. *al-Manār*, xi, 7 (August, 1908), p. 530; Zaydān, in *al-Hilāl*, xvi, 10 (July, 1908), p. 583, refers to its أسلوب جديد في اللغة العربية.

⁴ *Al-Muqtabas*, vol. iii, 9 (October, 1908), p. 598.

Luṭfī Ġum'a.¹ But it is a *maqāma* without rhymed prose, and the influence of the Syro-American school of writers is strongly marked, especially in the form of composition known as *Shi'r manthūr*, or free verse. The interlocutor in this work is a disembodied spirit, as the title suggests, and the greater part of his discourses is devoted to criticism of Egyptian social conditions. Zaydān justifiably draws attention to its beauty and elegance of phrase, which, it must be admitted, somewhat outweigh the depth of the ideas it expresses.²

In all these works we can trace a cumulative effort to evolve a new type of literary production which would satisfy the requirements of a new reading public, which should bear some relation to its problems and outlook, be readily intelligible, and above all rouse its interest and appeal to its imagination. But they did not, in fact, meet the problem successfully. Their appeal was too literary and appreciated only by a small class of educated readers; instead of opening new horizons and serving as an antidote to the cares of life, they

¹ Cairo, Matb. at-Ta'lif. 1912, pp. 192. The work is enthusiastically reviewed by Zaydān in *al-Hilāl*, xx (1912), pp. 551-5. For other early works of the author see Sarkīs, *Dict. Biog.*, coll. 1692-3 (very incomplete). His plays are criticised by Muhammad Taymūr in the collected volume *حياتنا التمثيلية*, pp. 94-103, and a later book of his entitled *تاريخ فلاسفة الاسلام* in *as-Siassa*, weekly ed., 29th October, 1927, by Mahmūd Muḥammad al-Khuḍayrī, who declares it to be plagiarized from S. Munk's *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe* (Paris, 1859). On his most recent work entitled *الشهاب الراصد* (Cairo, Matb. al-Muqtataf, 1926, pp. 324), in reply to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's work on pre-Islamic poetry (see *BSOS*, V, 3, p. 457), see Professor Ignaz Kratchkowsky's article "Ṭāhā Ḥusayn o doislamskoī poezii arabov i ego kritiki" in *Bull. Ac. Sciences URSS.*, 1931, pp. 604-7, and M. Kurd 'Alī in *R.A.A.D.*, vii (1927), pp. 89-90.

² To the same class as these works, though distinct in inspiration and to some extent in style, belongs also the celebrated treatise entitled *ابن الانسان* (Cairo, Matb. al-Ma'ārif, n.d. [1911], pp. 272), composed by Shaykh Ṭantāwī Ġawharī and offered to the International Congress of Peoples, which met in London in 1911. The interlocutor in this book is a celestial spirit, and the subject is the wider one of human progress and fraternity. The author avoids the use of rhymed prose, but has retained the traditional balanced and antithetical style. Although this is one of the works which do most honour and credit to modern Arabic literature, and deserves to be made the subject of an independent study, it is unnecessary to do more than refer to it here, since it falls outside the scope of the present article. It has, moreover, already been analysed and made known to wider circles by D. Santillana (*RSO.*, iv, pp. 762-773) and Baron Carra de Vaux (*Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, v (Paris, 1926), pp. 281-4), preceded by a description of the first part of the author's remarkable commentary on the Qur'ān, now complete as far as Sūra 49 in twenty-two volumes (Cairo, Matb. Mustafā al-Bābī al-Halākī, A.H. 1341-). See further the author's own comments on the above-mentioned work in vol. xxii, pp. 239-247.

concentrated attention precisely on those cares, and, worst of all, their object and tone was too frankly didactic. The medieval view of literature as an intellectual luxury or vehicle of edification was shared by them all—the adapters of the classical tradition as well as such translators as ‘Osmān Ġalāl and al-Manfalūṭī. The Syrian novelists themselves were not entirely exempt from it. Even the writers of the numerous hodge-podge of novellettes, whose works have long since been consigned to a merited oblivion, were obsessed by, or proclaimed their adhesion to, this moral and educational aim.¹ The contemptuous attitude of the medieval scholars to the popular romances and tales seemed still to govern the outlook of literary circles in Egypt, and did more than anything else to delay the development of the novel as an Arabic literary art.

Thus the first real Egyptian novel crept into life anonymously and little noticed by the learned.² Its author, Dr. Ḥusayn Haykal, then a young and ambitious advocate, was unwilling to acknowledge its paternity, lest it should stand in the way of his career. *Zaynab* broke away decisively in language, style, subject, and treatment from anything that had gone before in Arabic literature. It bore no relation to the historical novels of Zaydān or the philosophical novels of Faraḥ Antūn, but, as its title implies, set out to portray the social life of the Delta in a series of episodes centred on the fortunes of a peasant girl. The story itself can be briefly told. *Zaynab*, a beautiful and sensitive girl, after an innocent flirtation with an educated youth (Ḥāmid), son of the village landlord, falls in love with a youth in the village (Ibrāhīm), but is married by her parents to his friend (Ḥasan). She remains loyal to her husband, but the conflict between love and duty preys upon her health, and when Ibrāhīm is drafted into the army the bitterness of her loss brings on consumption, of which she dies. A subsidiary theme is introduced by the relations between Ḥāmid

¹ Cf., e.g., the introduction to *Riwāyat Nihāyat al-Gharām ‘aw Fatāt al-Minya*, a dull and rather primitive type of novelette by Muḥ. Sādiq al-‘Antabli, apparently a Syrian Christian, (Cairo, Matb. Khadiwīya, 1905):—

ليس الغرض من تأليف الروايات سرد الحكاية لتسلي بها الأفكار ويخرج القارئ منطعياً في ذاكرته هذا الموقف القرامى انما يجب ان تكون النصيحة وجهة الكاتب يثها في خلال كتاباته لتميل الأذواق السليمة للمستحسن وتبتعد عن القبيح.

² *Zaynab. Manāzīr wa-akhlāq riḥīya. Biqalam miṣrī fallāh.* (Cairo, Matb. al-Jarīda, n.d. [1914]). My copy has 416 pages, but has possibly lost the last sheets, as the second edition (Matb. al-Jadīd, n.d. [1929], pp. 296) has the equivalent of four pages more. On Haykal Bey see *BSOS.*, V, 450-6; Khemiri and Kampffmeyer, *Leaders*, i, 20-1; Widmer, 48-9.

and his cousin, a town-bred girl, and his disappearance when his hopes of marriage with her are frustrated. The plot is, on the whole, too thin to sustain four hundred pages of type, and the book has other defects as a novel, which will be discussed immediately. *Zaynab*, however, is not only the first effort of a young man, but the first effort of a young literature, and must be judged accordingly. Such details as may be open to criticism are of little importance compared with the fact that the effort was made, and that a new and, in its setting, original kind of literary production was added to Arabic literature.

The construction of the novel is interesting from two aspects, the psychological and the descriptive. The plot is evidently designed with a view to the study of the reactions of certain typical Egyptian characters in face of adverse circumstances. It does not entirely succeed, since the characters themselves are not sufficiently complex (except that of Ḥāmid, who undoubtedly reflects to some extent the author himself) and the dramatization both of persons and incidents is rather weak on the whole.¹ The result is that the psychological comment has generally to be supplied by the author himself, and is set out rather in text-book fashion in the first person plural.

The intervention of the author is still more marked in the descriptive element. In his introduction to the second edition Haykal Bey recalls the circumstances under which he composed the book. As a student in Paris, overcome by strong home-sickness, he deliberately set himself to recall every aspect of country life and of nature in Egypt. This effort of affectionate recollection betrays itself on nearly every page by lengthy descriptions of natural scenery—sun, moon, stars, crops, streams, and ponds—sometimes rising to lyrical eloquence and dignity, but cumulatively distracting and oppressive. Every action, every scene, is accompanied by similar descriptive asides, which inevitably cause the narrative to drag painfully at times. Trifling episodes, without significance for the story, are often introduced simply, it would seem, as a peg on which to hang another descriptive interlude, and here and there sentences, overloaded with trivial photographic detail, lose shape and substance. But it must not be forgotten that to Egyptian readers such passages of description convey much more than they do to any outsider, and that in their direct æsthetic appeal lies one of the main reasons of their appreciation of the work.

¹ Cf. for the characters of the two women the article by K. V. Ode-Vasil'eva, "Otrazhenie byta sovremennoĭ arabskoĭ zhenstehiny v'novelle," in *Zap. Koll. Vostokovedc*, v (Leningrad, 1930), pp. 300-301.

More integral to the plot of the novel are the sociological excursions which it contains. It is inevitable that the causes of the maladjustments and final tragedy should be traced back to their origin in the social habits of the people. The novel is dominated throughout by an insistence on the evils created by "outworn customs", but the social criticism is seldom allowed to obtrude in the same manner as the psychological and descriptive passages. This more natural effect is obtained by the device of representing it through the eyes and reflections of the character of Ḥāmid, an educated young man of liberal and reformist tendencies, strongly under the spell of Qāsim Amīn and the social reformers, though the author occasionally reverts here too to the text-book idiom. The organization of the family and seclusion of women form naturally the main theme of his social criticism, but not the exclusive theme. Amongst other aspects of Egyptian life which he criticizes are the faulty type of education, divorced from the realities of life,¹ the type of country doctor—this half-humorously²—and more bitterly the impostors who trade on the credulity of the peasantry as Shaykhs of the *turuq*.³ His nationalist feeling is implicit, rather than explicit, but occasionally finds outward expression, especially in regard to the humiliation of military service under the control of the foreigner.⁴

No less remarkable than the general character of the novel is the style of its composition. Its basis is the ordinary modern literary style, but substantially modified both in vocabulary and syntax. The influence of the colloquial idiom of the Delta, on the one hand, is seen in the abruptness of the sentences and transitions and in many details of usage⁵; that of French, on the other hand, in the long and complex sentences, with the principal clause interrupted by numerous

¹ 1st ed., p. 19; 2nd ed., pp. 22-3.

² 1st ed., pp. 401-403; 2nd ed., pp. 283-4.

³ 1st ed., p. 322; 2nd ed., pp. 229-230.

⁴ 1st ed., pp. 293, 296; 2nd ed., pp. 209, 211.

⁵ E.g. *abū* retained in oblique cases; fondness for participles governing the accusative; tendency to omission of relative conjunction (*alladhī*, etc.); the ungrammatical use of the oblique case of the dual (e.g., *وعلى مقربة منه ثوريه*, p. 408; *قد بقي على الفجر ساعتين*, p. 275; both corrected in 2nd ed., pp. 287, 197). There can be little doubt that these offences against literary usage, together with the type of sentence illustrated in the following note, were partly responsible for the negative attitude adopted towards it by the literary public on its first appearance. Moreover, the novelty in literary style of many details of usage and vocabulary has been blurred at this distance of time by the fact that they have come to be more and more extensively used in contemporary writing.

subordinate clauses and apocopes.¹ The impression which it leaves on the whole is rather tortured, and corresponds to the admission made by Haykal Bey himself of the obstacles which he experienced to the expression of his thought in Arabic.² In regard to the vexed question of the idiom to be employed in the dialogue, he struck out boldly for the use of the colloquial dialect when the conversation is between the peasantry, while the educated characters, on the other hand, speak in modern literary idiom.

It will be clear from what has been said that the imaginative element in *Zaynab* is more limited than in the average modern European novel, and that the various sentimental and intellectual components, which together constitute the personal element, tend to predominate over the narrative. It is admitted also by the author in his preface to the second edition that behind many of its peculiar features lie the influence and example of the modern French psychological novel.³ But unless it can be shown that this influence has been so strong in detail, as well as in method and style, as to make the work in effect an adaptation from the French, it is impossible to deny to *Zaynab* the credit of being the first Egyptian novel, written by an Egyptian for Egyptian readers, and whose characters, settings, and plot are derived from contemporary Egyptian life.

Although on its first appearance in 1914 the book attracted little notice, it apparently met with appreciation from an increasing circle of readers.⁴ Its republication in 1929 was the result of a public demand, stimulated by several factors, amongst which may be included the strengthening of that national self-consciousness which it already foreshadowed, the literary eminence attained by the now confessed author, and the adaptation of the book as the subject of the first cinematograph film produced in Egypt.⁵ On this occasion it naturally

¹ E.g. the sentence beginning *مد الظلام رواقه*, 1st ed., p. 37; 2nd ed., p. 34; or that beginning *ولم تكن الا لحظات*, 1st ed., pp. 89-90; 2nd ed., p. 70.

² See the passages quoted in the third article of this series, *BSOS.*, V, 3, p. 451.

³ It would scarcely serve any useful purpose to attempt to trace out its origins in detail. Dr. Rudi Paret, in a private letter, suggests that an interesting comparison might be made between *Zaynab* and Th. Fontane's *Effi Briest*, but the comparison could hardly go beyond general situation and atmosphere, and it is not likely that Fontane entered into Dr. Haykal's course of reading in Paris.

⁴ Already in 1927 I found great difficulty in procuring a copy.

⁵ It was adapted and produced by the Ramsis Film Co. of Egypt in 1929, having been selected as the only novel amongst the works of "two hundred or more writers" which was worthy of consideration (see the article by the technical producer, Muhammad Karim, in *as-Siassa*, weekly ed., 17th August, 1929, p. 7).

became the subject of numerous articles and critiques, mostly laudatory¹; but of much greater importance for the problem of the development of the novel in Egypt is a series of articles by Haykal Bey and Muḥammad 'Abdallāh 'Inān, which appeared in the weekly edition of *as-Siassa* early in 1930.²

How is it, asks Haykal Bey, that modern Arabic literature shows such a strange poverty and weakness in the field of the novel and the story, although Egyptians possess a natural talent for story-telling? Several reasons have been put forward: lack of imaginative staying-power, the difference between the idioms of literature and of conversation, the slackness of Egyptian writers; but none of these is the true cause, though the second reason given may possibly play a small part. He then suggests four contributory causes: (1) the relatively high proportion of illiteracy in Egypt, which prevents any real appreciation on the one hand, and offers inadequate material recompense to the writer on the other; (2) the lack of support from the upper classes and the wealthy, perhaps because they are not encouraged to give support by the women (in this connection he recalls the part played by women in seventeenth and eighteenth century France, and the value of the encouragement and patronage of women in old Arabic literature); (3) the persistent and public depreciation of leading men in Egypt by their rivals and inferiors; (4) the pre-occupation of the people with political and economic questions, and consequent tendency of writers to serve political rather than literary aims. The net result of all these causes is to hinder writers from the necessary specialization and long-maturing preparation, the necessity of which in novel-writing is not yet realized in Egypt.

'Inān in turn agrees with the general tenor of this analysis, but insists that the second of Haykal Bey's four causes is the most important. The real key to the development of the novel lies in the social position of women. The part played by women in stimulating the old Arabic poetry has no relation to their encouragement of the novel, whose material basis is found only in a society in which women play

¹ The most interesting of these, in view of what follows, are the two long articles by al-Māzinī in *as-Siassa*, weekly ed., 27th April and 4th May, 1929.

² 22nd February (pp. 3-4); 1st March (p. 10); 8th March (pp. 3-4). On Muḥ. 'Abd. 'Inān see Khemiri and Kampffmeyer, *Leaders*, pp. 22-3. The question of modern literary tendencies in Arabic and of the novel in particular is discussed *ad nauseam* in every production of the Arabic periodical press, but it would neither be possible nor profitable to analyse all these views here. The three articles dealt with here stand out from the rest, as having been written by authors with practical experience, and as facing the problem frankly and fully.

an important part and which is permeated by their influence, especially in dictating standards of morals and manners. For lack of this influence the old Arabic literature, like medieval European literature, moves in a narrow field and is lacking in fineness of feeling and emotion. In modern Arabic literature this narrowness still persists, since the social standards remain unchanged. *Zaynab* is an exception which proves the rule, since its success is due to the relative freedom enjoyed by women in the conditions of life in the Delta. He refuses therefore to share Haykal Bey's optimism ; under present conditions the Arabic novel can only be maimed, limited, and individual, and is unable to offer any true representation or interpretation of the emotions and the character of social life. There can be no future for it in the modern literary revival so long as Muslim life remains in its traditional mould.¹

This article produced a reply from Haykal Bey in which he abandoned the arguments based upon external causes, which he had previously adduced, and went straight to the psychological root of the matter in an article which deserves to be read with the most sympathetic attention. The real weakness of the short story and the novel in Egypt, he asserts, corresponds to the failure to get the most out of life, and goes back to the lack of any sound training of the emotions. The finer emotions cannot come to flower in a social life in which feeling is blunted to a point at which the physical desires take the place of any higher sentiment in the human soul. No art which does not spring in the mind of the artist from love for some aspect of life can possibly be a flourishing art. The development of the instinct of love to a human emotion in the higher sense demands a long and arduous training, for which one or even many generations may not suffice. Even charity and sympathy in their more developed social aspects are still rare in Egypt ; love still remains close to the primitive instinct, and the existence of a finer ideal is hardly thought of or even imagined. Finally he seeks the reason for this defective training of the emotions in the absence of educative influences in the home, and in the character of the old type of education, which was purely vocational, not humane.

¹ استطعنا ان نقطع بان المجتمع الاسلامي لا يمكن، متى بقي تطوره وتقدمه محصوراً في المبادئ الإسلامية الخالدة أو في التقاليد التي كانت أنزراً لهذه المبادئ، ان يعد كتاب القصص العربي يوماً بمادة واسعة أو غزيرة كالتى يقدمها المجتمع الغربى الى كتاب الغرب، أو ان يغدو الأثر الذى يفسحه للمرأة ذات يوم وحيّاً للفن أو للخيال.

Such arguments could not pass, of course, without meeting a considerable current of opposition from different quarters. One of the more obvious and pertinent criticisms will be illustrated a little later in dealing with al-Māzini's novel *Ibrāhīm al-Kātib*. But it is scarcely surprising that the most fundamental criticism came from the ranks of the classically-educated. Why all this talk about novels? Arabic literature got on very well in the past without them, and the craving for the novel is simply another instance of that insane imitation of the West which has wrought such havoc in the foundations of Eastern life. The Western novel, with its false and meretricious glamour, and its incompatibility with the traditional standards of the East, has exercised a debasing and destructive influence on Egyptian social life—why should she nurse the serpent in her bosom? This opposition, in more temperate and reasoned form, may be illustrated from a recent article by Dr. Zakī Mubārak.¹ Accepting the argument that the novel will not come into existence in Arabic literature until women have a recognized social position, he condemns the writers of Arabic stories as belonging "to the lowest class of literary writers", lacking all literary training and independence of thought, and mere spongers on foreign literatures. Worse still, they mislead the youth into despising other forms of literature. But, in fact, true literature, by which is meant a truthful and artistic appreciation of life, may find expression in other forms as well, such as a *risāla* or *qaṣīda*. Arabic literature is not to be judged by French or English literature, but by the temperament of its own people, and by its success in expressing their minds, visions, and desires. The journalistic literature of Egypt even now illustrates many sides of their intellectual, spiritual, and emotional crises, and is only hindered from fuller discussion by the censorship of the government and the reactionaries. But there is another side to the question: as heirs of the past "it is our duty to look at the past when we think of the present", and while moving on from the ancient styles and methods, to give due attention to their legacy of literature, which is often deeper and more valuable than "the empty froth thrown in the face of modern literature".

But however instructive such discussions may be for the purpose

¹ حياتنا الأدبية : *al-Ma'rifa*, 1, 11 (March, 1932), pp. 1326-8. The article is written in reply to a pessimistic article by Dr. Tāhā Ḥusayn under the same title in the special number of the journal *الدنيا المصورة*, 10th January, 1932, in the course of which he quotes a casual remark made by the present writer on the subject of the Egyptian novel.

of elucidating the various opinions actually held and laying bare the social and intellectual background of contemporary Egyptian literature, that literature itself—and herein it proves its vitality—has not waited upon their issue, but has taken its own independent way. The existence of the "middle-class reader" is a fact which, ignored as it may be in discussion, demonstrates its reality by creating a demand which has somehow to be satisfied. To invite his attention to the *Iqd al-Farīd* and the works of the Golden Age is to offer him a stone instead of the bread he wants and will have: if the writers in his own tongue will not supply him with it, he will continue to import it from abroad, however indigestible it may be in the view of his doctors. The article, essay, or *risāla*, and even, it is to be feared, the average *qaṣīda*, is either too solid or deficient as a stimulus to the imagination: it lacks above all the essential quality of living interest, and of all these only the poem offers anything that can enter into the imaginative heritage of the people.

The problem, in essence, has very little to do with deliberate imitation of the West. It is a problem conditioned by the natural consequences of an increasingly wide extension of primary education. For the similar problem in Europe the solution has, to a great extent, been found in the novel, and if Arabic writers find themselves unable to put forward any other satisfactory solution (and neither the magazine article nor the literary essay is a satisfactory solution), then no course is open to them but to fall back, provisionally at least, upon the Western solution. The idea that there should be anything derogatory to the dignity or self-respect of a people in the transference of a particular kind of literary production from without into their own literature would be indeed a strange extension of chauvinistic extravagance, and it has still to be shown that either Turkish or Indian literature has lost in depth and fidelity by the introduction of the novel. Hence it is that the novel and the story have been steadily driving their roots into the field of Egyptian letters, however ungrateful the soil or ungracious the welcome. But for the full development of the novel one essential condition is adaptation to its environment, and here lies, so far as the recent history of the Arabic novel is concerned, the main difficulty.

Leaving aside the social factors discussed above, the Arabic novelists and story-writers were confronted with a further problem, already referred to at the beginning of this article, that, namely, of creating a modern novelistic technique. Of the earlier writers al-Manfalūṭī

and Ġurgī Zaydān illustrate different approaches towards a solution, the one by the colour, the other by the simplicity, of his style. But neither touched the central difficulty, that of presenting a realistic representation of contemporary social life, in vocabulary, forms of expression, and especially in dialogue. This task was now taken up and experimented with by a group of writers of short stories, beginning with Muḥammad Taymūr (1892–1921).¹ The general study of the works of these writers, apart from the fact that they constitute one of the most interesting orientations of modern Egyptian literature, is thus essential for following up the development of a new technique, but such a study would overstep the limits of the present article.² For our purposes it must suffice at present to examine briefly their handling of one of the most crucial problems, that of the idiom of dialogue.

Here again the problem is not one which is peculiar to Arabic literature, but has its analogies both in an earlier stage of most Western European literatures and in those of all countries in which the ordinary speech of daily social intercourse has not yet become standardized under the influence of the literary usage. The question at issue is whether the dialogue is to run the risk of appearing artificial and stilted by being expressed in the literary idiom, or whether it is to aim at realism at the expense of the æsthetic dislocation involved in using one idiom for narrative and descriptions and another for dialogue. The first alternative is that adopted in all the early novels, not only the translated novels (where indeed it was quite natural), but also in those of the Syrian writers, with the result that they give even the Western reader the same impression of formality and affectedness which he finds in the early novels in his own language. *Zaynab* was the first work of fiction, to my knowledge, in which the dialogue was

¹ See the biography by his brother Maḥmūd in the Introduction to vol. i of his collected works, entitled *وميض الروح* (Cairo, Matb. al-Itimād, 1922), pp. 11–88; Cheikho in *al-Machriq* (1926), pp. 862–3; further the Introduction to *الشيخ سيد العيوط*, p. 45; Widmer, p. 52. The following section of the latter Introduction contains a list of the principal recent writers of short stories in Arabic, to whom must be added—and that in the first place—Maḥmūd Taymūr himself; for him see Widmer, pp. 3–9. and the literature cited there on p. 8. Two of Muḥ. Taymūr's stories (Nos. 2 and 7 of the collection entitled *ما تراه العيون*), translated into English by the poet Ahmad Rāmi, are contained in the last chapter of *Egypt in Silhouette*, by Trowbridge Hall (New York: Macmillan, 1928), together with two sketches by Manfalūti, an essay by 'Aqqād, and poems by 'Aqqād, Shawqī, Ḥāfiz Ibrāhīm, and Rāmi himself.

² Cf. the article of Mme. Ode-Vasil'eva cited above, p. 9, n. 1.

phrased in the colloquial idiom. The same striving after realism influenced also the writers of short stories, at least to begin with, and in the first edition of Maḥmūd Taymūr's collection entitled *Ash-shaykh Ġum'a*, for example, the dialogue is also in colloquial Egyptian. But there has gradually grown up a tendency to adopt a compromise, by graduating the speech of the characters from pure literary to pure colloquial idiom according to the education and station of the speakers, and, further, even in the case of the former, to avoid in general words and phraseology of too literary a stamp, in favour of simpler and more colloquial turns of phrase.¹ By this means the impression of naturalism is maintained, at a very slight sacrifice of realism, and it is in fact no great task for the reader, if he so desires, to transpose the written symbols in many cases into the spoken forms. We may, however, expect at no very distant date to see this problem solve itself, both by the general extension of primary education and still more through the influence of the Egyptian broadcasting stations.

It remains only to inquire how far the problems, needs, and aspirations to which we have referred have been met in the most recent examples of the Egyptian novel. As may be gathered from the discussion summarized above, these are very few indeed if we are to take into account only genuinely original productions of a certain literary value.

The most prolific and also, according to Maḥmūd Taymūr, the most popular Arabic novelist of the present day is Niqūlā' l-Haddād,² editor of the journal *As-Sayyidāt wa'r-Riġāl*, in which most of his works were originally published serially. Although himself Syrian, the tone and feeling of his writing is markedly Egyptian, much more so than that of most other Syrian publicists. To judge by his historical novel *Firawnat al-'Arab 'inda t-Turk*,³ he possesses the feuilleton-writer's gift of keeping the reader's interest on the stretch by rapidity of movement and frequent dramatic climaxes, but his plot is loosely constructed

¹ In the second edition of *Ash-shaykh Ġum'a* (Cairo, Matb. as-Salafiya, 1345/1927) the dialogue has been revised in accordance with this method. See on this subject the Introduction to this edition and Widmer, p. 7.

² Introduction to *الشيخ سيد العيطة*, pp. 46-7; Widmer, p. 53, where the titles of his principal works are cited. He is known also as a translator of sociological works.

³ Published originally in 1922-3; issued in one volume, Matb. Yūsuf Kawwā, n.d. The scene is laid in Constantinople during the war of 1914-18. This was intended as the first volume of a series, the second of which appeared later under the title of *Ġam'iyyat 'ikhwān al-'ahd*.

and the figures lack characterization, and it is questionable whether he has any contribution to make, either in style or treatment, to the literary development of the Egyptian novel.

Much greater literary interest attaches to another historical novel, the first strictly Egyptian work of its kind, entitled *Ibnat al-Mamlūk* ('The Mamlūk's Daughter'), by Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd.¹ This work does not seem to be in any sense dependent upon the type of historical novel written by Zaydān, and represents in some respects an advance upon him. The heroic element gives way to a more subdued realism, and the story is not wrapped round historical events, but placed in a historical setting, the period selected being that of the struggle of Muḥammad 'Alī and the Mamlūks between 1805 and 1808. The course of historical events is fitted naturally into the background, and not forced upon the reader's notice; even the most important military action during this period, the English expedition to Alexandria and its defeat at Rosetta in 1807, is only referred to briefly in two or three lines, although the hero, a young Arab refugee from the Wahhābīs in Arabia, is represented as having taken part in the struggle. Although the book does not succeed altogether in avoiding the stiffness of the older historical novels, there is more life and movement in the characters, and it holds the reader's attention right down to its tragic conclusion.

The most recently published, and in every respect the most important, Arabic novel since *Zaynab* is the long-awaited work of al-Māzinī, issued in 1931 under the title of *Ibrāhīm al-Kātib*.² According to the author's statement in the Preface, the novel was written partly in 1925 and finished later on in 1926,³ then thrown aside, and a portion of the second half was hurriedly rewritten during printing owing to the loss of the original manuscript, which may explain a certain unevenness referred to below. The Preface deals also in an interesting manner with the questions discussed above. In regard to the language of dialogue, al-Māzinī rejects the colloquial idiom as lacking flexibility of expression and not being sufficiently stabilized, whereas the literary

¹ Cairo, Matb. al-ʿIṭimād, 1926, p. 435.

² *Riwayāt Ibrāhīm al-Kātib biqalam Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Māzinī* (Cairo, Matb. at-Taraqqī, 1350/1931), pp. 384.

³ The greater part thus belongs to the period during which his new style was still in process of formation, and is earlier than the sketches collected under the title of *صندوق الدنيا* (Cairo, Matb. at-Taraqqī, 1929), pp. 320. See further *BSON.*, V, 3, 460-4; Khemiri and Kampfmeyer, *Leaders*, 27-9.

idiom is daily acquiring greater flexibility and polish. He also criticizes the views of Haykal Bey as to the obstacle offered by Egyptian social life to the creation of the Egyptian novel. Such a view assumes, wrongly, that the Western novel is the only possible model for the novel; but why should there not be an Egyptian novel, possessing its own distinctive character? The social life of Egypt offers no obstacle to any writer with the requisite capacity for imagination. Moreover, granted that the emotion of love is felt and conceived of in Egypt in a manner different from that in the West, why must this be a fatal difficulty, or why even must the emotion of love be the mainstay of the novel? Such a limitation is "sheer hysteria, neither more nor less".

The novel itself does not wholly fulfil the expectations aroused by these arguments. Not that it is defective from the point of view of plot, development of situation and characters, and other technical aspects; in these respects it is certainly the best original novel in Arabic to my knowledge. There is the same lightness of touch, the same humour, sometimes subtle, sometimes more on the surface, the same rather defiant cynicism,¹ which, as already remarked in the preceding study, distinguishes al-Māzinī's work from that of all other contemporary writers in Arabic. The narrative moves rapidly and easily, the dialogue is crisp and natural, and the social criticism and philosophical implications of the story are implicit rather than explicitly expressed.² But it is not, except for its characters and setting, an Egyptian novel in the sense which al-Māzinī himself appears to postulate. The hero, who gives his name to the work, is entirely a Westernized creation, in whom few Egyptians would be likely to recognize themselves—perhaps the publisher has some justification for claiming, in spite of the author's disclaimer, that the identity of names between hero and writer is not entirely fortuitous. The novel itself is Western in feeling and ideas as well as in literary background, and the subject round which it revolves is a psychological study of the emotion of love in its Western rather than its Egyptian conception. Even the purely external features of form and style confirm this

¹ The reader can already guess something of his spirit from the dedication: "To her for whom I live, on whose behalf I strive, and with whom alone I am concerned, willy-nilly—my self."

² E.g. in reference to magical spells and the like, ". . . in spite of his Azharite education . . . he had no belief in all that" (p. 241).

impression, such as the frequent use of Western images and phrases,¹ and comparative absence of the corresponding Arabic phrases, and, most curious of all, the practice of heading each chapter with a verse from the Bible. The phrasing itself diverges in many details from the normal usages of literary Arabic, though without doing actual violence to the genius of the language. There is, however, a certain difference in tone and subject between the first and second halves of the book. The former moves entirely within the framework of Egyptian social life, and in its harmonious blending of humour and sympathy could come only from the pen of an Egyptian writer. The latter depicts another atmosphere in much harder tones, and the colour gradually fades out, as if the author's style were affected by the closing in of the shadows upon his hero.

Without denying, therefore, the imaginative originality of the author, the literary parentage of *Ibrāhīm*, like that of *Zaynab*, is obviously to be sought in the Western novel. But the rather sentimental prototypes of *Zaynab* are not the sort of production which would appeal to al-Māzinī, whose inclinations are altogether towards a robuster view and more realistic presentation. In this case, his habit of literary reminiscence² gives a clue to the origin of at least part of the conception, and points directly to M. P. Artzybashev's *Sanine*. The plot and development of *Ibrāhīm al-Kātib* are (it should be noted) entirely different from those of Artzybashev's story, but the character of Ibrāhīm has certainly borrowed something from that of *Sanine* (though what in *Sanine* is romantically portrayed as the result of natural training is in *Ibrāhīm* the outcome of a matured philosophy), and one scene in particular is practically a literal translation of the climax of the Russian novel.³

¹ E.g. "a 'Homeric' sight" (p. 147); "his words were like . . . pearls cast before swine" (p. 375).

² This free adaptation of episodes or methods from well-known books is characteristic of al-Māzinī's work (see for example the reminiscences of Mark Twain's *The Innocents Abroad* in his travel sketches entitled رحلة الحجاز—originally published by him as Special Correspondent for *as-Siassa*—signalized by 'Umar Abu'n-Nasr in *al-Hadīth*, vi, 5 (Aleppo, May, 1932), pp. 359-366) but appears to me in no way to detract from his literary craftsmanship.

³ *Sanine* was translated into Arabic (? by al-Māzinī himself) from the discreetly abridged English version (by P. Pinkerton, 1915) and published *en feuilleton* under the title of ابن الطبيعة. I have not seen this Arabic translation, but a detailed comparison between phraseology and episodes from it and from al-Māzinī's novel will be found in an article in *al-Hadīth*, vi, 3 (Aleppo, March, 1932), pp. 194-201, by the 'Irāqī novelist Maḥmūd Ahmad (for whose writings see M. Taymūr, tr. Widmer, p. 53).

Thus the Egyptian novel, in the work of its two chief representatives, still falls short of the ideal which they, along with others, have visualized. The link between technical competence and Egyptian inspiration has yet to be satisfactorily forged. So long as this is absent the mass of readers in Egypt will continue to gather up the crumbs which fall from the tables of others—unless, indeed, the writers of Egypt succeed in creating some entirely new literary form, a much harder task, of which there is no indication at present. So far from the novel serving as the stalking-horse of Western “materialism”, I can conceive of no effective barrier to the flood of Western literary influences in Egypt but the development of the truly Egyptian novel, and perhaps we may yet see a Department of Journalism and Novel-writing at the University of al-Azhar.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO BSOS., V, pp. 445-466

p. 450, n. 1: The editor of the *Journal of the Oriental League* is the well-known publicist, ‘Alī ‘Abd ar-Rāziq (on whom see Khemiri and Kampffmeyer, *Leaders in Contemporary Arabic Literature*, pp. 9-10).

p. 453: Dr. Haykal’s Egyptian patriotism is expressed in another fashion in the introduction to his collected biographies, entitled *تراجم مصرية وغربية* (Maṭb. as-Siyāsa, 1929; cf. Khemiri and Kampffmeyer, p. 22, note e)—an eloquent piece of special pleading, in which he defends Egypt against the charge of having passively submitted to a succession of foreign conquerors.

p. 457, n. 4: On the controversy between Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and his critics on the subject of pre-Islamic poetry, see now the analysis published by Professor Kratchkowsky cited above, p. 7, n. 1.

p. 458, n. 4: As Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn’s autobiographical work *al-Ayyām* has now been made available in an English translation (*An Egyptian Childhood*, trans. by E. H. Paxton, London: Routledge, 1932, pp. viii + 168), supervised by the author himself, there is little to be gained from devoting a special study to it, as I had originally intended. A comparison and study of the relationship between this work and the biographical novels of Dr. Dayf and F. J. Bonjean, noted on p. 459, n. 1, would, however, form an interesting subject.

p. 464, n. 4: The work and personality of Dr. Shibli Shumayyil

have at last been rescued from the semi-oblivion which seemed to surround them, by J. Lecerf: "Šibli Šumayyil, métaphysicien et moraliste contemporain" in *Bull. des Études Orientales*, i, pp. 152-186 and 209-211.

p. 465: On Salāmah Mūsā, as on most of the writers dealt with in the course of this article, cf. now the biographical and literary data collected by Khemiri and Kampffmeyer in the very useful publication quoted frequently above.

The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldūn's Political Theory

By H. A. R. GIBB

IT seems an odd coincidence that within the last three years there should have appeared four different studies devoted to the work of Ibn Khaldūn, considering that in the half-century following the issue of de Slane's translation of the *Muqaddima*,¹ apart from von Kremer's study² and a few short articles drawing the attention of a wider circle of students in various countries to its significance, it was not until 1917 that the first monograph on the subject was published by Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusain.³ This work, like most of the earlier articles, dealt primarily with the sociological aspects of Ibn Khaldūn's historical theory, and the same interest predominates in all but one of the three or four articles published since 1917. Of the latest studies it may be said that, though still giving prominence to the social aspect, they cover as a whole a rather wider ground. Dr. Gaston Bouthoul, indeed, limits himself in his title⁴ to Ibn Khaldūn's "Social Philosophy", but the contents of his essay overleap these bounds, especially the first thirty pages, devoted to a very suggestive analysis of the personality and intellectual outlook of the historian. Professor Schmidt's tractate⁵ is in the nature of a survey of the field; he assembles and examines the views of earlier writers on different aspects of Ibn Khaldūn's work, but does not put forward any synthesis of his own. Lastly, the two recent German works of Drs. Kamil Ayad⁶ and Erwin Rosenthal⁷ mark a return towards the more strictly

¹ *Les Prolegomènes historiques*, Paris, 1863-8.

² A. von Kremer, *Ibn Chaldūn und seine Kulturgeschichte der islamischen Reiche*, S.-B. Ak. Wien, 1878. Full bibliographies of the other articles will be found in any of the works mentioned below.

³ Ṭaha Hussain, *Étude analytique et critique de la philosophie sociale d'Ibn Khaldoun*, Paris, 1917.

⁴ Gaston Bouthoul, *Ibn Khaldoun, Sa Philosophie sociale*, Paris (Geuthner), 1930, pp. 95.

⁵ Nathaniel Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldun, historian, sociologist, and philosopher*, New York (Columbia U.P.), 1930, pp. 68.

⁶ Kamil Ayad, *Die Geschichts- und Gesellschaftslehre Ibn Haldūns*, 2tes. Heft der "Forschungen zur Geschichts- und Gesellschaftslehre" hrsg. v. Kurt Breysig, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1930, pp. x -- 209.

⁷ Erwin Rosenthal, *Ibn Khalduns Gedanken über den Staat*, Beiheft 25 der Historischen Zeitschrift, München and Berlin (R. Oldenbourg), 1932, pp. x + 118.

historical thought of the *Muqaddima*, and the latter in particular is the first monograph to be devoted exclusively to Ibn Khaldūn's political theory.¹ The two books differ considerably in plan. Dr. Ayad, after a long and philosophical introduction on the general trends of Islamic cultural and intellectual development, displays a remarkable critical faculty and acuteness of observation in the analysis of Ibn Khaldūn's historical method, and concludes by examining in outline his social theory. Dr. Rosenthal on the other hand prefers to let Ibn Khaldūn explain himself, and describes his own work as "a modest attempt to present the historian with the material from which to construct a picture of Ibn Khaldūn's view of the State, by means of as accurate a translation as possible of the most important passages in his *Muqaddima* in which he analyses the theory of the State, together with an historical interpretation limited strictly to the text".²

In view of these admirable and very serviceable books it would be an unnecessary task to attempt to traverse the whole field of Ibn Khaldūn's political thought here. The object of the following remarks is solely to draw attention to a point which appears to the writer to be fundamental for any critical study of Ibn Khaldūn's thought, but which has been consistently overlooked or even misrepresented in most, if not all, of the works already cited. (For purposes of discussion

¹ Mention may also be made here of the Special Number issued by the Arabic journal *al-Hadith* of Aleppo in Sept., 1932, to celebrate the sixcentenary of Ibn Khaldūn's birth. The articles, which are all from the hands of leading Arabic scholars of the present day, are somewhat unequal in value, but demonstrate the very keen interest shown in his work in modern Arabic circles. A note of dissidence is, however, introduced by the encyclopaedist Farid Waǧdī, who in a brief and rather unsatisfactory article argues that the *Muqaddima* is a work neither of sociology nor of the philosophy of history.

² The necessity for a revision of de Slane's somewhat loose translation (indispensable as it still is) has long been known to Orientalists, and it is one of the merits of R.'s book that, with some assistance from Professor Bergstrasser, he provides a much more literal and accurate version of the passages translated, so far as I have tested it. Some errors remain, however; e.g. p. 41: ". . . hat den Namen Konigtum, und es ist sein Sein, das sie beherrscht" (*tusammā 'l-malakata wahīya kawruhu yamlukuhum*); p. 97: "und auf jede einzelne von ihnen (diesen Künsten) grosse Sorgfalt zu verwenden" (*li'tta'annuqi fī kulli wāhidin sanā'iu kathīratun*). Doubtful words or readings are responsible for some errors; p. 23: "I suspect the word 'umūmiyatun rendered as "die Bevölkerung (?)" to mean something like "complex of tribal relations"; a few lines further on "unterstützen sie", which makes nonsense in the context, is due to an apparent error of *ma'ūnatun* for *mā'ūnatun* ("source of expense"); p. 57: "einen Genuss aus dem Streit machen (?)" has arisen from a mis-reading *bī'khalāfi* for *bī'khalāqi* ("enjoyment of worldly happiness").

it will be convenient to illustrate the argument more especially from the two last-named German works.) The general explanation of the deficiency referred to is to be sought in a certain tendency to exaggerate the independence and originality of Ibn Khaldūn's thought, which in turn arises from a misapprehension of his outlook, especially in its relation to religious questions.

The true originality of Ibn Khaldūn's work is to be found in his detailed and objective analysis of the political, social, and economic factors underlying the establishment of political units and the evolution of the State, and it is the results of this detailed analysis that constitute the "new science" which he claims to have founded. The materials on which his analysis is based were derived partly from his own experience—a point rightly emphasized in all these works—and partly also from the historical sources to his hand relating to the history of Islam, which he interpreted with a striking disregard of established prejudices. But the axioms or principles on which his study rests are those of practically all the earlier Sunni jurists and social philosophers. Dr. Ayad is at some pains to argue that a fundamental difference exists between Ibn Khaldūn's first principles as to the origins of society and those of his predecessors (pp. 165-6); the latter start from a global conception of "human society" (*al-mujtama' al-insānī*), whereas he starts from a dynamic conception of "human association" (*al-ijtimā'*). But apart from the evidence against this assumption to be found in the typical passage which will be quoted shortly, Dr. Ayad has almost immediately to admit (p. 168) that Ibn Khaldūn simply took over their "utilitarian" arguments, "although his conception does not wholly agree at bottom with their views." This admission is fully borne out by Ibn Khaldūn's own explanation, that the difference between the subject of his book and the observations of his predecessors lies in the fact that their statements were "not argued out as we have argued them out, but simply touched on by way of exhortation in a belletristic style", and served only as general introduction to works of an ethical character.¹ While they in pursuance of their objects have been content to summarize the historical process in general terms, he has made it his business to explain the mechanism in detail, since his object, which he admits is of subsidiary importance (*thamaratuhā . . . da'ifa*), is solely to establish criteria for the "rectification of historical narratives". In doing so, of course, he introduces many conceptions which find

¹ Muqaddima to Bk. i (Quatremère i, 65).

no place in their outline sketches, but are not in any way in contradiction to them.

Yet both Dr. Rosenthal and Dr. Ayad assert the contrary. The former remarks (p. 9) that it should be particularly emphasized that Ibn Khaldūn "on the basis of his own observations" recognizes that kingship can come about without any divine investiture or aid, and regards this (p. 12) as "an indication of independent thought, free of all theological restraint". Dr. Ayad is even more emphatic. Noting that Ibn Khaldūn does not make prophecy a prerequisite for human association, he adds (p. 114), "This proposition of Ibn Khaldūn's is openly directed against the Muslim theologians, who describe any human life as impossible without prophetic guidance," and repeats the observation (p. 169) in reference to Ibn Khaldūn's argument against the exaggerated postulates of the "philosophers".¹

If, however, we examine the actual phraseology of the Muslim theologians, we shall find that it does not bear out these assumptions. To take an extreme case I shall quote the relevant passage from a work of the kind referred to by Ibn Khaldūn and written by one of the protagonists of the strictest orthodox views, Ibn Taimīya (d. 728/1328), two generations before him. This passage, which forms part of the general introduction to his treatise on the Censorship,² runs as follows:—

"None of mankind can attain to complete welfare, either in this world or in the next, except by association (*ijtimā'*!), co-operation, and mutual aid. Their co-operation and mutual aid is for the purpose of acquiring things of benefit to them, and their mutual aid is also for the purpose of warding off things injurious to them. For this reason it is said that "Man is a political being by nature". But when they unite together (*jama'ū*) there must of necessity be certain things which they do to secure their welfare and certain other things which they avoid because of the mischief which lies in them, and they will render obedience to the one who commands them to the attainment of those objects and restrains them from those actions of evil consequence. Moreover, all mankind must of necessity render obedience to a commander and restrainer. Those who are not possessed of divine books or who are not followers of any religion (*man lam yakun min ahli'l-kutubi'l-ilāhīyati walā min ahli dīnin*) yet obey their kings in regard to those matters wherein they believe

¹ First Muqaddima to Bk. i, section 1 (Q. 1, 72).

² *Al-Hisba fi'l-Islām* (Cairo, Mu'ayyad Press, 1318 H.), p. 3.

that their worldly interests lie, sometimes rightly, sometimes wrongly." If this passage is compared with the Introduction to Book i, section 1, of the *Muqaddima*, or such a restatement as Book iii, chapter 23,¹ or the still more illuminating passage in Book v, chapter 6.² it will be seen that Ibn Khaldūn does little more than expand these ideas and give them greater precision by introducing his conception of *'aṣabīya*.

This example leads up to the second question—how far Ibn Khaldūn deserves to be credited with the freedom from religious bias or pre-occupations which both these writers ascribe to him? Granted at the outset that he aims at describing the phenomena of political life as he sees them to exist, and that on the basis of these empirical observations he does in fact describe them objectively and dispassionately, with a remarkable grasp of the essential characteristics of political power, the stages of its evolution, and the intricate inter-relations of the State with all aspects of human civilization. His "materialism", "pessimism", or "fatalism" has been remarked by all his commentators, on the ground that he never puts forward suggestions for the reform of the institutions which he describes so minutely, nor considers the possibility that they may be modified as the result of human effort and thought, but accepts the facts as they are and presents the cycle of states and dynasties as an inevitable and almost mechanical process. Dr. Ayad remarks, for example (p. 163), that he makes no attempt to justify history, that his principles are not theocentric (p. 97), and that he holds, "in blunt opposition to the Muslim theological view," to the doctrine of causality and natural law in history (p. 143). Further, he emphasizes (pp. 51-3) his treatment of religion "simply as a weighty cultural phenomenon and an important socio-psychological factor in the historical process", while admitting that he remained a sincerely convinced Muslim. Similarly, Dr. Rosenthal insists more than once that Ibn Khaldūn holds firmly to the doctrines of the *Sharī'a*, and that by religion he has in view the religion of Islām exclusively, yet it is one of the outstanding features of his theory that he treats religion "as no more than one factor, however important it may be" (p. 58). "Religion (he proceeds) is an important factor also in the autarchic State, but it does not alone give its content to the State, not even to the Islamic State. It is, like every phenomenon, liable to changes, at least so far as its degree of intensity and the realization of its demands are concerned. . . . The law of the State is derived from religion, but

¹ Q. i, 337-8: translated in Rosenthal, p. 39.

² Q. ii, 290, ll. 9-18

the State abstracts itself in practice from the whole compass of its validity and follows its own aims. These, however, are determined by power and lordship and extend to the wellbeing of the citizens, primarily in this world, within the body of the State. . . . Human need and human effort have founded the State as a necessity, and it exists for man. The help of God lightened his work, the divine ordinance directed him to the best way, the word of God urged him on and supported his impulse towards conquest and power. But it is not *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* that the State exists, but rather for the protection of men and the ensuring of order" (pp. 59-60). At the same time "for Islamic thought, the formulations of the Religious Law are ideal demands, and recognized as such also by Ibn Khaldūn". These two views, according to Dr. Rosenthal, exist side by side in his work, but it is the former which is at the centre of his conceptions.

It seems to me that, in spite of the efforts made by both doctors to reconcile such a view of religion and the State with the orthodox standpoint of Ibn Khaldūn, there is an unresolved contradiction between these two statements. Ibn Khaldūn was not only a Muslim, but as almost every page of the *Muqaddima* bears witness, a Muslim jurist and theologian, of the strict Mālikī school. For him religion was far and away the most important thing in life—we have seen that he expressly calls his study a thing of subsidiary value—and the *Sharī'a* the only true guide. This means not just that Ibn Khaldūn was careful to safeguard himself in his arguments from the suspicion of unorthodoxy—still less that, as Dr. Ayad would have us believe, he "shows great adroitness in interpreting the Islamic Law in accordance with his view, and so seeks to subordinate religion to his own scientific theories" (p. 173)—but that he did not and could not introduce into his system anything that was logically incompatible with the Islamic standpoint. He was all the less likely to do so since, as M. Bouthoul (p. 17) points out, and as we shall have occasion to recall further on, he was by early training and inclination strongly attracted to logic and the rational sciences. Amongst his early works cited by Dr. Ayad (p. 17) was a treatise on logic, and it is this logical bent of his mind which supplies the key to the whole conception of the *Muqaddima*. Indeed, as Dr. Ayad shows more than once (pp. 57-8, 135, 159), in spite of his rejection of the logical systems of the metaphysicians, based as they were on abstract *a priori* ideas, his own insistence on the absolute validity of his deductions leads him at times into premature generalizations.

The explanation of his apparent reduction of religion to a secondary place in his exposition is that in his work he is not concerned with religion, i.e. Islām, as such, but only with the part played by religion in the outward course of history. The State occupies the central place, because it is the subject of his study. But a careful examination of the chapters which constitute the first three books of the *Muqaddima* will show that he uses the term religion in two different senses. On the one hand is religion in the true or absolute sense, when the whole will of man is governed by his religious conviction and his animal nature is held in check. Opposed to this is "acquired religion", a second-hand and relatively feeble thing, which saps his manhood and fails to control his animal impulses.¹ This distinction underlies also the chapter² "That a religious rising (*da'wa*) unsupported by *‘aṣabīya* is doomed to failure", upon which so much weight is placed by these investigators, for Ibn Khaldūn makes it quite clear that he is speaking of religious movements which have no divine commission behind them, and thus are religious only in the outward sense.

The ethical and Islamic basis of Ibn Khaldūn's thought is, however, implicit throughout his exposition, quite apart from his constant appeal to texts from Qur'ān and Tradition. His doctrine of causality and natural law, which in Dr. Ayad's view stands in such sharp opposition to Muslim theological views, is simply that of the *sunnat Allah* so often appealed to in the Qur'ān. Although for theological purposes it was found necessary to insist that cause and effect are not integrally connected, in so far as both the apparent cause and the apparent effect are in reality separate divine creations, yet it was accepted that God did in fact, by eternal "custom", create the appropriate "effect" after creating the "cause"; indeed, without this presupposition, the further doctrine of the special power bestowed upon prophets of "violation of natural order" (*kharq al-ūda*) would have no meaning. It may, however, be allowed that Ibn Khaldūn lays much greater stress than most Muslim writers upon the inevitable working of cause and effect as "natural law".

A similar conclusion emerges from his historical theory in the strict sense. The association of men for mutual assistance "fulfils the wise purpose of God for their survival and preservation of the species", and without it there would not be perfected "what God has willed for the population of the world by them and His establish-

¹ Cf. esp. Bk. ii, chap. 6, translated in R., pp. 68-9 (Q. i, 230-2), and ii, 27 (Q. i, 275).

² Bk. iii, chap. 6 (Q. i, 286-90), translated in R., p. 54.

ment of them as His vicegerents".¹ The institution of kingship is likewise ordained by God, whether it be good or evil,² and the *'aṣab̄ya* which furnishes the mechanism whereby it is attained is itself due to the aid of God.³ Thus even the civil state exists as part of the divine purpose. Ibn Khaldūn then goes on to recognize several varieties of states, classified according to their laws.⁴ This passage is particularly worth attention, in view of the express statements of Dr. Rosenthal that Ibn Khaldūn "passes no judgments of value and prefers no form of State over another" (p. 47), and of Dr. Ayad that "he refrains *on principle* from judgments of value" (p. 123). "The state (says Ibn Khaldūn) whose law is based upon violence and superior force and giving full play to the irascible nature is tyranny and injustice and in the eyes of the Law blameworthy, a judgment in which also political wisdom concurs. Further, the state whose law is based upon rational government and its principles, without the authority of the *Sharī'a*,⁵ is likewise blameworthy, since it is the product of speculation without the light of God . . . and the principles of rational government aim solely at worldly interests." Opposed to both of these stands the Caliphate as the only perfect state, being based on the true practice of the *Sharī'a*, which furthers both the temporal and spiritual interests of its subjects.⁶

The central position which the Caliphate or ideal state occupies in Ibn Khaldūn's thought may be supported by another argument. It has been remarked above that Ibn Khaldūn develops his thesis along strictly logical lines, and a glance at the sequence of his chapters shows that they lead up to and culminate in the Caliphate.⁷ Having

¹ Bk. i, ch. 1, 1st Muqaddima (Q. i. 70-1).

² Bk. ii, ch. 20 (Q. i. 259-60).

³ Bk. iii, ch. 4 (Q. i. 284).

⁴ Bk. iii, ch. 25, translated in R., 61-2 (Q. i. 342-3).

⁵ De Slane's translation misses the point of the phrase *min ghairi nazari'shshar'i* inserted in Q. after *bi-muqtadā's-siyāsati wa' akkūmihā*.

⁶ The same judgment is expressed in a slightly different fashion in Bk. ii, ch. 20 (Q. i. 259-60), from which it is clear that Ibn Khaldūn's connotation of the term Caliphate is general and not restricted to the historical Caliphate.

⁷ It is the chief defect of Dr. Rosenthal's otherwise admirable survey of Ibn Khaldūn's political thought that he has overlooked the logical sequence of his exposition, and by shuffling about his chapters unwittingly distorts his point of view. For example, in the section headed "The evolution of the State" the order of the passages which he has selected is as follows: —Bk. ii, ch. 15; iii, 14; iii, 17; ii, 16; iii, 15; ii, 18; iii, 11; iii, 12; iii, 16; ii, 22; iii, 2; iii, 3; ii, 4; ii, 5; ii, 23; iii, 7; iii, 8; iii, 18; iii, 10; iii, 13; iii, 47; iii, 46.

reached this point he halts to discuss in elaborate detail the organization associated with the Caliphate,¹ before passing on to investigate the causes of the decay of the State and its final destruction. It is in the course of this discussion that he explains the gradual transformation of the historical Arab Caliphate into an ordinary kingship,² as due to the force of *'aṣabīya* amongst the Umayyad family (though not, in his view, amongst the early Umayyad rulers themselves) regaining an ascendancy over the religious enthusiasm which had restrained it in the time of the early Caliphs.

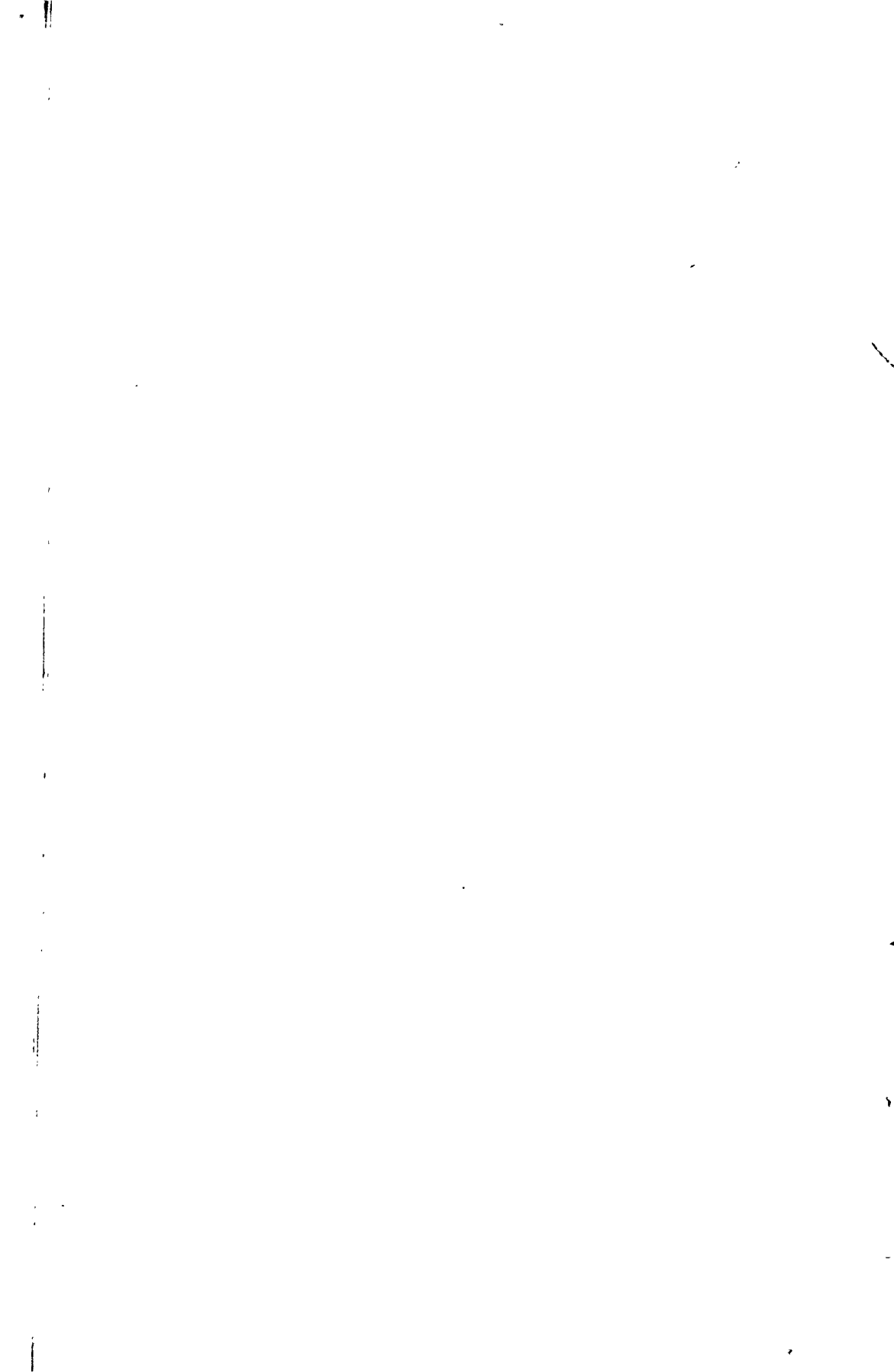
Thus it is impossible to avoid the impression that Ibn Khaldūn, besides setting out to analyse the evolution of the State, was, like the other Muslim jurists of his time, concerned with the problem of reconciling the ideal demands of the *Sharī'a* with the facts of history. The careful reader will note how he drives home the lesson, over and over again, that the course of history is what it is because of the infraction of the *Sharī'a* by the sin of pride, the sin of luxury, the sin of greed.³ Even in economic life it is only when the ordinances of the *Sharī'a* are observed that prosperity follows.⁴ Since mankind will not follow the *Sharī'a* it is condemned to an empty and unending cycle of rise and fall, conditioned by the "natural" and inevitable consequences of the predominance of its animal instincts. In this sense Ibn Khaldūn may be a "pessimist" or "determinist", but his pessimism has a moral and religious, not a sociological, basis.

¹ Dr. Ayad points out that Ibn Khaldūn denies that the Caliphate (or Imāmate) is one of the "pillars of the faith", but fails to observe that it is the *Shī'ite* doctrine that he rejects, and that in his arguments against the rational necessity of the Caliphate (iii, 26; Q. i, 345-6) he is in complete agreement with the classical doctrine expounded by al-Māwardī (p. 4).

² Bk. iii, ch. 28 (Q. i, 367 ff.); note especially *walam yazhari 'tughayyuru illā fi'l-wāzi'i 'l-ladhī kāna dīnan thumna 'nqataba 'aṣabiyatan wa-saiḥan* (Q. 375, 9-10). This instance brings out clearly that what Ibn Khaldūn means by "natural" development in social and political life is very different from the mechanical doctrine which Dr. Ayad regards as the outstanding feature of his theory.

³ M. Bouthoul's accusation (p. 88) that Ibn Khaldūn's outlook is governed by a kind of intellectual sadism, characteristic of "mediaeval mentality", appears to me very wide of the mark. Cf. again Bk. v, ch. 6 (Q. ii, 290).

⁴ Bk. iii, ch. 38 (Q. ii, 79).



Notes on some Ismā'īli Manuscripts

Compiled by A. S. TRITTON

From information supplied by Dr. PAUL KRAUS

THE School of Oriental Studies has bought a small collection of Ismā'īli books which were the property of a Bohra mullah in India. He died about three years ago, and some of his books went to his son who had become a Christian. Having no interest in Ismā'īli theology he arranged with a missionary to sell them outside India. It looks as if the library had been divided in a way typical of India, one heir getting the first volume of a work and another the second.

On the flyleaf of one manuscript is a list of books belonging to a former owner. Five of the ten are found in part in this collection. Others are the *Kitāb at-Ṭahāra* which is almost certainly part of the *Da'ā'im al-Islām*; the *Kitāb al Manāḳib wal Mathālib*, a historical work by the kādī An-Nu'mān describing the good qualities of the prophet's family and the bad qualities of the Umayyads, including those of Spain; and the life of Al-Mu'ayyad fi 'l-dīn Abū Naṣr Hibatullah, which has been summarized by Dr. al-Hamdani in *JRAS.* (1932), p. 126. The rest cannot be identified.

Little has been published about this literature. There is something about it in an article by E. Griffini in *ZDMG.*, v. 69, p. 87, and in another by Dr. Kraus in *Der Islam*, v. 19, p. 243; see also L. Massignon, "Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmate," in *A volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, 329 ff. The fullest account is that given in the doctoral dissertation of A. H. F. al-Hamdani, entitled *The Doctrines and History of the Ismā'īli Da'wat in Yemen*, available in the library of the University of London. Besides theology they had their own history, the chief work being the *'Uyūn al-Akhhbār* of the dā'ī Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. c. A.H. 860), in seven volumes.

1. كتاب اساس التأويل الباطن

Copyist شيخ طيب بن موسى بن ملا القماحي بن علي in the time of سيدنا اسمعيلجي بن راج. f. 148; lines to a page, 18 or 19 (short); titles mostly in red: Oriental paper; thick writing, clumsy but legible. Seventeen parts.

One of the famous books of k̄ādī An-Nu'mān, composed before his
 كتاب تأويل دعائم الاسلام (see No. 4).

2. كتاب المجالس والمسائرات

Copyist مأمونجي المرحوم داود in A.H. 1315; f. 145;
 lines to a page, 18 or 20.

It ends with ربيع الآخر في اول مجلس preceded by the account
 of the circumcision of twelve thousand boys.

Badly written.

Author An-Nu'mān, the chief k̄ādī of Al-Mu'izz (Massignon,
 "Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmate," No. 16). The book consists
 of two big volumes, each of some four hundred pages, and deals with
 the speeches of the imāms, especially of Al-Mu'izz, which were written
 down and published by An-Nu'mān. A book of great literary value
 and undoubtedly genuine.

3. كتاب شرح الاخبار في فضل الائمة الاطهار

The title in the MS. is الفضايل (١) الائمة الابرار. Parts 13
 and 14.

Part 13: ذكر من قتل مع الحسين

Part 14 begins اما جعفر بن محمد. f. 80; lines to a page, 15.

At the end three pages of oddments; the miraculous stopping of
 a flood in the Euphrates by 'Alī, etc., and a little Urdu.

Author: the k̄ādī An-Nu'mān. It is the great history of Islam
 from the Isma'ili standpoint.

The whole contains sixteen parts: 1, Muḥammad; 2-10, 'Alī;
 11-12, Khadija, Fāṭima, Ḥasan, Ḥusain; 13-14, the imāms up to
 Ja'far b. Muḥammad; 15-16, Al-Mahdī billah and the following
 imāms. It is quoted as early as A.H. 400.

4. كتاب دعائم الاسلام

Copyist: داود بن مأمونجي

Written A.H. 1309. في مدرسة الرئيس البازل ملا طيب آدنجي بن
 فير بهائي. f. 250; lines to a page, 18 (one page written upside down).

Volume 1; ending with كتاب الجهاد.

The famous Isma'ili fiqh book by k̄ādī an-Nu'mān.

5. ديوان

قال سيدنا الاجل داعي الدعاة المؤيد في الدين عصمة المؤمنين ووليهم ابو
نصر هبة الله سلمانى

Copyist : عبد الحسين بن ملا هبة الله رامپورى في وقت سيدنا
برهان الدين في المدرسة آدمجي فير بهائى

Written 5 Sha'bān, 1309. On the flyleaf الجزء الاول; on f. 9a
الجزء الثاني, etc., with no divisions in the text. f. 70; lines to
a page, 16.

Author : ابو نصر هبة الله بن ابى عمران موسى بن داود الشرازي.
He was the chief dā'ī of al-Mustansir : his activity lasted from about
A.H. 429 to 470 (see *Encyc. of Islam*, s.v. al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn, and
JRAS., 1932, p. 126).

He is called Salmāni because he claimed to stand to the imām
in the same relation as Salmān al-Fārisi did to the prophet.

At the end is a poem introduced by قال ابن حماد.

6. مجموع الترية

Volume 1 : f. 174 ; lines to a page, 17. The margins have been cut,
damaging notes. Thick Oriental paper ; the writing is very like No. 1.
Early leaves badly damaged. Copyist : تاج خان روشنجي بن احمدجي.
Marginal notes : a. 1122.

قرأت هذا الكتاب . . . على لسان ملا قاذى (?) خان بن على بهائى بإذن
سيدنا ومولانا وما لكنا وما لكنا امرنا سيدنا كلیم الله هو سى (?) بهائى بن
شيخ عبد الطيب.

Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir is the author ; he was *ma'dhūn* of the dā'ī
Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusain al-Ḥāmīdī, and is praised in the dīwān of 'Alī
b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid (see No. 7a).

The complete work consists of two volumes ; it is one of the early
compendia of Isma'ili doctrine in the Yemen *da'wa*.

Contents

The prayers : the external form.

Mystical interpretation of the single prayers. e.g. the sunset prayer is like 'Alī the deputy.

Explanation of the prayers as a whole.

Explanation of faith.

Explanation of the pillars of faith : begins " Know that the outer and inner meanings of the law have seven pillars. purity, prayers, alms, fasting, pilgrimage, endeavour (? holy war), and belief in the nearness of God *الولاية*. (The inner meaning of alms is that wealth in its entirety is knowledge.)

Explanation of prayer from the *Kitāb al-shwāhid wal-bayān*.

Explanation of " In the name of God the All-merciful ".

The book of the explanation of the Confession and its opposites. (Mystic letters in the names of angels, prophets, and imāms.)

On substances and accidentia, a summary from the pamphlet on the composition of the body. Perhaps from the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*.

From the fourth letter of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā* (vol. i. p. 116. Egypt).

Words on education ; by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir. About the Shī'a.

Letter of Shahriyār b. al-Ḥasan. Answer to a question about the world corporeal and spiritual.

Letter containing the charter revealed with the good news to our lord. By Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir.

Letter of investigations. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir.

Knowledge of the body and the soul and the difference between them.

Knowledge of the four souls.

Risālat al-Munṭabaḥh, by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. abī Yazīd.

The story of 'Amlāk the Greek : begins " 'Amlāk the Greek said to his teacher Ḳustā b. Lūḳiā ".

Risālat al-Daruj, by al-Dhuaib b. Mūsā.

The letter of the nine investigations.

The letter entitled *Mulḳamat al-Adhḥān wantabihat (?) al-Wusnān*, by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd.

Excellencies of the chief of the people and his miracles including the story of the camels.

Letter on definitions and writings from the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*. Begins : " The prophets are ambassadors of God to his creatures ; the learned

are the heirs of the prophets ; the wise are the best of the learned. It is said that seven laudable qualities are in the wise.”

Section on geometry.

Risālat tuḥfat al-tālib wa umniyat al-rāghib, that is *risālat al-dīl'* :
by 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Walīd.

Tarbiyat jāmi'at mufīdat.

7. TWO TRACTS IN ONE VOLUME

(a) رسالة جلاء العقول وزبدة المحصول

Author : والد الجميع علي بن محمد بن الوليد الانفي

Copyist : عبد الحسين بن ملا هبة الله . 10 Jumādā 1, 1313.

f. 36 ; lines to a page, 17.

Blanks left for titles : sections noted in the margin by another hand.

Note : في وقت داعي الله العلي سيدنا ومولانا ابي الطيب محمد برهان الدين :
نجل الداعي الاجل سيدنا ومولانا عبد القادر نجم الدين

The author is one of the most famous dā'īs of the later Ismaīlī da'wa in the Yemen. He died 27 Sha'bān, 612. An earlier book *رسالة مختصر الاصول* was a criticism of the sects from an Ismaīlī standpoint. This one is a constructive complement to the earlier.

Contents

Chap. 1 : في الكلام على التوحيد والحلقة الجسائية

Chap. 2 : في كلام على الحلقة النفسانية

Chap. 3 : في تسلسل الولادة الدينية

(b) رسالة زهر بذر الحقائق

Author : السلطان حاتم بن ابراهيم الحامدي

Copyist as (a). 21 Jumādā 1, 1313.

f. 13 ; lines to a page, 17.

Note on flyleaf : وقرات هذا الكتاب الشريف عند الحد الفاضل
الشيخ عبد العلي بن الحد الاعظم

The author died 16 Muḥarram, 592. He was aided in his duties as dā'ī by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (see No. 6) and 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (see No. 7a), the second succeeding him in office.

The book deals in eighteen chapters (مسائل) with all kinds of philosophical and theological questions.

8. كتاب الازهار وجمع الانوار الملقوطة من بساتين الاسرار

Part 1, f. 81 ; lines 16 ; 3 tables ; red lines round some pages.

Part 2, f. 82 ; lines 16 or 18. Written في عصر سيدنا عبد الحسين
حسام الدين بن طيب.

Part 3, f. 88 ; lines 16. Written في مدرسة فير بهائي.

Written in A.H. 1309 ; ugly writing.

Author : حسن بن نوح البهروحي. He lived in the first half of the tenth century A.H. Of Indian origin he came to Yemen and studied with the dā'ī Ḥasan, son of the historian and dā'ī Idrīs 'Imād ud Dīn. The book, which has seven parts, is partly an autobiography and partly extracts from older Ismā'ili writings.

9. رسالة البيان لما وجب

من معرفة الصلاة في نصف شهر رجب

No name of author.

Written in A.H. 1296 or 1299.

Copyist : الطيب على ملا حيوا بهائي

f. 121 ; lines to a page, 7 or 8. Titles in yellow.

Three chapters :—

1. في ذكر شهر رجب الكريم والمعنى الذي اخص فيه بالتعظيم وذكر شهر شعبان وشهر رمضان.

2. في ابانة معنى امر الامام لام داود بصيام الثلاثة الايام البيض من شهر رجب.

3. في معنى الصلاة وقراءة القرآن والدعاء ومعرفة ما فيها من الفضل والبيان.

10. مجموع مسائل الفقه

Author perhaps عبد الحسين بن ملا هبة الله.

Written A.H. 1329.

f. 61 (1 to 39 European paper, 40-60 Oriental). Some of the European paper and all the Oriental with its margins is written diagonally. Perhaps different hands.

f. 1. Traditions.

f. 5. *Fetāwā*, beginning :—

سأل الشيخ شجاع الدين شمعون بن محمد الغوري الهندي
اجاب بدر الدين حسن بن ادريس بن الحسن البدرى الشرفى القرشى
الانفى داعي اليمن والهند والسند.

At the end ninety rules about marriage.

The *fetāwā* deal with marriage, divorce, and kindred matters.

11. كتاب تربية المؤمنين

Copyist : عبد الحسين بن ملا هبة الله. Written at Jubbulpur, A.H. 1347. f. 304 ; lines to a page, 17 or 18.

الجزأ الاول من كتاب تربية المؤمنين يتلوه الجزأ الثانى منه بالتوفيق على
حدود باطن علم الدين من كتاب تأويل دعائم الاسلام.
المجلس الاول من الجزأ الاول.

A blank page is left and the second section (النصف الثانى) begins with الجنائز. The volume ends in the seventh part with الدفون والقبور.

Another part of the same work.

Incomplete at both ends, f. 111 ; lines to a page, 13 ; Oriental paper, big coarse writing.

Begins المجلس السابع من الجزأ التاسع

Ends المجلس العاشر من الجزأ الحادى عشر

Deals with pilgrimage, ending with فوات الحج.



A *Qaṣīda* on the Destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols

By JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI

(PLATE I)

HARDLY ever has Islām survived a more disastrous and more mournful event than the destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols of Hūlāghū Khān in the middle of the month of al-Muḥarram of the year 656/January, 1258. The Mongol conqueror, after having subdued the Assassins, turned against the capital of the ‘Abbāsids and captured it without any resistance. The fall of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate was followed by a veritable reign of terror which lasted for forty days. Baghdād was plundered during this dismal period, its entire population was massacred mercilessly with the exception of the Christians, the co-religionists of Hūlāghū Khān’s wife and father. The Caliph al-Musta‘īm and his sons fell victims to the fury of the enraged conqueror, who put them to death. And to complete the disaster, a great conflagration destroyed many parts of the city.¹

But all the more remarkable is the fact that we possess only very scanty accounts of this veritable martyrdom of Islām in Arabic literary sources. The most reliable author on the history of the ‘Abbāsīds, Ibn al-Athīr, closes his *Al-kāmil fit-tārīkh* as early as the year 628/1230-1. Among the later historians “neither Abul-Faraj nor Abulfidā affords much information on this subject. Indeed, of the Mongol siege in the seventh century A.H. we know far less than we do, thanks to Ṭabarī, of the first siege in the time of the Caliph Amīn in the second century A.H.”²

So far as Arabic literature is concerned,³ we possess only three descriptions of some length of these disastrous days of the history of Islām. One is by Ibn aṭ-Ṭiṭṭaḳā, who in 701/1301-2 wrote his famous *Al-kitāb al-Fakhrī fil-ādāb as-sultāniyya wad-duwal al-islāmiyya*,

¹ For the details see G. Le Strange, *Baghdād during the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate*, Oxford-London, 1900, p. 343.

² See Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

³ As for Persian literature, the following historical works contain narratives of this event: (1) The *Ṭabaqāt an-Nāṣiri*, written shortly after 656/1258, is a contemporary authority on the times of Hūlāghū; (2) the *Jāmi‘ at-tawārīkh*, Rashīd-addīn’s well-known work, finished in 710/1310-11, provides a fairly clear account of the siege operations; (3) the history of Wasāf, the historiographer of Ghāzān, the Ilkhān of Persia, written in 700/1300-1, contains only the data related also by Rashīdaddīn. See Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-1.

at the end of which ¹ he describes the Mongol siege. The second is by Ibn al-Furât, who lived one century later (died in 807/1404-5), and records the same event in his hitherto unedited *Ta'rikh ad-duwal wal-mulūk*.² The third is by adh-Dhahabî (died in 748/1348), who in his hitherto unedited and voluminous *Ta'rikh al-islām*³ devotes a separate chapter to the fall of Baghdād,⁴ which not only gives a detailed account of the event, but also includes a *qaṣīda* lamenting the decline of the glorious city.

The Author.—The author of this *qaṣīda* is called by adh-Dhahabî Taqīaddīn Ismā'īl ibn abī'l-Yusr. His name is not to be found in any European bibliographical work on Arabic literature, because no literary work bearing this name has come down to us. In Oriental bibliographical works on Arabic literature we only find two references to this author. The one is contained in the *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* of Muḥammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (died in 764/1362-3), the continuator of Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān*. At the beginning of his work al-Kutubī gives a short biographical account on the author of our *qaṣīda*.⁵ His name is accordingly Taqīaddīn ibn abī'l-Yusr Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn abī'l-Yusr, "*musnid ash-Shām*." His uncle was a scribe of the chancery of the Ayyūbid Nūraddīn, and he himself was scribe to an-Nāṣir Dā'ud,⁶ who was also a good poet. He is characterized by al-Kutubī as being "distinguished in letter-writing, excellent in poetry and very eloquent in speaking". He was charged with the prince's chancery, with the superintendency of the cemetery, and with other administrative affairs.

Al-Kutubī's record is supplemented by a reference in as-Suyūṭī's continuation of the *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz* of adh-Dhahabī,⁷ where we read that it was from a certain Ibn abī'l-Yusr that the grammarian Shamsaddīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abbās ibn abī Bakr ibn Ja'wān (died in 674/1275-6) learnt. As this scholar lived at the time of an-Nāṣir Dā'ud, this reference undoubtedly relates to our author, not to his father, who bore the same name of Ibn abī'l-Yusr.

¹ See the edition of W. Ahlwardt, Gotha-Göttingen, 1860, pp. 383-8.

² See Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 343, note.

³ See my paper, "*The Ta'rikh al-islām of adh-Dhahabī*," *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, pp. 815-855.

⁴ See the MS. of the Bodleian Library (Ury), No. 654, fols. 248-250, under the title *Kā'ina Baghdād*.

⁵ See the edition of Bülāq, A.H. 1299, vol. i, pp. 12-14.

⁶ See the *Mukhtaṣar ta'rikh al-baṣhar* of Abulhidā, printed at Istanbul 1286, vol. iii, pp. 204-5, according to which an-Nāṣir Dā'ud, the son of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, died on 27 Jumādā'l-Ūlā, 656 2 June, 1258.

⁷ See the edition of Wüstenfeld, xxi, 3.

Our author's excellent qualities as recorded by al-Kutubī, and in particular his talent for poetry, were certainly well known in his own time. Al-Kutubī quotes some lines from his poetical works, but does not mention any independent anthology or other work by him. This is probably due to the circumstance that his poems were read only by a limited number of courtiers and scholars in Damascus. In view of this, it is fortunate that adh-Dhahabī, who lived about half a century later, could still recover a *qaṣīda* by him and preserve it in his *Ta'riḫ al-islām*, in the narrative of A.H. 656.

The Poem.—It is owing to adh-Dhahabī's conscientious citation of his sources that this poem remains as the only work known to be extant of Taqiāddīn Ismā'il ibn abī'l-Yusr. Considering the care shown by adh-Dhahabī in quoting and copying his authorities, there can be no doubt that this poem also was rendered by him as accurately as possible.

Among the MSS. of the *Ta'riḫ al-islām* we possess two volumes containing our *qaṣīda*. One is in the Bodleian Library, No. 654 in the catalogue of Ury. In this MS., which was written by a hand later to adh-Dhahabī, the *qaṣīda* is contained on foll. 249-9b. The other MS. is in Istanbul in the Aya-Sophia library, No. 3013, and has not been yet catalogued. As, according to Professor O. Spiesz, who has seen this MS., it is an autograph of adh-Dhahabī himself,¹ it is from this latter MS. that I have copied the text of the *qaṣīda*,² to which I have appended an English translation.

لِسَائِلِ الدَّمْعِ عَنْ بَعْدَادِ إِيخْبَارُ فَا وَقُوفُكَ وَالْأَحْبَابُ قَدْ سَارُوا
يَا زَائِرِينَ إِلَى الزُّورَاءِ لَا تَقْدُوا فَا بِذَلِكَ الْحَمَى وَالْدَّارِ دِيَارُ
تَاجُ الْخِلَافَةِ وَالرَّبْعُ الَّذِي شَرَفَتْ بِهِ الْمَعَالِمُ قَدْ عَفَاهُ إِقْفَارُ
أَضْحَى لِعَطْفِ الْبَلَى فِي رَبْعِهِ أَثْرٌ وَلِلدَّمُوعِ عَلَى الْآثَارِ³ آثَارُ

¹ See his "Beiträge zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte", *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Leipzig, 1932, p. 70.

² I have to thank the obliging courtesy of the direction of the *Archaeologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches, Abteilung Istanbul*, which has been so kind as to have the poem photographed from the MS. of the Aya-Sophia library and to obtain for this purpose a special permit from the Ministry of Public Instruction at Ankara. The photograph is reproduced in the accompanying plate.

³ In the MS. of the Bodleian Library الديار.

5 يَا نَارَ قَلْبِي مِنْ نَارِ لِحْرَبٍ وَغَى
 عَمَلَا الصَّلِيبِ عَلَيَّ أَعْلَى مَنَابِرِهَا
 وَكَمْ حَرِيمٍ سَبَبَتْهُ الثَّرْكُ غَاصِبَةً
 وَكَمْ بُدُورٍ عَلَيَّ الْبَدْرِيَّةِ اُنْحَسَفَتْ¹
 وَكَمْ ذَخَائِرَ أَضْحَتْ وَهَى شَائِعَةً
 10 وَكَمْ حُدُودٍ أُقِيمَتْ مِنْ سِيُوفِهِمْ
 نَادَيْتُ وَالسَّبْيُ صَهْتُوكَ تَجْرُهُمْ
 وَهُمْ يُسَاقُونَ لِلْمَوْتِ الَّذِي شَهِدُوا
 وَاللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْقَوْمَ أَغْفَلَهُمْ
 فَأَهْمَلُوا جَانِبَ الْجَبَّارِ إِذْ غَفَلُوا
 15 يَا لِلرِّجَالِ بِأَحْدَاثٍ تَحْدَثُنَا
 مِنْ بَعْدِ أَسْرِ بَنِي الْعَبَّاسِ كَلِيمِ
 مَا رَاقَ لِي قَطُّ شَيْءٌ بَعْدَ بَيْنِهِمْ
 لَمْ يَبْقَ لِلدِّينِ وَالْدُّنْيَا وَقَدْ ذَهَبُوا
 إِنْ الْقِيَمَةَ فِي بَعْدَادَ قَدْ وُجِدَتْ
 20 أَلِ النَّبِيِّ وَأَهْلِ الْعِلْمِ قَدْ سَيَّبُوا
 مَا كُنْتُ أَمَلُ أَنْ أَبْقَى وَقَدْ ذَهَبُوا
 شَبَّتْ عَلَيْهِ وَوَأَفَى الرَّبْعِ اِعْصَارُ
 وَقَامَ بِالْأَمْرِ مَنْ يَحْوِيهِ زُنَارُ
 وَكَانَ مِنْ دُونَ ذَلِكَ الْبَسْتَرِ اسْتَارُ
 وَلَمْ يَعُدْ لِبُدُورٍ مِنْهُ² اِبْدَارُ
 مِنَ النَّهَابِ وَقَدْ حَازَتْهُ كُفَّارُ
 عَلَى الرَّقَابِ وَحُطَّتْ فِيهِ أَوْزَارُ
 إِلَى السِّفَاحِ مِنَ الْأَعْدَاءِ دُعَارُ
 النَّارِ يَا رَبِّ مَنْ هَذَا وَلَا أَعَارُ
 مَا كَانَ مِنْ نِعَمٍ فِيهِنَّ اِكْتَارُ
 فَجَاءَهُمْ³ مِنْ جُنُودِ الْكُفْرِ جَبَّارُ
 بِمَا غَدَا فِيهِ اِعْذَارُ وَإِنْذَارُ
 فَلَا أَنْارُ لَوْجِهِ الصُّبْحِ اسْفَارُ
 إِلَّا أَحَادِيثُ أَرْوِيهَا وَأَنَارُ
 سَوْقٍ لِمَجْدِهِ وَقَدْ بَانُوا وَقَدْ بَارُوا
 وَحَدَّثَهَا حِينَ لِيْلٍ قَبَالِ اِذْبَارُ
 فَمَنْ تَرَى بَعْدَهُمْ تَحْوِيَهُ اِمْنَارُ
 لَكِنْ أَتَى دُونَ مَا اخْتَارُ⁷ اِقْدَارُ

1 MS. انْحَسَفَتْ.

2 MS. Bodl. الحى.

3 Ibid. فهاجم.

4 Ibid. اِتَا.

5 Ibid. شرف لمجد.

6 Sic!

7 MS. Bodl. اخبار.

1. The fast-flowing tears give tidings of [the fate of] Baghdād ;
why stayest thou, when the lovers have departed ?
2. Ye pilgrims to az-Zawrā' ¹ go not forth ; for in that sanctuary
and abode is no inhabitant.
3. The crown of the Caliphate and the house whereby the rites of
the Faith were exalted is laid waste by desolation.
4. There appear in the morning light traces of the assault of decay
in its habitation, and tears have left their marks upon its ruins.
5. O fire of my heart, for a fire of clamorous war that blazed out
upon it, when a whirlwind smote the habitation !
6. High stands the Cross over the tops of its minbars, and he whom
a girdle ² used to confine has become master.
7. How many an inviolate household has the Turk taken captive
with violent hands, though before that curtain were many
protecting bastions !
8. How many [youths like] full moons [in beauty] upon al-Badriyya³
have been eclipsed, and never again shall there be a rising of
full moons therefrom (v.l. "of the tribe or quarter") !
9. How many treasures have become scattered abroad through
plundering, and passed into the possession of infidels !
10. How many punishments have been inflicted by their swords
upon men's necks, how many burdens [of sin] there laid down !
11. I called out, as the captives were dishonoured and licentious
men of the enemy dragged them to ravishment—
12. And they were driven like cattle to the death that they beheld,
"The Fire, O my Lord, rather than this—not the shame !"
13. God knows that the people [of Baghdād] were made negligent
by what they enjoyed of divine favours, wherein was
abundance,
14. So they grew heedless of the wrath of the Almighty, since they
became negligent, and there came upon them a mighty one of
the hosts of infidelity.
15. Who shall aid men against calamities which tell us of that wherein
is [for us] summons to judgment and warning ?

¹ Baghdād, said to be so called because one of its inner gates was set askew (*izwarrat*—so *Qīmās*, s.v., but for other explanations see Le Strange, *Baghdād*, p. 11).

² The *zunnār*, or cord waistband, was one of the distinguishing marks of Jews and Christians.

³ A quarter of Baghdād near the Bāb Badr : Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-2.

16. After the capture of all the house of al-'Abbās, may no brightening illumine the face of the dawn !
17. Nothing has ever given me pleasure since their departure save Sayings of the Prophet that I pass on and Traditions of the Fathers.
18. There remains for neither the Faith nor the world, now that they are gone, any market of glory, for they have passed away and perished.
19. Truly the Day of Judgment has been held in Baghdād, and her term, when to prosperity succeeds adversity.
20. The family of the Prophet and the household of learning have been taken captive, and whom, think you, after their loss, will cities contain ?
21. I never hoped that I should remain when they had gone, but destiny has intervened before my choice.

An Analysis.—As regards its contents, our *qaṣīda* can be divided into three nearly equal parts. The first part (ll. 1–6), after a short invocation, describes Baghdād as a venerated centre of religion which was laid waste by the enemies of Islām, who are accused of promoting Christianity (l. 6). The second part (ll. 7–14) poetically describes the sack and plundering of the once rich city and the slaughter of its inhabitants, and hints that those terrors are a punishment inflicted by God for the heedlessness of His people (ll. 13–14). The third part (ll. 15–21) is a mournful final accord which is not unlike the “*lasciate ogni speranza*” of Dante : there is no hope left after the fall of the ‘Abbāsids under whose rule the city flourished and the sciences were cultivated ; even the poet himself had not hoped to remain alive after that veritable Day of Judgment (l. 21).

Our poem is consequently a funeral ode and belongs to a special class of *qaṣīdas*. In their development all the earliest varieties of Arabic poetry assumed the *qaṣīda*-form, and the dirge (*marthiyya*) also shared in this process. The sentiments felt at the death of the beloved were first expressed by the simple unpoetical *niyāha*, then by *saj'*-verses, of which there developed short metric sayings of some length, and finally the perfect *marthiyya* in the metric varieties of the *qaṣīda*.¹ Our *qaṣīda* consequently belongs to the class of the *marthiyya-qaṣīdas*.

But whereas the *marthiyya*, as a rule, laments the loss of a prominent

¹ See Goldziher, *Bemerkungen zur arabischen Trauerpoesie*, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. xvi, 1902, pp. 307–311.

person or a tribe, enumerating his or its qualities, our *qaṣīda* is a typical example of a funeral ode lamenting the fall of a city.

Our poem, nevertheless, has all the necessary requisites and characteristic features common to every *qaṣīda*. Short as it is—consisting only of twenty-one double verses—it is a fine piece of post-classical Arabic poetry written in elegant language, and in the *basīṭ* metre, the solemn rhythm of which is especially suited to the dirge.

But, in addition to these common characteristics of the *qaṣīda*, our poem also shows some peculiarities shared by the *marthiyya-qaṣīdas* only.

(1) The absence of the *nasīb*. Whereas in the ordinary *qaṣīda* the opening *nasīb* is an essential requisite, it never occurs in the *marthiyya-qaṣīda*, since the object of the funeral ode is quite different.¹ Instead of the *nasīb* there are some constant formulæ with which a *marthiyya* begins. Thus the poet sometimes refers to the tears shed on a tragic event, which is also to be seen in our *qaṣīda* referring to the tears of those who lament the fall of Baghdād (l. 1).

(2) The repetition of the name of the lamented person,² which is represented here by some poetical names of Baghdād, as *az-Zawrā'* (l. 2) and *Tāj al-khilāfa* (l. 3).

(3) The repetition of the same phrase at the beginning of several consecutive double-verses. This had been regarded from the beginning as a peculiarity of the *niyāha*, and, retained through its later poetical development, it was also used in the period of decadence as an archaistic rhetorical trick employed not only in the *marthiyya-qaṣīda*, but also in other classes of *qaṣīdas*.³ Thus we see in our *qaṣīda* the four-fold repetition of the phrase *wa kam* "and how many" (ll. 7–10).⁴

With these characteristic features our *qaṣīda* is a fine *marthiyya-qaṣīda* from the period of decadence of Arabic literature. It is worthy of our attention for two reasons.

Firstly, it is the only hitherto known work of Taqiāddīn Ismā'īl

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 327–330, where we read that according to Ibn Rashīq in his '*Umda fī maḥāsīn ash-shi'r*', he could not find any *nasībs* in the *marāthī* with the exception of a *qaṣīda* by Durayd ibn aṣ-Ṣimma. But even this exception is explained by the circumstance that this poem was written one year after the death of the lamented person, when the blood-ransom for his sake had been fulfilled already, so that the poet could employ a *nasīb* to express his other feelings with the deceased person.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 313–14.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 314–320.

⁴ The same *wa kam* is repeated by Abū Nuwās thirteen times in a *qaṣīda* (Dīwān, ed. by Iskandar Asaf, Cairo, 1898, p. 140). See the note in Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

ibn abi'l-Yusr and a specimen of post-classical Arabic poetry written in the refined style of the court-poets.

Secondly, it is to our knowledge the only poem lamenting the fall of Baghdād and is an excellent poetical expression of the contemporary sentiment felt at the fall of the 'Abbāsids and at the tragedy of their capital. Despite the decadence of the last 'Abbāsids, their prestige was still so great throughout the Muslim world that even the court-poet of the then flourishing Ayyūbid dynasty in Damascus could not help lamenting that with them the splendour of Islām had passed away and that after the capture of the Prophet's family he could not hope either to remain alive. His presentiment was justified, because one generation later, in 699-700/1299-1301, his own city, Damascus, and the Ayyūbid empire were invaded by the same Mongols who, after destroying the "crown of the caliphate", swept over all the Muslim Orient.

Early Arabic Printing at the Cape of Good Hope

By S. A. ROCHLIN

A THOROUGH and scientific treatment of the historiography of the African Muslim peoples and institutions south of the Zambesi is a long-felt and eminent want. As yet, this particular field of research has hardly been explored, and its results, if collected and evaluated, would add tangibly to our contemporary knowledge of Oriental penetration in lands where Europeans have founded new homes and fostered a vitalist conception of Occidental civilization.

Especially in South Africa, with its thousands of Muslim devotees adding weight to the daily and serious problems of the country, such a survey should be encouraged for, as the most erudite of South African historians—the late Dr. George McCall Theal—recalled in an interview before he left London (*vide Cape Times*, February, 1926), the more he had delved into the manuscripts at Lisbon and at the Vatican, the more convinced he had become that the Arabic historiographers and geographers were worth the study of the Cape historian. More fittingly has the late Sir Thomas Arnold expressed this conviction: "Very little notice has been taken of these Muslims by European travellers, or even by their co-religionists until recently." (*The Preaching of Islam*, London, 1896, p. 284.)¹

Prompted by this motive, this small contribution to Islamica essays to reveal another facet of the growth of Muslim society in South Africa. I attempt to trace the one or two efforts made to introduce Arabic printing at the Cape of Good Hope as well as the

¹ The case is otherwise when one searches the range of Africana for references by European travellers (from the early days of the D.E.I.C. until our times) to local Muslims, who are more popularly called "Cape Malays"—a name which has been applied broadly to the co-religionists of various races who came from the Eastern seas, India, Ceylon, Eastern Africa, and whose oldest section came from the Malay Archipelago. Much material exists, but it has not yet received adequate attention. It is clear that Sir Thomas Arnold did not have the opportunity to conduct such a search. In his *Preaching of Islam* (second edition, London, 1913, pp. 350-2), he gives a short history of this people. Anent them the brilliant series of articles on "Vertolking aan die Kaap in Maleis en Portugees" and "Maleise en Portugeuse Relikte aan die Kaap van Vandag", which appeared in the Cape Town Afrikaans weekly, *Die Huisgenoot*, between May and November, 1930, and written by Professor Dr. J. L. M. Franken, repay scrutiny for linguistic purposes. Cf. "Two Cape Town Catechisms" in the *Moslem World* (New York, October, 1925), and S. M. Zwemer's *Across the World of Islam* (New York, 1929, p. 252) for present day instances.

broader non-Islamic causes which necessitated this movement.¹ At the same time, it must be taken into consideration that typography was introduced only recently into the Arabic-thinking world,² and this aspect, too, cannot be left out of our picture.

Before proceeding with my main case, I desire to point out this fact (for it, too, has some bearing on our discussion), that Qur'ans were available for local religious purposes³ some time before 1806—the year which saw the final conquest of the Cape of Good Hope by the British—and so helped to spread the knowledge of matters

¹ No full-sized history of local printing has been compiled. Neither A. C. G. Lloyd in *The Printing Press: First Production in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1910), nor Sydney Mendelssohn in his authoritative *South African Bibliography* (London, 1910), throw any light on our subject. Dr. R. A. Nicholson's *A Literary History of the Arabs* (second edition, Cambridge, 1930) does not, of course, mention it at all.

² For example, in Persia, c. A.D. 1816–17 (*The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia: Partly Based on the Manuscript Work of Mirza Mūhammad 'Alī Khān "Tarbiyat" of Tabriz*, by E. G. Browne (Cambridge, 1914, p. 8)) and in Constantinople about 1727 (*Encyc. of Islam*, s.v. Turks, iv, 919a; cf. *A History of the War in Bosnia*, trans. from the Turkish by C. Fraser, London, Oriental Trans. Fund, 1830, p. 884).

³ It may be of interest to note that Old and New Testaments in Arabic lettering were sent to the Cape from Holland for transmission to the East. Cf. *Kaapse Archiefstukken Lopende over het Jaar 1778*, door K.M. Jeffreys, M.A. (Cape Town, 1926, pp. 497, 499); "Ontvangen met 'de Behemoth' den 27th Dec., 1778." J. S. Mayson in his *The Malays of Cape Town* (Manchester, 1855, p. 8) states that in "1820–1 a number of distinguished Arabs, from the Island of Johanna in the Mozambique Channel, visited the Colony. They were kindly received by the Government, and were hospitably entertained by the Malays, whom they further instructed in the faith and practice of Islam, and with whom they (the Malays) have since corresponded, sending them also supplies of the Koran and other books."

Also, I may refer to the presence of two Muslim authors at the Cape sometime during the eighteenth century, seeing, as far as I am aware, that as yet no presentable account of their careers have been published, and Mendelssohn does not index their volumes in his *South African Bibliography*. They, too, knew Arabic, and are, perhaps, the first of their co-religionists to have penned something regarding the Cape. (1) *Shigurf Namahi Velact, or Excellent Intelligence Concerning Europe, being the Travels of Mirza Itesa Moleen*, translated from the Original Persian MS., etc., by J. E. Alexander (London, 1827). C. E. Buckland in his *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (London, 1906, pp. 217–18), writes thus, *inter alia*: "Iti-sam-ud-Din (?) . . . about 1765–6 accompanied Captain Swinton to Europe as *munshi*, on a mission to deliver Shah Alam's letter to George III: he was the first educated native of Bengal to visit England and describe his journey: returned after nearly three years' absence to India: wrote the *Shipurf-nama*, or 'Wonder Book': a popular work in India: he was careful and painstaking in his observations." Cf. H. G. Keene's *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1894, p. 186). (2) *The Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa, and Europe during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803*, written by himself in the Persian Language, and translated by Charles Stewart (London, 1810, 2 vols). According to the *British Museum General Catalogue*, vol. i, p. 246, Abu Taleb Khan edited the works of Hafiz (in Persian, 1791). The best biography of him (to my mind) is to be found in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle* (Paris, 1843, vol. i, pp. 85–7).

devotional among them. Zwemer writes thus : " Another name in the early history of Islam in South Africa is that of Abdullah Abdusalam, a later convict who, when he received his liberty, called the Moslems together, and instructed them in their faith. He knew the Arabic Koran by heart, and is said to have written out the whole of it from memory. This first copy of the Cape Koran is a treasured possession in the Moslem community. He died at the age of ninety-five, and many of the faithful visit his grave on Fridays, and his tombstone which, although well kept, bears no inscription. His descendants became prominent men in the Moslem community of South Africa. One of them is head of a dervish order." (*Across the World of Islam*, pp. 245-6). Alas, there is no definiteness about the local edition of the Qur'an, and no trustworthy written evidence exists regarding the scribe ever having performed such a labour.

The first notification of an attempted introduction of Arabic printing in this country appeared in this wise :—

" Among the publications recently received in the South African Public Library is a work entitled *Roostum Zaboollee and Soohrah* " and in the *Appendix* to this volume we observe an English version of the *Hidayut-ool-Islam, or a Guide to Faith and Practice, being the Book of Common Prayer of the Moohummudans* : Translated from the Arabic, Persian, and Hindoostanee Languages, by W. T. Robertson, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Establishment. We understand that this gentleman, who is at present in Cape Town, intends to get the original Text printed in the Arabic character, together with his translation into English, and a version into the Dutch tongue, for the benefit of the Malay Moslims throughout the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. It was his intention, we believe, to have printed the work at this place— but, as none of the local presses can supply Oriental type, he proposes to superintend the printing of the Text, together with English and Dutch translations, on his approaching return to Calcutta. It is self-evident that a Book of Common Prayer, in a language understood by the community of Malays in this Colony, must prove valuable and acceptable as well as useful and instructive.

" Debased, depraved, ignorant, and self-willed as the Malays of Cape Town are, and as little inclined to encourage the sanguinary and sensual dogmas of the Arab imposter, we are nevertheless glad to discover any method by which the unexceptionable portions of his creed may be known to his followers in this quarter of the world." (*The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, 1830, vol. i, No. 2, p. 18.)

Thus, it can be easily evidenced that Christian missionary effort was responsible for the proposal to initiate the above venture. For the propagation of Muslim beliefs among the non-Christian blacks had excited attention, and the contemporary newspapers and official

documents give a clue to this tendency.¹ “The Malays, who are supposed to amount to nearly three thousand,” opines the anonymous author of the *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822* (London, 1823, p. 68), “carry on their devotion in rooms and halls fitted up for the purpose, and occasionally in the stone quarries near the town. One of their imans is said to be a learned man, well-learned in the Hebrew and Arabic tongues, and in Al Coran, which he chants with taste and devotion. It must be acknowledged with shame and sorrow that Mahometanism makes great progress amongst the lowest orders at the Cape. But where there is the greatest zeal, there will be the most effect.”

On the whole, the viewpoint of the European public respecting them seemed to be favourable, the proviso being that the Muslims should act in a law-abiding manner towards themselves and the state. Commenting on the effect upon non-whites of the publication of the famous 50th Ordinance, the most representative journal of the day—*The South African Commercial Advertiser*, 27th December, 1828—writes editorially :—

“As to the public worship of the Mahomedans, although it was tolerated, no Proclamation of Law, as far as we know, was ever issued in this Colony, by which it was sanctioned or recognized! Perfect toleration was however one of the few praiseworthy principles of the old system.

“Thus we have seen, that an industrious and peaceable class of inhabitants, whom an enlightened policy would have cherished and perfected, were, up to July 3, 1828, treated with the utmost harshness and ignominy. Their marriages were declared unlawful, and their issue degraded. They were refused admission to the rights of Burghership. They could not hold landed property nor remain in the Colony, though born there, without special permission and ample security. They were placed under the arbitrary control of the Burgher Senate and Landdrosts—compelled to perform public services gratuitously—punished at discretion with stripes and imprisonment—unable to leave their homes without a Pass—their houses entered and searched at pleasure by the police. They were liable to arrest without a warrant—and yet they were Taxed up to the lips, like the other Free inhabitants.

“Since their Emancipation, their conduct has been most exemplary, and on some occasions their promptitude in rendering assistance in case of Fire—no longer compulsory—has called forth the public approbation of the Head of the Police Department. Many of them are men of the most estimable character, inoffensive in their demeanour

¹ Consult G. McC. Theal's *Records of the Cape Colony*, vol. xxviii, pp. 36-8; vol. xxxv, pp. 138 ff.

and humane and generous in their dispositions. And the whole class may be considered as a most valuable addition—the fruit of the late Ordinance—to our effective and improving Population.”

But this orientation of feeling became intensified after 1838—the final year of the Abolition of Slavery at the Cape. Needless to declare, the Cape Malays rejoiced in their new status as citizens of the land. Under such auspices, they continued to thrive numerically and spiritually.

This was the spirit which prevailed when the second introduction of Arabic typography (this time a successful affair) was announced :—

“ Under the title of ‘Cape Genius’ the *Folksblad* contains the following account of a Mahommedan Catechism in Arabic, printed in Cape Town : ‘ We have received to-day the first number of a Malay Catechism, *Gablomalien*. The printer of the work is Mr. M. C. Schongewel (Greenmarket Square). It is entirely in the Arabic language, and in every way reflects great credit on the printer, its execution being very good. The work particularly deserves our attention and admiration, as the printer had to set the very difficult letters himself, which is not only a very troublesome task but a tedious one, too. It will consist of twenty numbers, and will be published from time to time. We have often had occasion to admire the beautiful specimens of Lithography executed by Mr. Schongewel, and we would wish that that gentleman present a copy to the South African Museum, in order that the public also may be enabled to put a proper estimate on his ability.’ ” (*South African Commercial Advertiser*, 26th July, 1856.)¹

Yet further concern in the matter did not wane. The nineteenth century witnessed another notable effort made in this direction. At Constantinople, in 1877, the Turkish Ministry of Education issued an Arabic-written publication in the Cape Malay dialect to serve as a handbook of the principles of the Islamic religion.² Since then several minor attempts have been made to organize Arabic

¹ No copy of this work appears to be extant. It is worth while, at this juncture, to mark this statement of Dr. T. H. Hahn in *An Index of the Grey Collection at the South African Public Library* (Cape Town, 1884, p. 362) : “ Arabic MSS. Lessons read from the pulpit before the prayers, Friday of Lobberang (Cape Malay name for *Eid-ul-Fitr*. S.R.). Probably written at the Cape. 8vo.” Owing to the great distance between Cape Town and Johannesburg, where the present study was written, I have not been able to examine these MSS.

² M. J. de Goeje, “ Mohammedanische Propaganda ” in *Nederlandsche Spectator*, No. 51, 1881. For further Turkish interests in the Cape Malays, *vide The Mussulman Population at the Cape of Good Hope*, by Maximilien Kollisch, Directeur du Journal International *Les Deux Mondes* (Constantinople, 1867).

typographical endeavours on a firmer basis, but this latter development is outside of the purview of this study.¹

¹ Apropos the above subject, on all accounts, the best Arabist who resided at the Cape during the nineteenth century, and who helped to awaken concern in the Cape Malays through the medium of his missionary endeavours, was Dr. John M. Arnold, a Church of England minister. His *Ishmael or a Natural History of Islamism, and its Relation to Christianity* (London, 1859), was well thought of. At any rate, Thomas P. Hughes in his *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1895, pp. 237, 242) considers Arnold's *Islam and Christianity* (London, 1874), a first-rate work. Locally, it is difficult to discover further biographical details respecting him. The *Dictionary of National Biography* contains no reference to his labours.

Graeco-Indian Notes

By OTTO STEIN

I. PRAMNAI

IN one of the contributions to the volume of Indian Studies presented to Professor Rapson (*BSOS.*, vi, 2, pp. 285 ff.), Dr. L. D. Barnett criticizes the explanation of the term Pramnai in Strabo's *Geogr.*, xv, 1, 70 (C. 719), given by Mr. E. R. Bevan (*CHI.*, i, 421). Instead of the identification of the Pramnai with the *prāmāṇikas*¹ Dr. Barnett proposes to see in the word a Sanskrit *prājñā*. I must confess not to be convinced by the explanation of Dr. Barnett, neither from the point of view of an antagonism between *brāhmanas* and sectaries, who, "opposed to Aupaniṣada Brahmans, and to Brahmans generally", "endeavoured by means of a carefully disciplined and studiously harmless life to attain to *prajñā*, practical cleverness, skill in grasping the principles of their crude creed, and in adjusting their conduct to its Procrustean demands"; nor from the philological point of view.

Against the former exists the main argument in the absence of a decisive proof in literature. The only passage, quoted in that connection, *Bhagavadg.*, xvii, 14, loses its value already from the character of this work as well as from the too general meaning of the word, but also from the adduced parallel in Aśokas. *RE.*, iv. For this reason, the unknown use of a sectarian term *prājñā*, it is difficult to understand how the Greek author, whose assertion must not be based on an Indian informant but rather, as shown by his description, on his own observation, perhaps not correctly reproduced by Strabo, might have come to know such a word.² For the linguistic side of the question Dr. Barnett has to have recourse to so many alterations, the least of which is not the supposed reading of *πραγναι*, *πρακναι* and

¹ Already suggested by A. Weber, *Monatsbericht: d. Preuss. A. d. W.*, 1871, p. 627.

² There was a school of agnosticism (*ajñānavāda*), but of a school of *prajñāvidin* nothing is known in the time to which Strabo's source may belong. For the former, see F. O. Schrader, *Ueber den Stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas*, Strassburg, 1902, S. 46 ff.

its confusion with *πραμναι* on account of the "often almost indistinguishable" κ and μ . that one can hardly follow him.

The notice in Strabo goes back to the time either before or after Megasthenes. For the former view can be adduced the introductory passage in the foregoing para. 69 (C. 718), referring to the *συγγραφεῖς*: one would believe that by the term the historians of the Macedonian time are meant,¹ while the mention of the Ganges has to be taken into consideration, and the para. 72 f., following those under discussion 70 f., quote later sources, like Artemidoros (first century B.C.), or allude to later events, like the embassy of "Poros" to Augustus. As shown below, the parallelism between the passage in 70 and other places of Strabo's compilation can hardly be overlooked. The Pramnai are divided into three groups: (1) living in the mountains; (2) naked; (3) secular and wandering.² Of the first it is said that they use skins of deer, wallets filled with roots and drugs, pretending to practise medicine by means of sorcery, magic spells, and amulets: the second group are living, as the name indicates, naked, almost in the open air, practising abstinence during thirty-seven years, as has been mentioned in para. 59 (C. 712); there are women present without having intercourse with them; the members of this group are admired specially. Those of the third group live either in the towns or up country, are dressed in white linen, putting on the skins of fawns or deer. The parallelism between this passage and some other relations of the Macedonian historians make it hardly doubtful that also Strabo's excerpt in para. 70 goes back to a source, bringing in another form an account of the religious men of India of the time of Alexander's invasion.

¹ The historians of Alexander's campaign in India are titled as *συγγραφεῖς* in xv, 1, 9 (C. 688) and 68 (C. 717); where Strabo quotes a special author he confronts to him the assertion of "the others" or of "some", meaning by that, very likely, the *συγγραφεῖς*. Thus in 24 (C. 695), οἱ μὲν περὶ Ἀριστοβουλον; in 34 (C. 702) he mentions ταῦτα μὲν οἱ μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεύσαντες λέγουσιν; in 45 (C. 706) he speaks of Μεγασθένης . . . καὶ ἄλλοι: by ἄλλοι in 30 (C. 699) he refers to stories told in Arrian's *Anab.*, v, 21, according to Jacoby belonging to Ptolemaios (*Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, ii, D, p. 477 ad Onesikritos 21 = *F. Gr. Hist.* 138 F 35); "some" are referred to in 28 (C. 698): φασὶ δ' εἶναι τινες . . . By the term *ξυγγραφεῖς* obviously the historians of Alexander's campaign are meant by Arrian, *Anab.*, vi, 11, 2, dealing with the king's wounded in the battle against the Mallas.

² πολιτικοὺς καὶ προσχωρίους: the words are explained in 71 by κατὰ πόλιν ζῆν ἢ καὶ κατ' ἀγρούς; it seems that these Pramnai were a kind of wandering priests; for an English translation see H. L. Jones in the Loeb Classical Library, vol. vii, of Strabo p. 123, 125, "City" and "Neighbouring" Pramnae.

Strabo, xv, 1. 70 f. (C. 718/19). cf. with :

Φιλοσόφους τε τοῖς "Αλλην δὲ διαίρεσιν ποιεῖται * περι
 Βραχμᾶσιν ἀντιδιαρροῦνται τῶν φιλοσόφων, δύο γένη φάσκων,
 Πράμνας, ἐριστικούς τινας ὧν τοὺς μὲν Βραχμᾶνας καλεῖ, τοὺς δὲ
 καὶ ἐλεγκτικούς Γαρμᾶνας. [Megasthenes fg. (Schwan-
 beck), xli, 4 = Strabo, xv, 1. 59
 (C. 712).]

τοὺς δὲ Βραχμᾶνας Νέαρχος δὲ περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν οὕτω
 φυσιολογίαν καὶ ἀστρονο- λέγει τοὺς μὲν Βραχμᾶνας πολιτεύ-
 μίαν ἀσκεῖν, γελωμένους εσθαι καὶ παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς
 ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὡς ἀλαζόνας βασιλεῦσι συμβούλους, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους
 καὶ ἀνοήτους. σκοπεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν φύσιν . . .
 [Nearch., *F. Gr. Hist.* 133 F 23 —
 Strabo, xv, 1. 66 (C. 716).]

ἔφη δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν περὶ φύσιν
 πολλὰ ἐξετάσαι καὶ προσημασιῶν ὄμ-
 βρων ἀρχῶν νόσων . . . [Onesikrit.
F. Gr. Hist. 134 F 17 = Strabo, xv,
 1, 65 (C. 716).]

τὰ δὲ περὶ φύσιν τὰ μὲν εὐήθειαν
 ἐμφαίνειν φησὶν . . . περὶ πολλῶν
 δὲ τοῖς "Ελλήσων ὁμοδοξεῖν . . .
 [Megasth., xli, 15 f. = Strabo, xv, 1, 59
 (C. 713).]

τούτων δὲ [sc. Πράμνων]
 τοὺς μὲν ὄρειους καλεῖ-
 σθαι, τοὺς δὲ γυμνήτας,
 τοὺς δὲ πολιτικούς καὶ
 προσχωρίους.

τοὺς μὲν ὄρειους δοραῖς
 ἐλάφω χρησθαι, πῆρας
 δ' ἔχειν ριζῶν καὶ φαρμάκων
 μεστάς, προσποιουμένους
 ἰατρικὴν μετὰ γοητείας καὶ
 ἐπωδῶν καὶ περιάπτων.

περὶ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων λέγων τοὺς
 μὲν ὄρειους αὐτῶν φησὶν ὑμνητὰς
 εἶναι τοῦ Διονύσου [Megasth., xli,
 1 = Strabo, xv, 1, 58 (C. 711).]

διατρίβειν δὲ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἐν
 ἄλλει πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ ὑπερβόλω
 συμμέτρῳ, λιτῶς ζῶντας ἐν στιβάσει

καὶ δοραῖς [Megasth., xli, 8 — Strabo, xv, 1. 59 (C. 713).]

καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Νέαρχος λέγει ὅτι συλλελεγμένους ἀμφ' αὐτῶν εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰνδῶν ὅσοι ἰητρικὴν σοφώτατοι, καὶ κεκήρυκτο ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅστις δηχθείη ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν φοιτᾶν τοῦ [τὴν Roos] βασιλέως. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νούσων τε καὶ παθέων ἰητροὶ ἦσαν. οὐ πολλὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰνδοῖσι πάθεα γίνεται, ὅτι αἱ ὤραι σύμμετροί εἰσιν αὐτόθι· εἰ δέ τι μείζον καταλαμβάνοι, τοῖσι σοφιστῆσιν ἀνεκοινοῦντο· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ ἐδόκεον ἰῆσθαι ὅτι περ ἰήσιμον. [Nearch., *F. Gr. Hist.* 133 F 10a = Arrian. *Ind.*, xv, 11 f.]

ἐπωδούς δὲ περιφοιτᾶν ἰᾶσθαι πεπιστευμένους, καὶ εἶναι σχεδόν τι μόνην ταύτην ιατρικὴν· μηδὲ γὰρ νόσους εἶναι πολλὰς διὰ τὴν λιτότητα τῆς διαίτης καὶ τὴν ἀοινίαν· εἰ δὲ γένοιτο, ἰᾶσθαι τοὺς σοφιστάς. [Nearch., *F. Gr. Hist.* 133 F 10b = Strabo, xv, 1, 45 (C. 706).]

. . . τὴν δὲ βοήθειαν ῥαδίαν εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ρίζων καὶ φαρμάκων. [Aristobul., *F. Gr. Hist.* 139 F 38 = Strabo, xv, 1. 45 (C. 706).]

Τοὺς δὲ Γαρμᾶνας . . . μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑλοβίους δευτερεύειν κατὰ τιμὴν τοὺς ιατρικοὺς καὶ ὡς περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον φιλοσόφους, λιτοὺς μὲν μὴ ἀγραύλους δέ, ὀρύζῃ καὶ ἀλφίτοις τρεφομένους, ἃ παρέχειν αὐτοῖς πάντα τὸν αἰτηθέντα καὶ ὑποδεξάμενον ξενία· δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ πολυγόνους ποιεῖν καὶ ἀρρενογόνους καὶ θηλυγόνους διὰ φαρμακευτικῆς· τὴν δὲ ιατρείαν διὰ

σιτίαν τὸ πλεόν, οὐ διὰ φαρμάκων ἐπιτελείσθαι· τῶν φαρμάκων δὲ μάλιστα εὐδοκιμεῖν τὰ ἐπίχριστα καὶ τὰ καταπλάσματα, τᾶλλα δὲ κακουργίας πολὺ μετέχειν. [Megasth., xli, 20 f. = Strabo, xv, 1, 60 (C. 713).]

μὴ ἀκριβοῦν δὲ τὰς ἐπιστήμας πλὴν ἰατρικῆς. [Onesikr., *F. Gr. Hist.* 134 F 24 = Strabo, xv, 1, 34 (C. 701).]

τοὺς δὲ γυμνήτας κατὰ τοῦνομα γυμνοὺς διαζῆν, ὑπαιθρίους τὸ πλεόν, καρτερίαν ἀσκούντας ἦν ἔφαμεν πρότερον μέχρι ἐπὶ τὰ [ἐτῶν] καὶ τριάκοντα· γυναῖκας δὲ συνεῖναι μὴ μιγνυμένας αὐτοῖς· τούτους δὲ θαυμάζεσθαι διαφερόντως.

οὗτοι γυμνοὶ διαιτῶνται οἱ σοφισταί, τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος, ἐπὴν ὁ ἥλιος κατέχη, ἐν τοῖς λειμῶσι καὶ τοῖσιν ἔλεσιν ὑπὸ δένδροισι μεγάλοισιν. [Nearch., *F. Gr. Hist.* 133 F 6 = Arrian. Ind. xi, 7.]

Νεάρχος δὲ περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν οὕτω λέγει· . . . συμφιλοσοφεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ γυναῖκας, τὰς δὲ διαίτας ἀπάντων σκληράς. [Nearch., *F. Gr. Hist.* 133 F 23 = Strabo, xv, 1, 66 (C. 716).]

Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τῶν ἐν Ταξίλοις σοφιστῶν ἰδεῖν δύο φησί· . . . καρτερίαν διδάσκειν . . . ἐπιτιμώμενον δ' ὑπὸ τινων λέγειν ὡς ἐκπληρώσειε τὰ τετταράκοντα ἔτη τῆς ἀσκήσεως . . . [Aristob., *F. Gr. Hist.* 139 F 41 = Strabo, xv, 1, 61 (C. 714).]

Τοὺς δὲ Γαρμᾶνας τοὺς μὲν ἐν τιμοτάτους ὑλοβίους φησὶν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ζῶντας ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις . . . ἀφροδισίων χωρὶς . . . ἀσκεῖν δὲ καὶ τούτους κάκείνους καρτερίαν τὴν τε ἐν πόνοισι καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιμοναῖσι . . . συμφιλοσοφεῖν δ' ἐνίοις καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπεχομένας καὶ αὐτὰς ἀφροδισίων. [Megasth., xli, 22, 24 = Strabo, xv, 1, 60 (C. 713 f.).]

cf.: ἔτη δ' ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα
οὕτως ζήσαντα . . . [Megasth., xli.
10 = Strabo. xv, 1. 59 (C. 712).

τοὺς δὲ πολιτικούς συν-
δονίτας κατὰ πόλιν ζῆν
ἢ κατ' ἀγρούς, καθημμέ-
νους¹ νεβρίδας ἢ δορκάδων
δοράς.

¹ v. ll. καθεμμένους; καθημέ-
νους; ἐνημμένους, s. H. L. Jones'
ed. and transl., ad loc.

ἐσθῆτι δὲ Ἴνδοὶ λινέη χρέονται,
κατάπερ λέγει Νέαρχος, λίνου τοῦ ἀπὸ
τῶν δεινδρέων . . . [Nearch., *F. Gr.*
Hist. 133 F 11 = Arrian. *Ind.*, xvi, 1.]

ἄλλους δ' εἶναι τοὺς μὲν μαντι-
κοὺς καὶ ἐπωδοὺς καὶ τῶν περὶ τοὺς
κατοιχομένους λόγων καὶ νομίμων
ἐμπείρους, ἐπαιτοῦντας κατὰ κώμας
καὶ πόλεις. [Megasth., xli, 23 = Strabo,
xv, 1. 61 (C. 713/4).]

cf.: τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλλον χρόνον κατ'
ἀγορὰν διατρίβειν, τιμωμένους ἀντὶ
συμβούλων . . . [Aristob., *F. Gr. Hist.*
139 F 41 = Strabo. xv, 1. 61 (C. 715).]

There is nothing which could let us see in those medical, naked, and linen-dressed mendicants a special school of philosophers. From a philological, or rather graphical, point of view, however, this view is corroborated. In Strabo, 59, (C. 712) and 60 (C. 713), the MSS. read, as far as the editions show, unanimously *Γαρμανας*, some *Γερμανας*. In 73 (C. 720) the man who committed religious suicide in Athens is called *Ζαρμανοχηγας*, *Ζαρμανοχανης*: occurring in the form *Ζαρμαπος* (v.l. *Ζαμαρκος*) in Dio Cassius, liv, 9, 10, again. Every handbook of Greek palæography¹ shows the shape of Π (= π) with the shortened right vertical line. The uncertainty either in Strabo's manuscript already or in his copyist's text, in addition to their ignorance of the meaning of the word, explain sufficiently that *Πραμνας* is nothing else but a mistake for *Γραμνας*. Substituting, as in the other passages in Strabo, the initial Σ, just that form gives the best Greek equivalent for the Indian *śramaṇa*.²

¹ Cf. Gardthausen, *Griech. Palæographie*, 2. Aufl., II Taf., 1 and 2.

² As *śramaṇa* explained also by Geden *ERE.*, II, 88a; Stein, *Pauly-Wissowa's Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, xv, 319, 321. In majuscule characters the alterations are easily to be understood:

ΠΡΑΜΝΑΣ (or more likely: ΠΡΑΜΝΑΣ)

ΓΡΑΜΝΑΣ

ΣΡΑΜΝΑΣ (ΣΡΑΜΑΝΑΣ, ΣΑΡΜΑΝΑΣ)

2. KAMPAṆA

Since Sir Aurel Stein's first note ¹ on the word *kampana*, published by Boehtlingk, it looks as if the last chapter of the history of this word has not yet been written. The discovery by Professor Liebich ² and the want of an epigraphical proof of the occurrence of the word pointed out by him, on the one hand, the partial complication of the question arisen by just these passages in inscriptions on the other hand, may justify the following lines.

First, however, it seems necessary to perustrate once more those passages in the *Rājatar.* from which the meaning "camp" or "army" comes to light without any possible doubt.

The verse, vii, 365,

yo hy ambarādhikāryāsījjindurājasya kampane |
rājñā Vijayamitraḥ sa kampānādhipatiḥ kṛtaḥ ||

has been translated by M. A. Stein thus : Vijayamitra, who had been superintendent of clothing during Jindurāja's chief command (*kampana*), was made by the king commander-in-chief. No doubt, as to be seen from the career of Jindurāja, who got the *kampānādhipatā* in vii, 267, *kampana* means here "chief command (of the army)". From vii, 887, *dvāre cakāra Kandarpaṃ Madanaṃ cāpi kampane*, the meaning "chief command" is evident ; in vii, 1319, the office of a commander-in-chief is expressed by *kampane mahattamaḥ*, literally "the first in the command"; Tilaka, who is mentioned in viii, 180, among the *kampānādyadhikārasthāḥ*, i.e. the highest officers, like those of chief command and the like (cf. vi, 259 : *kampānādikarmasthānādhipāriṇaḥ*), appears in viii, 575, again in a śloka, alluding to the derivations from the root *kamp*, with which *kampana* seems to be connected in Kalhaṇa's view ³ :—

Kākavaṃśyas tu Tilakaḥ kṣmābhujā dattakampānaḥ |
ninye prakampamahitān prakampana iva drumān ||

and is called again in viii, 599 : *kampānāpati*. viii. 960, the phrase : *rājñā . . . vyadhāt . . . Harṣamitraṃ kampane* is used as above *cakāra kampane*, or in viii, 1046. A peculiar idiom is met in viii, 1623 f. :—

¹ *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., philos.-hist. Kl.*, 49, 1897, S. 138, No. 14 ; M. A. Stein, *WZKM.*, xii, 1898, pp. 67 ff., anticipating his note to the translation of *Rājatar.*, v, 447.

² *Streitberg-Festgabe*, Leipzig, 1924, S. 230 ff. ; *BSOS.*, vi, 431 ff.

³ In Walde-Pokorny's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, i, 350, s.v. *camp-* the old Indian root *kamp* is connected with Latin *campus* and Greek *καμπή*.

matreti tadadhikārānanyebhyas tūrṇam ārpayat ||
rājasthānāt srajaṃ Dhānyam Udayam kampanād api |
ajigrahannarapatiḥ . . .

kampana occurs, as to be seen from the passage vii, 1362b :—

na ko'pi kampanaṃ bhūpān mantrī trāsāturo 'grahīt

in masculine or neuter gender, probably the latter, to which the locative and ablative-forms (*kampane*, resp. *kampanād*) may belong ; in all these passages the meaning “ chief command ” fits well.¹ The compounds *kampanādhipati*, etc., could be explained as *kampana* + *adhipati* ; on the other hand, there is found unanimously in v, 599 ; vii, 399, 923 ; viii, 599, 627, 665, 1659, 2420, 2868 (dual) the form *kampanāpati*. Conceding the possibility that this *ā* of the fugue is due to the metre, as it stands in the last-but-two syllable of the second pāda (× × × × — — —) as in viii, 652, where the word occurs in the corresponding position of the second hemistich, there is the instance of viii, 685 :—

vivikṣin Devasarasam kampanāpatinā tatah |

In the corrupt verse of the Lokaprakāśa,² iv, 3, *kampanāpati* is found by the side of *kampano* (masc.). The inference seems to be : *kampana*, masc. or neut., means the “ command, chief command (of the army) ”, while *kampanā*, fem., means the “ army ”.³

In the *Mhbh.*, ii, 4, 22b, occurs a king Kampana, whose name is made intelligible by the words : *satatam kampayāmāsa Yavanān eva yah |*⁴ This, however, is not the single instance of such a name, containing *kampa* or *kampana*. Thus Kampa or Kampana I, whose nephew was Cikka-Kampanna-Oḍeyaru, the son of Bukka I, belonged to the Vijayanagara dynasty of the fourteenth century A.D. ; the nephew's

¹ It is, as observed by M. A. Stein, loc. cit., analogous to *dvāra* from *dvārapati*, an abstract noun from *kampanādhipati*, *kampaneśa*, *kampanāpati*, etc. But see the remarks above.

² *Ind. Stud.*, xviii, p. 373 ; cf. Index, s.v., p. 399.

³ Only in *Rājatar.*, viii, 1430, occurs the title of an officer, *kampanodgrāhaka*. One would suggest that it was his duty to find out a suitable place for the camp, perhaps also to stake out and to erect some quarters within the encampment. Could this suggestion—based on the meanings of the root *grah* — *ud*—be proved, then this passage would be the only place where *kampana* occurs in its original meaning “ encampment ”.

⁴ Cf. Weber, *Ueber die Königsreihe (Rājasūya)*, Abh. Preuss. A. d. W., 1893, S. 127, n. 2. That the Greeks knew the Indian terms for “ camp ” and “ army ” is shown by Hesychius's glosses : βασιλῆως παρ' Ἰνδοῦς τὸ στρατόπεδον. βασιλῆως. ὁ στρατός : cf. Gray and Schuyler, *Amer. Journal of Philology*, xxii, 1901, p. 196 f.

name appears also as Vira-Kampana-Uḍaiyar, or Kumāra-Kampana-Uḍaiyar¹ (in South India inscriptions: Kambaṇṇa). The Gaṅga-Pallava king, Vijaya-Kampa-(vikrama)varman,² seems to have a name denoting his bravery and military success: he is called sometimes only Vijayakampa, which looks like a name: he, whose camp or army is victorious.³

A more decisive occurrence of the word *kampana* seems to be ll. 16-17 in the inscription of the Yādava king, Rāmacandra,⁴ from the year 1286 (?) A.D., who is called *ari-rāya-jagajhampa-kampanācāryya*. The reading, as far as can be concluded from the Kanarese text on p. 374, is correct⁵: there are, however, some parallel passages in inscriptions, which raise doubts, further, the reading is dependent on the explanation of the foregoing expression *jagajhampa*.

In a record of the Śilāhāra Chittarājadeva of Northern Koṅkaṇa from Śaka 948 = A.D. 1026⁶ the ruler is called *tyāga-jagaj-jhampi*⁷, translated by Fleet (p. 266) "who excels in the world in liberality". In his nephew's, Anantadeva's, inscription from Śaka 1016 = A.D. 1094,⁷ the formula has been enlarged to *tyāgajagajjhampajhampāḍācāryya*⁸, as in a Kādamba inscription of Vijayāditya (Śaka 1080 = A.D. 1158),⁸ translated by K. P. Pathak (p. 274): "who was unsurpassed in the world in liberality." Differing only in the suffix of *jhampa*⁹, by reading *jhampāḍācāryya*, the phrase occurs in another Goa-Kādamba king's inscription, by Śivachittavīrapermāḍideva, of A.D. 1174,⁹ rendered by Fleet as "the firm resting-place of the Jhampāḷachārya, renowned for liberality". The other variation, *ari-rāya-jagajhampa*, is met in

¹ In Kanarese Oḍeyar, Voḍeyar, in Tamil Uṭaiyār, an honorific plural of Oḍeya, meaning lord or master, is a title of kings of many South Indian dynasties, like of the Coḷa, Vijayanagara, as the present ruler of Mysore is named Wadeyar IV. For their inscriptions, see *Ep. Ind.*, vii, App. Nos. 459 f., 462-4, 474: cf. *Ep. Ind.*, xv, p. 11.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vii, App. Nos. 656-8, 1070; cf. viii, p. 292.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vii, p. 193, 196; the common formula in inscriptions is *vijayaskan-āhāvāra*, see Jolly, *ZDMG.*, 44, 1890, S. 353: the name of the Sena king, Vijayasena, is of the same kind and meaning.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, vii, l. Honnali Taluq. No. 17 (transcribed text, p. 282, English translation p. 161); cf. Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 74 f.

⁵ Not so in the preceding l. 16, where instead of the transcript p. 282, *lakṣmī-harana* stands in the Kanarese text: *lakṣmī-koṅkana*⁹. *ācāryya* occurs in l. 15 in the phrase: *Telungarāyasthāpanācāryya*⁹.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 263, l. 18.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, ix, 1880, p. 35, l. 61.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xi, 1882, p. 273, l. 11; the reading here is *jhampajhampāṇā*.

⁹ *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, No. xxvii, p. 296, l. 11: *Ep. Ind.*, vii, App. No. 254; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 251, n. 1.

the Mutgi inscription of the Kalacurya ruler Bhillama from A.D. 1189.¹ Two inscriptions belong to the time of the Kādamba king, Vīra-Jayakeśideva; one, from A.D. 1199,² offers this reading:—

tatastāga(!) jagajhūmpajhūmpaṇācāryadhuryatām |
bibhradabhrāpta(!)kīrttiḥ Śrī Jayakesinrpo 'bhavat |

the other³ reads more simply: *tyāga-jhagajhāmpajhāmpaṇācāryya*. The correct spelling occurs in its second variation, *ari-rūya-jagajjhampa*, in the Mamdāpūr inscription of the Yādava Kanhara from the Śaka year 1172 = A.D. 1250,⁴ translated by the editor, L. D. Barnett, "a *jagajjhampa* to hostile kings."

There have been proposed three explanations for *jhampa*, *jhampin*, or *jhampaṇa* (*jhamapada*, *jhampaḷa*): who excels, who was unsurpassed; resting place of Jhampaḷācārya; and a *jagajjhampa*. Neither a lexicographer nor the Pandits⁵ are able to give any hint to understand the word; Fleet himself referred to the root *jhamp* "jump"⁶; it is obvious that a meaning, wanted in the passages of the inscriptions quoted above, could not develop from that root *jhamp* or the noun *jhampa*. On the one hand, *jhampaṇācārya* sounds much like *kampaṇācārya*; on the other hand, it is hardly probable that the former compound could be separated from the other forms, *jhampa*, *jhampin*, *jhampaṇa*. It is difficult to say whether it is due only to a clerical error that not in the phrase alone *jhampaṇa* alternates with *kampaṇa*, but also in Hemacandra's *Abhidh.*, 1470, the v. l. for *jhampā* reads *kampā*; and e.g. in the *Hitopadeśa* (ed. Peterson), p. 68, l. 18, *jhampa* is replaced in the oldest Nepalese MS. by *sampa* (cf. Notes, pp. 56 ad 68. 18); finally there is a Nallāla grant of the Gaṅga king, Durvinīta,⁷ mentioning in line 28 Tumburu, Nārada, Bharata, Reva, and Kambalācārya, the masters in the arts of music, dancing in theory and practice; but the last of them has nothing to do with the mysterious *jhampaḷācārya*.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, xv, p. 36, l. 36.

² *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, p. 242, l. 5; *Ep. Ind.*, vii, App. No. 261.

³ *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., loc. cit., p. 304, transl. p. 307, l. 8; the date is A.D. 1201; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vii, App. No. 262.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, xix, p. 23, l. 19; for the king's name cf. Fleet, *Dynasties*, p. 73, s.v. Krishna.

⁵ Fleet, *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, p. 301, says in the note: "The expression '*jagajhampa*' is not understood by the Pandits, but it is current among the lower orders, who use it as a cry of approbation to one who has conquered at wrestling or other games."

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 251.

⁷ *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1924*, p. 70.

The word *jhampaṇa* seems to have been unknown already to the composers of the inscriptions, or, at least, they did not know the exact meaning; and as there is no other help one must have recourse to linguistics. *jhampaṇa* looks from the first glance like a Prākṛit word: in Prākṛit *jha* corresponds to Sanskrit *kṣa*.¹ e.g. *jhijjai-kṣyate*; therefore one had to assume a Sanskrit root *kṣamp*. In Hemac., *Pkt. Gr.*, iv, 161, occurs *jhampai* in the meaning *bhram* "wander", and some other words derived according to Pischel from a root *kṣap*. The root *kṣap* or *kṣamp* means *kṣāntyām*²: *jhampaṇa* = *kṣa(m)paṇa* would be "abstinence", a word that really exists but is out of place in the phrases of the inscriptions, specially in *arirāyajagajjhampa*. The PW shows a second *kṣapaṇa*, to be derived from a root *kṣap*, being a causative to *kṣi*, *kṣī*, "destroy." *jhampaṇa* owes its inserted *m* either to the following labial or to the analogy of the other root *kṣap* or *kṣamp* and its derivations. And no other meaning but "destroy" fits better the context of the phrase *arirāyajagajjhampa*. "a destroyer of the world of hostile kings." In the other phrase, *tyāgajagajjhampa-jhampaṇācārya*, the sense may be: a master in destroying (i.e. conquering)³ as a destroyer (i.e. conqueror) of the world in generosity. The different spellings (*jhampin*, *jhampaḍa*, *jhampaḷa*, *jhumpaṇa*) show the word or the phrase to be obsolete or somehow strange: perhaps °*jhampaṇa*° in that latter phrase is simply due to the foregoing °*jagajjhampa*°, and the correct reading would be shown by Rāmacandra's inscription: *arirāyajagajjhampa-k a m p a ṇ ā c ā r y a*, denoting the king as a master of the chief command (of the army), as destroyer of the world of hostile kings. Is this explanation right, then there is the epigraphical proof of *kampaṇa* in the sense found in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Perhaps *kampaṇa* should be read also in the other inscriptions and accordingly translated.

The word *kampaṇa* in inscriptions is not limited to this use. Curiously enough, *kampaṇa* in its second sense, "district," is met in records of nearly the same time, nay, in some of the same inscriptions in which *jhampaṇa* was found. The record of the Western Cālukya Someśvara Trailokyamalla from A.D. 1054, l. 7,⁴ uses the form

¹ Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, § 326.

² See B. Liebich, *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelberger Akademie der Wissensch., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1920, "Der Dhātupāṭha," S. 40 and 66 s.v. *kṣap* and *kṣamp*.

³ For both these possibilities, destroying and conquering, the use of the word among the people (see p. 64, n. 5) becomes intelligible.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, xix, 1890, p. 272.

khaṇpaṇa, while his Bankāpūr inscription from 1055–6¹ gives in l. 34 the usual form *kaṇpaṇa* sc. Niḍugundage twelve, i.e. the modern Niḍagundi (Needgoondee, Neergoondee), "four miles towards the south-south-west from Shiggaon, the headquarters of the Bankāpūr tāluḱa of the Dhārṵār District, Bombay" (*Ep. Ind.*, xiii, p. 12). To the same year as the latter inscription belongs that of the Cālukya Gaṅgapermānaḍi Vikramāditya VI, son of Someśvara, while the Kādamba Great Chieftain Harikesarideva was his subordinate; the latter with his wife and religious colleges granted to a Jain temple some land in the very Niḍugundage twelve, which was a *kampana* of the Pānungal (modern Hāngal) Five-hundred, in the year Śaka 977 = A.D. 1055–6.² Twenty years later falls the record of the Western Cālukya Someśvara II Bhuvanaikamalla and his feudatory Gaṅgapermānaḍi Bhuvanaikavīra-Udayādityadeva from Śaka 997 = A.D. 1075–6,³ mentioning the Mugunda (modern Diḍgur) twelve, which was a *kampana* of the Banavase District (in North Kanara). The joint rulers, the two brothers Śivacitta Paramardin and Viṣṇucitta Vijayārka II, of the Kādambas of Goa, left a record from the year A.D. 1169–1170, where⁴ the *kampana* Kālagiri in the Palasī District (*deśa*) is mentioned. From the former of the two brothers comes the double inscription (in Nāgarī and Kanarese characters) of the year A.D. 1174,⁵ where the *kampana* Degāṃve in the Palāsīka District occurs. In the year dated A.D. 1204 are the two Belgaum inscriptions of the Raṭṭa ruler Kārtavīrya IV of Saundatti and Belgaum, one of them⁶ bringing in l. 36 the Koravalli *gampana* in the Kuṇḍi Three-thousand District; from Kalhoḷi comes another inscription of Kārtavīrya, dated A.D. 1204, in which the Kuṛumbetṭa *gampana* is found⁷; the same ruler's inscription from Bhōḷi,⁸ dated four years later, A.D. 1208, brings once more the Koravalli *kampana*, to be identified, according to Fleet (p. 244), with one of the modern places named Kurvolee and the like, probably with that which is situated twenty miles north-west of Athnī in the Belgaum District. The Saundatti Kanarese inscription of the time of the Raṭṭa Lakṣmīdeva II, from A.D. 1228, mentions the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, xiii, p. 171.

² *Ind. Ant.*, iv, 1875, p. 203, in the form *kaṇpaṇa*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 209, l. 33 t.

⁴ *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, p. 279, l. 11.

⁵ *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, p. 269, l. 34; p. 291, l. 44.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, xiii, p. 30.

⁷ *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. x, p. 226, l. 55.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, xix, p. 247, l. 100.

city Sugandhavati (the modern Sāvandatti or Saundatti, chief town of the Parasgaḍ tāluka of the Belgaum District) as the chief town of a *kampana*.¹ In the Mamdāpūr inscription² of the Yādava Kanhara, quoted before, of A.D. 1250, occurs not only the term *jagajjhampa*, but also in l. 61 the *kampana* Kurumbetta again, which "seems to be the village styled Kurbet . . . Shindi Kurbet . . . Kooreebet" (Bombay Presidency).

Both the terms, *jagajjhampa* as well as *kampana*, are found in inscriptions from A.D. 1026, resp. 1054, till A.D. 1250, resp. 1286, belonging to the dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, as they have been named by Fleet. It appears quite natural to look for a Kanarese etymology for them. Neither, however, such an authoritative expert as the late Dr. Fleet, nor the Pandits of his time were able to give even the meaning of the former word. For the latter term Fleet³ himself suggested⁴ the convertibility with *bāḍa*, a *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *vāṭa* "enclosure, road, mud wall or hedge surrounding a town, site of a building, house, and as used in the inscriptions it means according to the context either a town or a circle of towns formed into an administrative post". And in another place he tries to give an etymology, too: "I have shown that '*kampana*' is a convertible term with '*bāḍa*' in its second meaning of a circle of towns constituting an administrative post. . . . '*Kampana*' is probably another form of the Canarese '*kampaḷa*, *kampiḷu*', a cluster, heap, assembly, multitude."⁵ For the first assertion, it is correct so far that *kampana* must be something like an administrative unity: but for its convertibility with *bāḍa* it must be remarked that it occurs side by side with the former in inscriptions. Thus *Ind. Ant.*, xix, p. 272, l. 7, where *bāḍa* must be a bigger administrative circle than *kampana*: in other inscriptions⁶ by *bāḍa* or *vāṭa* the head village of a *kampana* is meant. For the second assertion, that *kampana* may be another form of *kampaḷa* or *kampiḷu*, there exists, it is true, the analogy of *jhampaṇa* = *jhampaḷa*, but

¹ *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. x, p. 267, l. 54; p. 268, l. 60. For the correct date see Fleet, *Dynasties*, p. 83; Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, vii, App. No. 268.

² *Ep. Ind.*, xix, p. 25.

³ *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, p. 276, n. *: "The meaning of the word '*kampana*' is not certain, but, from its use in other inscriptions, it appears to denote 'a circle of villages'."

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. x, p. 280 f., n. 37.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, iv, p. 211, n. ‡; cf. also *ibid.*, xix, p. 274, n. 26.

⁶ *JRAS.*, Bo. Br., vol. ix, p. 269, l. 34 p. 291, l. 44; cf. vol. x, p. 280, n. 37; *Ind. Ant.*, iv, p. 209, l. 34. There is in Sanskrit inscriptions another term for village, *pātaka*, about which and *vāṭa* see *Ind. Ant.*, li, 1922, p. 74.

other forms like *jhampaḍa*, *jhumpaṇa* occur also, partly due to the interchange of *ḍ* and *ḷ*, partly to the correct spelling being unknown : therefore we find *khampaṇa* and *gampaṇa*. changes of spelling easily understood, but nowhere *kampaḷa* or *kampiḷu*. It is nothing but another suggestion, accruing, however, from the foregoing remarks, to connect *kampaṇa* of those inscriptions with *campus*, *κάμπιον* again. From both the meanings, from the original "camp" as from the Indianized "chief command", the semantic derivation of "administrative unity" is possible ; as the "camp" was a district staked out, including the army and all its accessories, being a town for itself, so it could be applied to the civil administrative terminology. And from the meaning "chief command" it is not difficult to arrive at that of a civil, political, and fiscal office, the district of which got the name *kampaṇa*.¹

As stated above, the term occurs between A.D. 1054 and 1286, and Kalhaṇas literary activity falls into the twelfth century A.D. also. Whether there was a connection between Kaśmīr and the Kanarese dynasties,² and where the term took its origin, these questions cannot yet be decided. The probability that *kampaṇa* is really a Kanarese word, as suggested by Fleet, and spread over up to Kaśmīr, is a slight one, already from the reason that from the meaning "administrative unity" the development of the meaning "army, chief command" is hardly to be understood. And, on the other hand, to separate the two words at all seems, on account of their semantic and chronological affinity, less likely than to see in them a—perhaps independent—development of a heritage, the testator of which is known, but not his direct heirs.³

¹ If it is allowed to compare modern institutions, one may remember the close connection between political districts and the recruiting of the army, the distribution of regiments according to administrative circles.

² Such a connection like that indicated by *Rājatar.*, iv, 152 ff., narrating Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa's *digvijaya* into the country of the Karnāta princess Rattā (?), cf. the dynasty of the Rattas), is out of place from the chronology of the king, which has, however, to be separated from the time of the author Kalhaṇa.

³ Only here in the notes a place may be given to the Sanskritization of Greek *κάμηλος* by *kramela(ka)* (*BSOS.*, vi, p. 432 f.). In the *Rājatar.*, iii, 227 ; v, 39, the rocky hillock Kramavarta is rendered by the gloss of A₂ as *Kāmelanakōtta*, identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the present Kāmelankōt. Without entering into a discussion on the real significance of the latter place, this comparison is at least a further instance of the mutual connection between Skt. *krama* and what may be called a tertiary Prākṛit *kam-el*. For references see M. A. Stein, *Rājatar.*, transl., vol. ii, p. 292 (also Gurupūjākaumudī, S. 77, *JASB.*, lxiv, 1896, p. 384 f.).

Iranian Studies II

By H. W. BAILEY

I. *Kavāt*

1. A passage of the tale of Husrav and the Page (*Pahl. Texts*, pp. 29–30, in Unvala's edition, § 30) may form the starting-point for a discussion of *kavāt*. It has not so far been fully translated.

sūtīkar framāyēt pursūt ku hač ān i pat aβsart nihēnd gōšt-ē katām χ'aštar

gōβēt rētak ku anōšak bavēt ēn and hamāk gōšt χ'aš ut nēvak gāv ut gōr ut gavazn ut varāz ut uštr <i> kavātak gautar i ēvak-sālak ut gāv-mēš ut gōr i katakīk ut hūk i katakīk.

𐭮𐭮𐭮, *GrBd.* 96¹. 𐭮𐭮𐭮, in both cases with *scriptio plena* of the alef, is NPers. *gavazn*, *gavaz* 'deer, mountain-ox', Oss. (Digor.) *γāvanz*, (Iron.) *qvazn* 'Hirschkuh' (Miller, *Grund. Iran. Phil.*, p. 36), B.Sogd. *γ'wzn* 'cerf', *SCE.* 151, 354, Avestan *gavasna*-.

𐭮𐭮𐭮 *gautar*. NPers. *gaudar* 'calf, fawn'. Here is possibly a compound **gau-taru-*, **taru-* being connected with B.Sogd. *trw'k* (*Gram. Sogd.*, i, 134) 'jeune', Avesta *tauruna-*, Pahl. **tarūk* 𐭮𐭮𐭮 (cf. Tavadia, *Šāyast ne Šāyast*, 2²). The same suffix is probably to be seen in Pahl. *kapōtar*. NPers. *kabūtar* 'pigeon' (Horn, *GIP.*, i, b, 169, supposed *-ar-*), since the intervocalic *-t-* of NPers. *kabūtar* suggests **kapōta-taru-*, cf. Pahl. *pattūkīh* in Pāz. *patūi*; NPers. *kōtāh* (Nyberg, *Glossar.* s.v. *stav*).

𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 *kavātak* in the context clearly means 'young, small'. It can be related to the root *kar-* of Av. *kutaka-*, Pahl. *kōtāk*, Arm. Lw. *kotak*, NPers. *kōdak*, and Pahl. *kūk*, *kūč*, *kūčak* 'small' (see *BSOS.*, vi, 599), NPers. *kūčak*. The whole passage is then clear.

'Thirdly he condescends to ask, Of that which they put into gelée, which meat is the more delectable? The page says, Live for ever! ¹ All these meats are delectable and excellent, of ox and wild ass and deer and wild boar and young camel, the calf of one year, the buffalo, the domestic ass and the domestic pig.'

2. The opening paragraph of the same text (*Pahl. Texts*, p. 27, Unvala, § 1) reads:—

¹ Cf. NPers. *nōšu ba-zī* (Šāhnāma).

*ērān vīmārt-kavātīk rētak-ē vāspuhr <χ'as ārzūk> nām dast
· pat > aδar-kuš pēs i šāhān sāh ēstāt.*

rētak is used (1) of young children.

Škand-Gumānik-v.ār (Pāzand), 11¹¹¹: *ēi ka mardum aβā kam-
dānašni u kam-χardī pasiēa sēr u gurg aβarē χaraβastar čandašy tuvy
ō rēdagā āβastyn i χ'ēs andar nē hēlend.*

· Since if men, with their little knowledge and small understanding, even so do not, as far as they are able, allow lion and wolf and other beasts into the dwelling-place of their young ones' (*āβastyn*,¹ Skt. transl. *gosthāna-*, is Pahl. *ōstān*).

Ibid. 14³⁰: *u han jāvarē šuš sad hazār mard jaδ ež zani u rēdak
i aβarnāē ež † Asurāsary † andar viyāβyn aβazad.*

· And on another occasion six hundred thousand men besides women and young children of the Israelites were slain in the desert.'

(2) Of schoolchildren.

School Dialogue, § 1. Antia, *Pāz. Texts*, 73, l. 1 (cf. Junker, *Heid. Akad.*, 1912; Darmesteter, *Journ. As.*, 13, 355 et seq.).

χ'ēskāri rēdaki 'the duties of children'.

(3) Of the young of fish.

GrBd., 152¹²⁻¹³: *ut hamāk χrafstr <i> āpīk i āpus ka ān vāng
ašnāvēnd rētak bē *apakanēnd (= Ind. Bd., ed. Justi, 45⁶⁻⁷).*

GrBd., 154⁹: *ut hamāk χrafstrān <i āpīk i> āpus rētak bē <apa>
kanēnd.*

· And all pregnant creatures of the waters when they hear that voice cast out their foetus.'

(4) Of young men.

The Armenians borrowed *eritasard* (Hübsch., *Arm. Gr.*, p. 148):—

Exod. 10⁹: *eu asē Moysēs . eritasardauk handerj eu cerovk merovk
ertiçoukē kai léγει Μωυσης, σὸν τοῖς νεανίσκουσ καὶ πρεσβυτέροις
πορευσόμεθα.*

eritasardakan.

2 Tim. 2²²: *ail y-eritasardakan çankout'euçen pāçír, τὰς δὲ
νεωτερικὰς ἐπιθυμίας φεῶγε.*

Al-Ta'ālibī uses *rēdak* ريدك (*(t)hurar Akhbār Mulūk*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 705), which is NPers. *rīdak*, *raidak* 'iuvenis imberbis, famulus gratus et formosus'. In this sense Pahl. *rētak* is used in Husrav ut Rētak-ē. In the Frahang i Pahlavīk occurs *rētak* 'youth,

¹ For Pāz. β ωκ -- v, cf. *aβazad*, *dīβ*, *gīβ*, and for ā - u cf. *āβāšni*.

servant', beside *rasīk* (*raθīk*) with the same meaning. The Pāzandist, indeed, reads *rētak* for *rasīk* in *Mēnōkē* *χrat*, 29⁴: *rasīk i apurnāy ut žan ut stōr ut ātaχš pat pānaktar ut nikīrišntar apāyēt dāštan*. Pāzand: *rēdak i aβarnāē*. *Mēnōkē* *χrat*, 39³⁷: *ut en III pat gukāš nē patgīrišn žan ut rasīk i apurnāy ut bandak mart*. Pāzand: *in se pa guvāh ne padīrešn zan u rēdak i apurnāi u banda mard*.

rasīk (*raθīk*) is NPers. *rahī*; Firdausī. *Yūsuf u Zulūkḥā* (ed. Ethé, l. 235):—

بود آن زمان حشمت من رهی
که بر من بدین کار فرمان دهی

rahī is explained as *γulām u banda u cākar* (Vullers). Its etymology has remained obscure. It probably means 'attached to the palace', since in *raθ-* (Pahl. *rs-* beside NPers. *rh-* proves either *rs-* or *rθ-* as the source) I would see the Avestan *raθa-* in *raθa-kairyim*, Turfan Mid. Iran. *rḥ*, *rḥy*, corresponding as Junker pointed out (*OLZ.*, 29, 876–8, 1926) to the Turkish Manichæan use of *ordu*. The Chinese 日月光明宮 (Waldschmidt u. Lentz. *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, p. 49) 'The Light Palaces of Sun and Moon' is similarly convincing. The attempt to derive Mid. Iran. *rḥ* from *raθa-* 'chariot' and then to translate 'ship' is arbitrary and due to the supposition that the *lucidae naves* of the Western Manichæan tradition must be represented here. But for ship we have quite clearly *nāv*.

āsēd giyānān ō im nāv rōšn (M. 4, b. 5).

bar-mān vazurg ud nāv cē amāh grīvān (Walds. u. Lentz, loc. laud., 96, l. 17). Cf. also Turfan Mid. Iran. *nāvāz* (ibid., p. 113, iii recto, 2a) and *nāvāzān* (ibid., p. 117, l. 18). The sun and moon were conceived under two distinct images by the Manichæans of the East, as palace and ship. The description of the *rḥy* in M. 98 (Salemman, *Manich. Studien*, p. 16; Jackson, *Researches in Manichæism*, p. 30) is clearly a palace.

Hence, in all the passages with *𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩* in *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, ed. Henning, 1932, the word should probably be rendered 'palace'.

Pahl. *𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩*. *GrB.*, 210¹¹. *Dd.*, 30². *𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩*. *DkM.*, 618²¹. *𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩*, *DkM.*, 806³, NPers. *ری* (Markwart, *Šahr. Er.*, p. 112, note 5) have the meaning 'chariot'.

Al-Ta'ālibī (loc. cit., p. 705) characterizes the *rēdak* thus:—

ومنها ريدك خوش آرزو وكان غلاماً من ابناء رؤساء الدهاقين مختصاً
بخدمة ابرويز

The *dēhkāns* we know as the squires of villages.

The *rētak* are further associated by Minū ihri with the cup-bearers (ed. Kazimirski, 27, v. 18):—

شاه باش ومی ستان از ریدکان وساقیان
ساقیان سیم ساعد ریدکان سیم ساق

Similarly, in the *Kārnamak*, *rētak* is used of the young Ohrmazd when, aged seven, he plays polo before the King.

In our present passage of the *Husrav ut Rētak-ē* I understand *vāspuhr* as an adjective (cf. *Stāyēnitārīh i Sūr Āfrīn*, *Pahl. Texts*, p. 157, l. 2, *pus i vāspuhr*), since the name *χ^ρασ-ārzūk* (= Al-Ta'ālibī *خوش آرزو*) had probably dropped out. Christensen incidentally (*L'Empire des Sassanides*, p. 93) mentions the pages at court and on p. 99 the presence there also of the sons of the nobility.

An excellent example of the institution of pages at an Oriental court is afforded by the book of Daniel, cap. 1³ et seq., doubtless the Persian court was the model, as suggested by the use of the Persian word *prtm.* OPers. *fratama-* 'foremost':

*vj'mr hmlk ūšp'nz rb srysyr lhby' mbny ysr'l emzr' hmlk'k vmn
hprtmy n yldym 'sr 'yn-bhm kl-m'vm vrbv m'r'h vmsklym bkl-hkmh
vyd'y d't vmbny md' v'sr kh' bhm l'md bhykl hmlk vllmdm spr cl'svn
k'sdym.*

Rendered by the Septuagint:—

καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Αβιεδρι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχιευνούχῳ ἀγαγεῖν
αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν τῶν μεγιστάνων τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ
γένους καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων νεανίσκους ἀμώμους καὶ εὐειδέεις, καὶ
ἐπιστήμονας ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ, καὶ γραμματικούς καὶ συνετοὺς καὶ
σοφοὺς καὶ ἰσχύοντας ὥστε εἶναι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ
διδάξαι αὐτοὺς γράμματα καὶ διάλεκτον χαλδαϊκῆν.

The same archieunuch is then in v. 7, 9, 10 called *šr hrsrysym*, though the Greek translation has *ἀρχιευνούχος* and the Armenian *nerkīnapet* in each case.

It was the custom, therefore, for the pages to be given into the charge of the chief eunuch, who supervised their education.

vīnārt-kavātīk.

I would take this word as an adjective formed from a compound **vīnārt-kavāt* of the same type as *kart-spās*, so in *Dd.*, 36, 17, *kart-spāsān ahraβān* 'the servant righteous ones', and *aburt-framānīh* 'disobedience' (*Kārnāmak*, 15²², ed. Antia); Pāz., *Škand GV.*, 11²⁴⁹. *aburd-farmīnī*; Turfan Mid. Iran. (South. dial.) *zdzhg*, epithet of Āz (Henning, loc. cit.), Avestan *adərətō.tkašā-*, Skt. *kṛtādeśa*.

The adjectival *-īk* is illustrated by the form *škand-gumānīk*, derived from the old type of compound with present participle as first member, the type in OPers. *vindu-furnā*, hence **skand-gumān* < **skanda-vimāna-*, and Pāzand *aniyōχš-andarž* (*Škand GV.*, 12³⁷).

vīnārtan is abundantly attested in Pahlavi, Pāzand, and Turfan Mid. Iran. The phrase *dārāy ī dēn vīnārāy ī ardāvān* (F. W. K. Müller in *Festschrift Thomsen*, 1912, T. ii, D. 135 et seq.) 'upholder of the faith, organizer of the righteous (= the Electi)' indicates the sphere of the word, 'to organize, put in order, administer.'

vīnārt-kavātīk may then be translated 'connected with the institution of the youths', since *kavātak*, as indicated above, has the same meaning as *rētak* 'young creature, youth'.

dast < *pat* > *aḍar-kaš*. I read *aḍar-kaš* because the word is written as a compound *دست و ادب* (cf. also *hačad-ar-zamīk* *دست و ادب* 'subterranean', *Mēnōkē-χrat*, 62¹⁵, ed. Andreas, p. 69, l. 6. Pāzand *azēr.zamī*), comparing *Artāy Vīrāz Nāmak*, 2²¹, *ut pas avē Vīrāz pēš ī māzdēsnañ dast pat kaš kart ut av avēšān guft*. It is the attitude of respect before a superior: Vullers (s.v. *کَش*) has *دست در بغل کردن* *واز روی ادب دستها بر تهی گاه نهادن*. Cf. Av. *adairi kašāēibyā*.

ērān may perhaps have here the adjectival meaning 'of Persia', that is, of the Court, the state being the king.

The whole may then be rendered 'a page of noble family, by name *Khvaš-āržūk*, of the "Institution of the Pages of Persia", stood before the King of Kings with his hands at his sides'.

3. The word *kavātak* is to be found in another Pahlavi passage, of great interest, in that it preserves the only trace of a particular legend of King Kavāt. Av. Kavāta. The passage is found in *GrBd.*, 231¹³-232¹, and translations have been attempted by West, *SBE.*, v, 136. Herzfeld, *AMI.*, i, 149-150, note, and Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, p. 71. I would propose the following transliteration and interpretation: -

kavāt apurnāy andar kēβūt-ē büt
apī-šān pat rōt bē hišt
pat kavātakān bē apas <p>art
*Uzar bē dīt stat bē *parvārt*
frazand nivastak vinūt
nām nihāt

Two words have been doubtfully transmitted. The text has 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *psrt* with *s* in place of *sp*. So in *GrBd.*, 68⁵, *psrt* is IndBd. *psprt*. Inversely in *GrBd.*, 182¹¹, there is confusion of *sp* and *s*, where *DH.* has rightly 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, *TD.*₂ 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. The second word is in *DH.* 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, in *TD.*₂ 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, the *lectio difficilior* being that of *DH.* I assume 𐭪 written by mistake for 𐭪, just as in *DkM.*, 284². 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 is written for *kāravānīk*, and similarly in *GrBd.*, 68¹⁰, *TD.*₂ has 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. *DH.* 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. Confusion of 𐭪 and 𐭪 is known elsewhere, see, for instance, *BSOS.*, vi, 946; of 𐭪 and 𐭪 is fairly common, cf. 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *frārāsen* transcribing Av. *frārāθni-* (not recognized in *AIW.*, s.v.). I read, therefore, *parvārt* 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 'nourished, reared'. The verb is common in both the forms *parvārt*

'nourished, reared'. The verb is common in both the forms *parvārt*

kavāt, *kavātak* is 'young, youth' and probably 'page'. To this we have here the adjective with suffix *-akān*: *kavātakān* 'connected with pages'. The importance of this suffix in Mid. Iran. is shown by the numerous words in which it is found. It reached its widest extension in Armenian, but is common elsewhere also. The meaning of the suffix will be clear from the following examples:—

Syr. 'šp-*kn'* *ašpazkān-ā* 'špyzkn' *ašpi-kān-ā*

the man whose business is the 'šp-*kn'* inn', hence 'the innkeeper'.
 Arm. Lw. *aspinjakan*, *aspanjakan* 'innkeeper, host' (*HAG.*, 109);
 Georg. *maspinjeli* 'host, hostess at banquet' (cf. *Rustaveli*, 1105,
mč'ris č'olk'a mč'arulwan maspinjile, quoted in *Journal of the M. W. I.*,

At the beginning of the third century we have Syriac *'trptkn*, and fifth century *'dvrbygn*, Arm. *Atrputakan* (*HAG.*, 23), *Atrpayakan* (for *-t->-y-*, cf. *bazpayit* and NPers. *māyu*, Pahl. *mātak*) 'connected with Atropates', Gr. *Ἀτροπατηνή* (*Strabo*, xi, 13). *Vasपुरakan* was the name of a large Armenian province: Pahl. *vāspuhrakān* 'connected with the *vāspuhr*', cf. *DkM.*, 380¹⁵, *vāspuhrakānīh*. Here belongs also Arm. *ahekani* 'the ninth month' and *mehekani* 'the seventh month' (cf. also *mīhrakan*, *mṛhakan*, Georg. *mīhrakani*), in which the possibility of a compound must be ruled out. As to the *e* in *ahekani* and *mehekani*, a detailed discussion of the Iranian vowels in Armenian loanwords is still needed. It may be said at least that it is not possible to deduce *-ya-* from *-e-* (*-ekan* is found also in *dahekan* and *śahekan*, *śayekan*) and the first syllable of *mehekani* is clearly not a Vṛddhi form of *mīθra-* (not even with *ē* by Umlaut from *ā* since we have *a-* in *ahekani*), as *vāspuhrakān* shows (*ā < āi*).¹

A word of the third century is also Turfan Mid. Iran. *š'bhrg'n*, the name of the book Mānī dedicated to Šāpūr I, in Arabic called الشايرقان, الشاورقان.

An even earlier occurrence is the *τοῖς Μιθρακάνοισ* of *Strabo*, xiv, 9, 530 (quoted by Clemen, *Fontes hist. rel. Persicae*, p. 32); Pahl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. *DkM.*, 402²¹ (Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 53, wrongly quoted *IndBd.*, 33⁹, ed. Justi, where *Mihryān* is the name of the first woman), Pers. مهرگان 'the feast of *Miθra*'.

Similar to *aspañakan* as regards the value of the suffix is Arm. *Lw. vačarakan* 'merchant', Pahl. *vāčarakānīh* 'trade', Pāz. (*Škand GV.*, 4²⁵) *vāzarganū* 'merchants', NPers. *bāzārgān*. Here belongs probably also 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *āmarakān* 'calculator', *DkM.*, 403^{1,6,7}: *ōsmār*

¹ A similar Vṛddhi formation is probably Pahl. *vāčār*, Arm. *Lw. vačar* 'market', Georg. *vač'ari* 'merchant', which belongs to *vī-čar-* as found in Av. (Yt. 5⁹) *pasvasča staurāča upairi zəm vīčarəntu mašyāča bizəngra*.

Yt. 13¹⁶ *fravašayō xšnutō ayanu ahmya nmāne*
xšnutō vīčarəntu ahmya nmāne.

*vāčār < *vāčāra* is the place 'associated with moving to and fro, with traffic', cf. on *kāradāk* below. Kirmānī *vijār* (I am indebted for the word to Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer. During my stay in Persia this year I found *vāz'ir* used in Gaz.) may possibly have preserved a form without Vṛddhi. Marr's etymology in *Zap. Vost. Otd.*, vii, p. 13, is baseless.

Here I would also place Av. *vāčāyana-* 'a look-out' as a Vṛddhi form to **vi-dayana*, in preference to the view of Wackernagel (*Studia Indo-iranica*, Ehrengabe für W. Geiger, p. 227 et seq.).

i āmarakān, *DkM.*, 402¹². Compare also Arm. Lw. *bazmakan* translating ἀνακείμενος of Matt. 26⁷. and *Niḫorakan*, Benveniste, *REA.*, ix (1929), p. 5 et seq. There is another suffix, with similar meaning, *-van-*. Horn, *Grund. Iran. Phil.*, i, b. 172. has *zarvān ātōrbān pulvān*, though he does not recognize *-vān* as a living suffix in NPers. But *-van*, common in Avestan and Sanskrit, appears in Mid. Iran. as either *-v* from the nom. sing., so Pahl. *artāy*, Turfan Mid. Iran. *urdār*, Sogd. *rt'v*. on Arm. Lw. *azniu*, Turfan Mid. Iran. *b'myr*, see *BSOS.*, vi, 954; or as *-vān* from an oblique case. It is found in Pahl. *kāravān* 𐭪𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥, *DkM.*, 283¹⁻². Pahl. *Texts.* 4. 1. 2 (*Aβiyātkār i Zurērān*) *kāravān i Ērān-šahr*. with the adj. *kāra <v> ānīk*, *DkM.*, 284², Arm. Lw. *karavan*, Pāz. *kāravān* (*Škand GV.*, 4²⁵). In the Dēnkart passage *kāra <v> ānīk-mēnišnīh* is set in opposition to *māništak-mēnišnīh*. The *kāravān-ēvarzīk martōmān* (ibid., 283^{18 2}) 'men belonging to the register of the caravan' are the *kāradākān* of *Mēnōkē ʒrat.* 4⁶, see below. The same suffix *-van* is found in Aram. *nštrn'* (cf. Schaefer, *Iran. Beit.*, i, 265) **ništavān-*, and Oss. (Digor) *nistáuan*, (Iron.) *nystuán* 'Auftrag, Empfehlung, Testament' (cf. Vilencič, *Doklady Akad. Nauk. SSSR.*, Series B, 11). Hence it is unnecessary to alter Pahl. (*Mēnōkē ʒrat.* 37³⁶), TD. 𐭪𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥. K. 𐭪𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥, Pāz. *spanžānāi*, as B. Geiger proposed, *WZKM.*, 1930. p. 196. n. 1. to **spanjākānīh*. It is better to read *spanjavānakīh*. I would connect here also Turfan Mid. Iran. *d'hv'n*, probably **dāhvān* 'giver, liberal', comparing *rt-* of the corresponding Sogdian text with Pahl. *rāt*, NPers. *rād* (cf. *Minūcihrī*, i, 29. *kaf i rād i to*) 'liberal', hence **dāθa-vān*. With this Sogd. *rt-* should be compared *r'tek* in the Sogdian name of the Mother of Life *r'm r'tek byyy: rātūχ* 'bountiful'. Schaefer (*Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, p. 157) has *Rām-ratūχ* (probably for *rātūχ*). The etymology (*apud* Walds. u. Lentz. loc. cit., p. 127. note 1) is unacceptable. The word *d'hv'n* supplies also the explanation of Arm. Lw. *dahamounk*, gen. pl. *dahamaṇç* 'gifts, offerings' with *-man-*, cf. Turfan Mid. Iran. (North and South Dialects) *dysm'n* 'structure'. The *vstyv'n* of *Mēnōkē ʒrat.* 2⁶⁹, Pāz. *ōstūy*, can be explained as **ava-sti-van* (cf. Nyberg. *Glossar.* s.v. **ōstēvān*), beside *ōstīkān*. Possibly also Pahl. *dyv'n*, NPers. *divān*, Arm. Lw. *divan* is **diβi-vān-*, in which, owing to the long syllable following, *-iβīv-* has become *ī*, in contrast to the *dpyr* (Gem inscription), Pahl. *dpyr*, Arm. Lw. *dpir*, NPers. *dabīr*

from **dīβī-var-* with following short syllable. Pahl. *dip* 'document' is in *Mātiyān i hazār Dāstān* (Bartholomae, *Zum sasan. Recht.*, iv, 14). The *i* of Arm. *divan* (contra Hübs., *AG.*, s.v.) does not necessarily presuppose *ē* (although this would be possible if we suppose **dīβavān*, -*iva-* > *ē* > *i* early), since the name *dīvān* is probably of the Sasanian period (cf. the tale in Ibn Khaldūn, *Notices et Extraits*, Texte, vol. ii, p. 16):

ويقال ان اصل هذه التسمية ان كسرى نظر يوما الى كتاب ديوانه وهم
يحسبون مع انفسهم كانوا يجادون فقال ديوانه اى مجانين بلغة الفرس)

and at that period Iran. pretonic *ē* appears in Arm. Lws. mostly as *h* (*e*): *Eran. Peroz, Šeroy, Revan, Vsemakan, Čenastan*, but *Niršapouh, Gilan* (and *Gelan*); whereas *ī* is *i* in *hamsīrak, Širin, Viroy*, hence also in *ostikan, rahviray, azarmiduxt*. Then *apeniaz* with *e* and *ia* is Sasanian in contrast to the earlier loanword *apirat*. If then Arm. *divan* is a loanword of Sasanian times, Pahl. *dyr'n* should probably be read *dīvān* with *ī*.

v can be written also by 𐭪 as shown by 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥 *vāvar*. NPers. *bāvar*, Arm. *an|vaver*; 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥 *avērān*; Jud.-Pers. 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤓: NPers. *vīrān*: 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥 *nāv* 'channel'. *DkM.*, 779^{5,6}. NPers. *nāv*. 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥 is also found. Hence, *kāravān* is written 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 and 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 in *Artāy Vīrāz Nāmak*, 67¹⁰, 68¹⁰, 93⁵. This value of 𐭪 was not noticed by F. Müller, *WZKM.*, 5, 354. Pāzand has *kāravān* and *kārβān*. Arm. has also *kareuan* beside *karavan*. Here probably belongs also 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 beside 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 *frēcavānih. frēcavānēnitak* *DkM.*, 404¹⁹, rather than with *-p-*.

NPers. *pēcāvān* 'twisted' seems also to belong here.

In *Mēnōkē xrat.* 2⁶⁹, *yātavānak* is a possible reading of 𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭥 (cf. Nyberg, *Glossar.* s.v. **ništavānak*), the Pāzand has *šādangō*, which is Pahl. *yātakgōβ*.

It is accordingly possible to understand *kuvātakān* as the man appointed to take charge of (*vīnārtan*) the pages. This man then fills the office of the *šr srysym. ἀρχιευνοῦχος*, Arm. *nerkinapet* of Daniel 1³. Here the pages received their education. The page Khvaš-āržūk boasts of his attending the *frahangastān*. An episode of the early life of Ardašīr i Pāpakān may be compared, as given by Ṭabarī, i, 813

et seq. Gōzihr *malik* of Ištāxr had appointed the eunuch Tīrē. argbed of Dārābgird :

فلما أتى الوردشير سبع سنين سار به أبوه الى جزهر وهو بالبيضاء فوقه
بين يديه وساءله ان يضعه الى تيرى ليكون ريبا له وارحبذا من بعده في
موضعه فاجابه الى ذلك وكتب بما ساءله من ذلك سجلا وصار به الى تيرى
فقبله احسن قبول وتبناه

nivastak 'allied, connected', to *ni-band-*, cf. Pahl. *patvand*, NPers. *paivand* 'connected by family'. Av. *nivanda-* 'binding', Turfan Mid. Iran. *nivannišn ud paivann aviš paivast* (Henning, loc. cit., pp. 24, 27). *nbst* (Bang u. Gabain. *Turk.-Turfan-Texte*, ii, p. 15). *nivastak* is here equivalent to 'adopted'; cf. Herzfeld. *AMI.*, iv, 61, note 3, on 'adopted son' and *Dd.*, 56 : 59 (inaccessible to me in the Pahlavi). Also Bthl. *SR.*, 5. 21.

vinīt 𐭧𐭣𐭥𐭩 is somewhat uncertain, since it is impossible so far to point out this compound *vi-nay-* in Mid. Iran. texts other than Pahlavi and possibly Turfan Mid. Iran. *gvny'g*. Cf. *DkM.*, 403⁴, *pat admēt i āsānīh andar ān yašnīhā andar kār ut ranj *vinīt martōm patiš āsānīhēnd ut rāmīhēnd*. That compounds of *nay-* existed we know from Pahl. *ānūtan* and Man. Sogd. *prn'yiny* 'leader' (Walds. u. Lentz, loc. cit., pp. 76, 95). I understand as 'brought up'. The meaning 'instruct' for *vi-nay-* in Sanskrit is unfortunately not attested in early texts.

There remains the word *kēbūt*. The text has 𐭧𐭣𐭥𐭩. I look upon the word as a loanword from Aramaic. We have other Western (Greek or Aramaic) words in Mid. Iran., such as Turfan Mid. Iran. *dydym* διαδέυμα; NPers. 𐭧𐭣𐭥𐭩 (Lentz, *ZII.*, 4, 285); Pahl. 𐭧𐭣𐭥𐭩 and 𐭧𐭣𐭥𐭩 *kālpuδ*, *kālpaδ* 'form', Gr. *καλαπόδιον*, Arm. *katapar* 'mould' (cf. Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v.), NPers. *daftar* (*daptar* is still the usual word in the language of the Zarduštī speakers of Yazd for *kī'ūb*). Gr. *διφθέρα* 'prepared hide'. Ktesias (*apud* Diod., 2³², Gilmore, p. 9) has *διφθέραι βασιλικαί* of the Persian royal records. Pahl. *barbut* 𐭧𐭣𐭥𐭩 is first attested in Greek *βάρβιτος* 'an instrument of many strings, like the lyre', Arm. Lw. *barbout*, NPers. *barbut*, *barbat*, Arab. *barbat* (Fraenkel, *de vocabulis . . . peregrinis*). Compare also NPers. *čalīpā*, Syr. *šlyb*, Arab. *ṣalīb*. The word *kēbūt* could therefore have come from Aramaic. A word 𐭧𐭣𐭥𐭩

is attested in Syriac and in Mandæan with two distinct meanings and of different origin. Syriac has ܡܠܚܘܿܬܐ (for alef cf. ܡܠܘܿܬܐ 'silver', Pahl. *asēm*, Gr. ἄσημον 'silver') and ܡܚܘܿܬܐ (Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*): 'cista,' of Moses' ark in Exod. 2³, and also of the ark of Noah. This is Greek κιβωτός 'coffer', used for Noah's ark in the LXX, but found long before in Hekataios and Simonides. Mandæan has ܩܢܘܿܬܐ 'saeptum' (Brockelmann, *ibid.*) cognate with Assyr. *gabūtu*, as in *gabūt alpi* 'enclosure for oxen'. Both these meanings can probably be traced in Iranian. The Pahl. *kēβūt* is 'box', in an identical use with that in Syriac where *qēbūtā* is used of Moses' ark. The second word, Mandæan ܩܢܘܿܬܐ 'saeptum', is found in Turfan Mid. Iran. ܩܦܘܿܬܐ (*apud* Henning, *loc. cit.*, p. 10) in the description of the overthrow of the monster by Adamas:

rōy ō ēray rōn
ē'ōn šayr andar kēvud

'face to the southern quarter, like a lion in a trap'. For ܦ in place of ܩ there are several cases in Turfan Mid. Iran., such as ܦܦܘܿܬܐ *bēm*, Gr. βήμα; ܦܦܘܿܬܐ (Henning, *loc. cit.*), ܦܦܘܿܬܐ; and also in Pahlavi (Nyberg, *Monde oriental*, xvii, 211).

hišt 'put', here imperfect in meaning, 'were intending to put', for *hištan* 'to put', cf. Gazī *vāžāšt* 'he put', *vāmāšt* 'I put', translated by Gazis to me by NPers. *guzāštan*. The whole passage can then be rendered:

'Kavāt, as a child, was in a box, and they intended to put him on the river. He was delivered to the "Overseer of the Pages". Uzav saw, took him and had him nursed. He brought him up as a son of his own family and gave him his name.'

So far it seems possible to go. It may later happen that a better interpretation of the text will be found, but it is, I hope, certain that *kēβūt*, *parvārt*, and *kavātak* are to be read here.

II. *Kāradāk*

Above I have identified the *kāravān-ēvarzīk martōmān* with the *kāradākān* (*kāradahakān*), understanding by both words 'people who move about by caravan'. In the Dēnkart passage (283²⁰ seq.) *kāra* <*v*> *ānik-mēnišnīh* 'inclination to travel by caravan' is contrasted with *māništak-mēnišnīh* 'inclination to a settled abode'. Herein lies probably the true explanation of OPers. *kāra* 'army',

Pahl. *kārīk* 'soldier', *kārēcār* 'battlefield', *kār-* in *kāravān* and in *kāradāk*: it is the 'mobile' contrasted with the 'settled' life. Cf. also NBal. *čarōχ* 'wanderer, vagabond'. The *kāravān* i *ērānšahr* (Pahl. *Texts*, 4, l. 2) is the 'train of the army of Persia'. In Draχt Asōrīk (ed. Unvala, § 18, Pahl. *Texts*, p. 11) the tree says:

āšyān hom murvīcākān
sāyak kāradākān χastak

'I am the home of small birds, shade for the weary men of the caravans.'

In Turfan Mid. Iran. there is a Manichæan paraphrase of Matt. 25³⁶: ξένος ἤμην καὶ συνηγάγετέ με.

'*vd* <'> *vzdĥ v' q' rd' g bvd hym 'vt' n' v qdg ĥrēpt ĥym* (M. 475, verso 11-13). 'I was an exile and a wanderer (*kārδāγ*) and you took me into your house.'

Mēnōkē χrat, 4⁶, agrees with this explanation: *pancom īzišn i Yazdān ut aspanj i kāradākān kartan*, in the Pāzand, *u pančum yazešn i Yazdā u aspanz i kāradahagū kardan*. There is a Pāzand variant *kārβān* 'caravan' (cf. the spelling Pāz. *kāravān*, *Škand GV.*, 4²⁵), which expresses the meaning accurately. The idea in *aspanj* 'inn' proves that we have to do with wayfarers. For the view that the merchant was looked upon primarily as a traveller and wanderer, we may compare the remarks of Lazar of P'arpi (ed. Venice, 1793, p. 163): *eu loueal zays arn mioy vačarakani, or ēr azgau χουζικ, oroy ast aurini vačarakanout'ean sat angam čanaparhordeal ēr i hays or eu zlezou hayerēn χausiç. k'a] tēlekabar gitēr*. The same word is found also in *Mēnōkē χrat*, 37³⁶, of the thirty-third good act (*kurpak*) leading to Vahišt: *XXXIII-om kē vīmārān ut armēštān ut kāradākān rād *spanjavānakih kunēt* 'thirty-third, he who provides hospitality for the sick, those excluded as unfit, and wayfarers'. Wayfarers, men of the caravans, naturally suggested the specialization 'merchants', which is represented in the Sanskrit translation of 4⁶: *āśrama-sthānānāmea baṇīklokebhyah karanam*, and of 37³¹: *gah kleśibhyah pangubhyo bāṇijyakarebhyah āśramasthānāni vidadhati*. So, too, in *Škand GV.*, 4²⁵: *αβι cun gadūgū rāhdār, i andar kāravān vāzarganū rāh brīnend*. The explanation proposed by Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v. *kārādahak*, is therefore unnecessary.

This same suffix *-dāk* seems to offer the means of explaining Pahl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥, Turfan Mid. Iran. *pyd'g*, Pāz. *pēdā*, *paidā*, NPers. *paidā*, *huraidā*. No satisfactory solution has been given (cf. Nyberg, *Glossar*,

s.v. *paidāk*). In writing the suffix *-dāk*. Pahl. has 𐭪𐭥𐭥 beside 𐭪𐭥𐭥, in which *d* beside *t* points to *δ*. Hence I would propose *paidāk* for 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 comparing NPers. *paidād* 'produced, manifest' (and possibly *paidāyīs*) from *pati-* with *dā-*. NPers. *pādās* (Pahl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥) has also *d*, just as NPers. *payām* (beside *payām*) has preserved *g-* after *pati-*.

A different *kāra-* is represented in Avestan (*V7d.*, 217) :

kāravaiti paēmaraiti
χšvīptaraiti ruoγnaraiti
mazgaraiti

where *kāra-* is probably to be explained by NPers. *kara* 𐭪𐭥𐭥 'fresh butter'. In *AIW*. it is translated 'tätig'. Darmesteter in *SBE.*, iv, 233, gave 'seed'. in *Zend-Avesta (Ann. Musée Guimet, 1892, vol. xxii)* he has 'active' with note 23: *kāravaiti, kārōmand*, peut-être 'fécondée'. cf. *kār* 'action de semer'.

The Pahlavi commentator has (*Spiegel*, p. 225, l. 8 seq.) :—

k' r'ōmand ku-t k' r b <av>ēt
pēm'ōmand ku-t pēm barēt
sīr'ōmand ku-t sīr barēt
ēvak ān . . i . . martōmān
ēvak ān . . i . . gōspandān
rōγn'ōmand ut mazg'ōmand.

Here it is also possible that Pahl. *k' r* means 'fresh butter'.

For the relation of Av. *kāra-*, Pahl. *k' r* to NPers. *kara*, compare Av. *sarah-* beside *sāra-*, Pahl. *sar*, *sār*, NPers. *sar*, *sār*. Hence Av. *spāra.dāšta-*, epithet of Aši, if compared with *darəγō.vārəθman-*, may (*contra AIW.*) have *spāra* 'shield'. Pahl. *spar*, Turfan Mid. Iran. 'spr. NPers. *sipar*.

I would understand the whole passage as referring to the cow.

The final part of *kāradāk* needs to be considered further. A suffix *-dāk* or *-dahak* is to be found in other words. Pāz. *vīnāβadū* (as in *ŠkandGV.*, 4⁸⁸. 5³¹) and *avīnāβadū* (*ŠkandGV.*, 5¹⁶. 5²⁷) renders Pahl. 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (*Dd.*, 36⁴⁷ and elsewhere) 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (*DkM.*, 434²¹) 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (*DkM.*, 633^{13 14}) 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (*GrBd.*, 127²), with the negative 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (*DkM.*, 635¹²). It translates Avestan *vaēnəmnmom* and is translated by Sanskrit *drśya-*. In the Pahl. the variant spelling with *t* and *d* suggests that *δ* is intended: hence it can

be read *vēnāβδāk* 'visible'. The noun **وینام** *vēnāβ* 'vision' occurs in Bahman Yašt, 2²⁹ (K 20, fol. 131, v. 14-15, transl. West, *SBE.*, v. 201 : Noshervan's edition lacks this passage) : *ān i *arēicēn χ'atāyih i Vahrām Gōr-šāh, ka mēnōk i rāmišn vēnāβ paiāk kunēt* 'that of lead is the reign of Vahrām Gōr the king, when the spirit of joyousness will reveal a vision'. NPers. *bīnāb*, (Vullers) 'res quæ homini in ecstasi apparent, visum, visa species'.

I would see the same *-dāk(-dāk)* in **برازدک**, as in *Artāy Vīrāz Nāmak*, 12^{1 2}, *apī-m givāk-ē frāc mat hom . ut dīt ān i rātān ruβān kē brāzadāk raft. brāzadāk (brāzadāk)* 'brilliant' belongs to the verb *brāzēt, brāzīhēt* (*Dd.*, 36^{35 109}) 'shines'.

The same suffix occurs also in Turfan Mid. Iran. (north. dial.) *mēzdg't'g* 'messenger' beside the (south. dial.) *myzdg't'č*, as in *myzdg't'č 'rd 'zdygr yzd* 'messenger and Herald Deity'. In *-č* beside *-g* it would perhaps be possible to recognize the same variation of suffix as in Pahl. **کوار** beside **کوک** *kūk, kūč* 'small' (with *-č-* due to a monosyllabic form in NPers. *kūčak*) and Turfan Mid. Iran. *knyyg* 'maiden' beside NPers. *kanīz*.

III. *Kapārak*

The Pahlavi commentary on *Vīd.*, 9¹¹, *kumēit vā χruždismanum* reads *aivāp katār-ič-ē ān i saxt zamīk kapārak-ē* **کاسه سفالین** *ut čiš-ē* 'or anything of hard earth, an earthen pot or the like'. The word is evidently NPers. *kabāra* **کباره** explained as **کاسه سفالین**, (Vullers) was *figlinum*. NPers. *kuvāra* **کواره** with the same meaning, which Sanjana (*The Vendidad*, p. 178) compared, will probably also belong here. For *kabāra* Vullers has no quotation, but for *kuvāra* he has the verse :

پیش مستان بزم وحدت او
چه کواره چه کاسه زرین

ascribed to Farīd i *Khurāsāni*.

I think to find the same word, though somewhat badly transmitted, also in the commentary on Yasna, 9¹¹ (cf. Unvala, *Hom Yašt*, p. 20). The whole passage is of interest. The Avestan text has been translated by Wolff-Bartholomae : Lommel, *Die Yāst's*, p. 189, and earlier. A more recent attempt has been made by Hertel (*Die avestischen*

Herrschafts- und Siegesfeier, 1931, p. 45, and note 3) to translate the similar passage of *Yast*, 19⁴⁰, but unfortunately owing to his neglect of the few aids we have for understanding the Avestan texts and his preference for meanings based upon unsound etymologies, the result in this present case cannot be considered a serious contribution to the understanding of the text. The Avesta has :

yō jānaṭ ažiṃ sruvarəm
yim aspō.garəm nərə.garəm
yim višavantəm zairitəm
yim upairi viš araodāt
ārštyō.barəza zairitəm.

This is translated and annotated thus :

kē-š žat až i sruβar
i asp-ōpār i mart-ōpār
i viš'ōmand i zart
kē-š apar viš rānēnīt ēstēt
asp-bālād ān i zart
ēt ēn hanē pat kamāl ul šut
 (Avestan letters) *χšvaēpaya vaēnaya barəšna*
ān hanē pat zafar bē ōpast
hast kē ētōn gōβēt ēt har dō ēruk
ān and bālād ul šut
*ān *and drahnād bē ōpast.*
*hast kē ētōn gōβēt ēt *kapārak* کاپارک *apar pušt hušk ēstāt.*

hanē is here written هانس (cf. for the spelling, Salemann, *GIP.*, i, 294, on *han* 'other'), *hanē . . . ut hanē* 'the one . . . the other', *Av. anyō . . . anyō*, OPers. (Charte 25-6) *aniyā . . . aniyā*.

vaēnaya. Instr. to *vaēnā*. Bartholomae, *AIW.*, quoted *Kurd bēn* 'nose, smell', Mid. Pers. *vēn*, North Bal. *gīn* 'breath'. In Pahl. *vēn* is frequent, meaning 'breath': *GrBd.*, 189¹⁵, وین, *vēn āβarišn barišn ēgōn vāt* 'fetching and expelling breath like the wind': *DkM.*, 807¹⁷, *pat harvist āyīšn bē-šavišn. pat vēn āβarišn barišn*. It is a derivative of *vāy-* 'to blow' (cf. *AIW.*, ²*vā-*), with the same form as *kaēnā- πωνή*. In Pahl. *frarīt*, written فراریت as transcription of Avestan *fra-vay-*, is translated by *daft* 'blew', *DkM.*, 814⁶, quoted *BSOS.*, vi, 598. Pahl. *vēnīk* 'nostril', as in *DkM.*, 814⁶, *dašn vēnīk* 'right nostril', and *Gr.Bd.*, 190⁸, *II vēnīk* 'the two nostrils', has also the meaning 'nose', NPers. *bīnī* 'nose', cf. Pāzand *damašni i vīnī*,

ŠkandGV., 13³⁸. *vēnīk* is derived from *vēn* as *dēhīk* from *dēh*. *kārīk* from *kār*.

The spelling 𐬨𐬀 (GrBd., 189¹⁵) with the two dots of *g* indicates a pronunciation *gēn* (cf. NBal. *gīn*), as in the case of 𐬨𐬀 *vēv*, GrBd., 197¹¹, intended to be read *gēv*. Ind.Bd. has 𐬨𐬀 *gīβ*. XPers. *gēv* beside *bēžan*. The *g* is found already in the inscription ΓΕΟΠΟΘΡΟΣ. cf. Herzfeld. *AMI.*, iv. 58 et seq. Hence Nyberg's reading *vayū* in *Journ. Asiat.* (1929), i, 302. must be given up.

The gloss may be thus rendered :—

‘That is, this one ascended at the head
over tail and snout and neck
the other fell down at the jaw.

Some say that both are the same, it ascended to such
a height, it fell down such a distance.

Some say that the earthen pot remained dry upon its back.’

This has probably understood the Avestan text correctly : *araodaṭ* is translated in the word for word rendering by *rānēnīt ēstēt* ‘is caused to move’, and explained in the gloss by *ul šut* ‘ascended, mounted up’. Hence the Avestan is to be rendered :

‘above whom the yellow poison mounted up
to the height of a spear's length.’

This gives the verb *raud-* ‘to mount’, a development of the meaning ‘to grow’. Bartholomæ, *AIW.*, ⁴*raud-* by translating ‘flow’ has missed the meaning, similarly Lommel (loc. cit.) ‘*auf dem gelbes Gift schwoll*’. For *raud-* ‘mount up’ it is possible to compare Sanskrit *rohati* ‘grow, mount up’ and *rohayati* ‘cause to mount’. With the prefix *ā*, as here in Av. *araodaṭ* (so rightly Geldner's text here, but *Yašt.* 19⁴⁰, has *raodaṭ* without variant), *ārohati* ‘mount’, cf. *dyām rohati* ‘mounts to heaven’. It is, however, more important to notice that the meaning ‘mount’ is attested for Iranian by NBalōčī *ruḍay*, *rōḍay* ‘to grow, spring up, mount’. Dames, *Bilochi Grammar*, p. 79. Pahl. has *ārodišn* (cf. *M.c.* 49²³, *kē zāyīšnīk ut kē-ē ārōdišnīk*) of ‘growth’: cf. Turfan Mid. Iran. *rry*.

IV. Armenian *ašxoiž* and *ašxat*

1. *ašxoiž*.

It is now possible to point out the Iranian word from which the Armenian borrowed *ašxoiž* ‘veemente, fervido, vivace, vigoroso, impetuoso, ardente, violento’. It can be recognized in the word left

untranslated by Henning (loc. cit.) in three passages, South. dial., ܐܚܫܕܝܐ *axšōz*.

(a) p. 22 (e I verso, i, 29).

ܢܝܫܝܐܐܪܝܫܬܝܐ
 ܢܪܝܕܝܫܝܫܬܝܐ
 ܝܡܝܓܫܝܪܝܐ
 ܩܝܪܒܢܕܟܝܫܘܝܝܐܠܝܐ
 ܕܩܝܫܡܝܢܒܝܓܝܕܝܐܠܝܐ
 ܩܦܪܢܝܢܕܝܫܝܫܝܐܢܝܐ
 ܩܦܝܡܝܠܝܐܠܝܐ

those, the male Āsrēštār and the
 female Āsrēštār, lion-shaped, raging
 and wrathful. baneful and ravaging,
 those he put on as a garment.

Two of the other words also merit notice.

bzg. So far no explanation has been given of the word *bzg* (cf. Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v. *bačak*). The reading *bazay* is assured by Turfan Mid. Iran. (North. dial.) *bzg* with *z* not *ž*. Hence in Pahlavi *bazak*¹ (in *GrBd.*, 193^{5, 8, 10}, with the meaning of ‘causing harm’, *vizand*), Pāz. *baza*. *baža* (*Mēnōkē xrat*), *bažaa* (*Škand GV.*), with *ž* as in the word *āž* from *āz* (it is possible that an actual pronunciation is here preserved, cf. NPers. *diz* and *diž* < **dizā*, OPers. *didā*, NPers. *nizād* ‘generation’ to *zan-* ‘be born’, and Parāčī *buč* ‘goat’, NPers. *buz*, Av. *buz-a-*), NPers. *baza* ܐܝܝܐ . This word would supply an explanation also of Buddh. Sogd. βyz- , βyz- ‘evil’ perhaps from **bazyā-*. The etymology of these words is given by Saka *baśdā*, fem. ‘sin’ < **bazdayakā*, Leumann, *Zur nordar. Sprache u. Lit.*, p. 127; Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 123. Hence they may all be connected with Av. *bazda-* ‘made ill’ (Pahl. transl. *vīmār*), beside which occurs *banta-* ‘idem’, to the verb *band-*, *ban-* ‘to make ill’, not to be confused, as has sometimes been done, with *band-* ‘to bind’. The treatment of *zd* is twofold in Pahlavi: *nazd*. *nazdīk* ‘near’, Sogd. *nzt*, but *duzd* beside *duz* ‘thief’ (cf. Bartholomæ, *ZII*, iv, 186 et seq.). Kumzāri *nēzik*, NBal. *nazī*, *nazīχ* ‘near’. So Pahl. ܩܦܙܝܩܝܐ *pazūk*, *Vīd.*, 14⁶; ܩܦܙܝܩܝܐ *pazūk*, *GrBd.*, 144⁵; ܩܦܙܝܩܝܐ *pāzūk*. *Pahl. Riv.*, 21⁹; Av. *pazdu-*, NPers. *pazduk*.

pr. I am inclined to find Pahl. *appar* (Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v. *apar*) in Pahl. ܩܦܝܡܝܠܝܐܠܝܐ *DkM.*, 816²¹, *aš ētōn ar ham ārāst vāng ēgōn ān i apparakānak spāh* ‘he uttered a cry like that of a ravaging army’. *DkM.*, 809¹², *aš hač ān tungīh bōžēnd ēgōn ān i apparakānak spāh*

¹ Written both *bēk* and *bzk* (Pahl. Comm. to Yasna, 51¹²) and possibly ܩܦܝܩܝܐ *DkM.*, 386⁹, MPI. *bēk*.

‘they will deliver him from that distress, like the distress of a ravaging army’. It would then be distinct from *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥* *hazārakānak*. *Dk.M.*, 839^r: *hazārakānak ku 1000 pat ē bār bē āyēnd* ‘a thousand-fold, that is, a thousand come at one time’. Compare, however, *Zātsp.*, 3. 1. *čēyōn ān hazārakānak spāh ku pat āknēn apar garzēnd*.

(b) p. 23 (c recto, i. 29).

h'n zhy 'y mzn'n
 e 'sryšt'r'n
 'yš k'vrd h'n pd
 kvyš 'kšzyh
 vmyhyd 'vs kyrd
 tn 'yv nrdys . . .

from that progeny of Mazans and
 Āsrēstārs which he devoured he
 formed it by his own violence and
 made one body of male form . . .

(c) p. 22 (e I, verso i. 31-verso ii, 1).

'vyš'n
 pymešt'š kvyš
 nyj'm 'vd pymeš
 qyrd hynd 'vs'n
 'ndr 'kšzyhyšt

they put these on.
 they made them their own veil and
 garment and within them they
 raged.

2. *ašxat arnel* ‘dar pena ad alcuno, molestare, infestare’ occurs twice in this same text *'kš'dyh 'kš'dyy* translated ‘Leid’.

p. 21 (e I, verso i. 17).

ny'z v 'kš'dyh niyāz ud aχšāδīh
 ‘want and trouble’

p. 8 (e II, verso i. 30).

'vd 'kš'dyy gcm'yd ud aχšāδī gumāyēδ
 ‘and suffers distress’

Hence also for the North. dial. *'kš'dypt aχšāδīft* (Walds. u. Lentz, loc. cit., p. 114) read ‘trouble’, not ‘Verzeihung’.

V. Note to *BSOS.*, VI, 582

The reading *pat 3 bahr ē bahr* proposed for the corrupt passage in *Žāmāsp Nāmak*, *BSOS.*, VI, 582, § 72 and p. 588, is rather to be explained as *pat 10 bahr ē bahr* in accordance with the Persian *Žāmāsp Nāmak* (ed. Modi, p. 85, l. 18), which has *mardum andar Irān šahr az dah bahra bahrī namāwand* in the corresponding passage.

(In *BSOS.*, VI, 593, last line, *ākand* and XPers. *āyandan* are mistakenly said to belong to a root *kand-*. Obviously they are from *kan-*.)

Le *da drag* tibétain

Par J. PRZYLUŠKI et M. LALOU

POUR les grammairiens tibétains, *da drag* (= faux *d*) est le nom d'un suffixe qui s'ajoute aux finales *n*, *r*, *l*.

La loi d'euphonie du *da drag* exige au début de la syllabe suivante : *t*, *ç*, *p*.

On peut distinguer deux états du *da drag* :—

(1) le *d* est écrit.

(2) le *d* n'est pas écrit, mais la syllabe qui suit *n*, *r*, *l* présente la forme qu'elle aurait si le *da drag* était écrit.

Y-a-t-il eu une époque où le *da drag* était toujours écrit ? B. Laufer ("Bird Divination among the Tibetans," *T'oung Pao*, xv, 1914, I, p. 60) s'élève contre l'opinion qui fait du *da drag* un signe de graphie ancienne. Il cite comme exemple une inscription de A.D. 783 et un document du fonds Pelliot qui n'ont pas le *da drag*, et un manuscrit or et argent de l'*Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, datant du XVIIIe siècle, où il est fréquemment écrit. Pour B. Laufer, la présence du *da drag* n'est pas un signe d'ancienneté, ni son absence un fait récent.

D'après les anciens grammairiens tibétains, le *da drag* est une marque du passé. J. Bacot, qui rapporte cette opinion, fait observer à bon droit que ce signe se rencontre aussi dans des mots qui ne sont pas des verbes et où il ne peut indiquer un temps (*Les ślokas grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhoṭa*, p. 24, n. 2).

Sarat Chandra Das, suivant une opinion déjà exprimée par Csoma de Körös et Foucaux, le considère comme une graphie surannée.

Les philologues européens ne sont pas d'accord sur l'origine du *da drag*. Rockhill incline à le considérer comme une graphie fautive et croit trouver des exemples où il aurait été introduit par euphonie.

D'après B. Laufer, c'était d'abord un élément de caractère grammatical, puis sa signification devint incomprise et il fut employé après *n*, *r*, *l* pour des raisons uniquement euphoniques ; le degré de conservation de cet élément a varié selon les localités, les dialectes ; les formes *t-o*, *t-am*, *t-u*, encore usitées dans la graphie moderne, prouvent que le *da drag*, quoique non écrit, est encore articulé (B. Laufer, *ibid.*, p. 64).

Pour expliquer que le *da drag*, avant de devenir élément euphonique, ait eu une valeur grammaticale, B. Laufer invoque :—

(1) des cas où l'insertion d'un *d* indique un état, une condition :
rga-ba " être vieux " > *rgad-pa* " vieil homme " .
na-ba " être malade " > *nad-pa* " maladie " .

(2) des cas où l'insertion d'un *d* forme des verbes transitifs en partant d'une racine intransitive ou nominale :

dma-ba " bas, vil " > *smod-pa* " blâmer " .
bja-ba " action " > *byed-pa* " faire " .

Ces formations proviendraient, d'après Laufer, d'une contraction de la racine avec l'auxiliaire *yod* (ibid., p. 63).

P. Cordier explique que l'orthographe tibétaine ancienne admettait trois finales doubles *nd*, *rd*, *ld*, devenues aujourd'hui *n*, *r*, *l* respectivement, par chute de l'affixe dental sonore : toutefois, la finale double a été conservée par certains mots dans des manuscrits provenant d'Asie Centrale (*Cours de Tibétain classique*, Hanoi, 1908, p. 7).

La liste de ces mots avait été dressée par L. D. Barnett, d'après un manuscrit du *Śālistambasūtra* découvert au Turkestan Chinois par Sir Aurel Stein (" Preliminary notice of Tibetan Manuscript in the Stein Collection," *JRAS.*, 1903, p. 110). Il ressort de ce travail que les mots terminés par *n*, *r*, *l*, peuvent être rangés en deux classes :

- (a) ceux qui n'ont jamais le *da drag*.
- (b) ceux qui l'ont quelquefois.

Il est probable que dans l'usage ancien et correct les mots de la seconde classe avaient toujours le *da drag* et que, s'ils en sont parfois privés dans le manuscrit Stein, c'est parce que le *da drag* est en voie de disparition.

Quel son représentait exactement le faux *d* ?

On sait qu'après un *d* ordinaire, les mots commençant par *d*, *z*, *b* conservent l'initiale sonore et les particules commençant par *t* changent leur initiale en *d*. Le *da drag* exigeant à sa suite une sourde, un point peut être considéré comme acquis : le faux *d* agissait dans le *samdhi* tibétain autrement qu'un *d* ordinaire : par conséquent il ne peut être considéré comme ayant la valeur de la dentale sonore.

D'autre part, le *da drag* ne saurait être considéré comme l'équivalent d'un *t*, car s'il avait cette valeur les Tibétains n'auraient pas manqué de le transcrire au moyen de la dentale sourde.¹ Ainsi le " faux *d* "

¹ On objectera peut-être que les Tibétains n'écrivent jamais *t* à la fin d'un mot : mais la raison de cette abstention n'est guère douteuse. Puisque l'alphabet tibétain comporte un *t*, le fait que cette lettre n'est jamais écrite à la fin du mot prouve sans doute qu'un *t* final n'était jamais prononcé quand l'orthographe tibétaine a été fixée.

n'est ni un *d* ni un *t* bien qu'il ait des affinités avec une sourde comme l'indique le traitement de la consonne qui le suit. Force est donc d'admettre que le son noté par le *da drag* est intermédiaire entre *t* et *d*, c'est-à-dire qu'il est sans doute une consonne mi-sonore. De tels phonèmes existent encore dans les langues autoasiatiques et nous savons que les Tibétains ont vécu longtemps en contact avec des populations parlant des langues de cette famille.

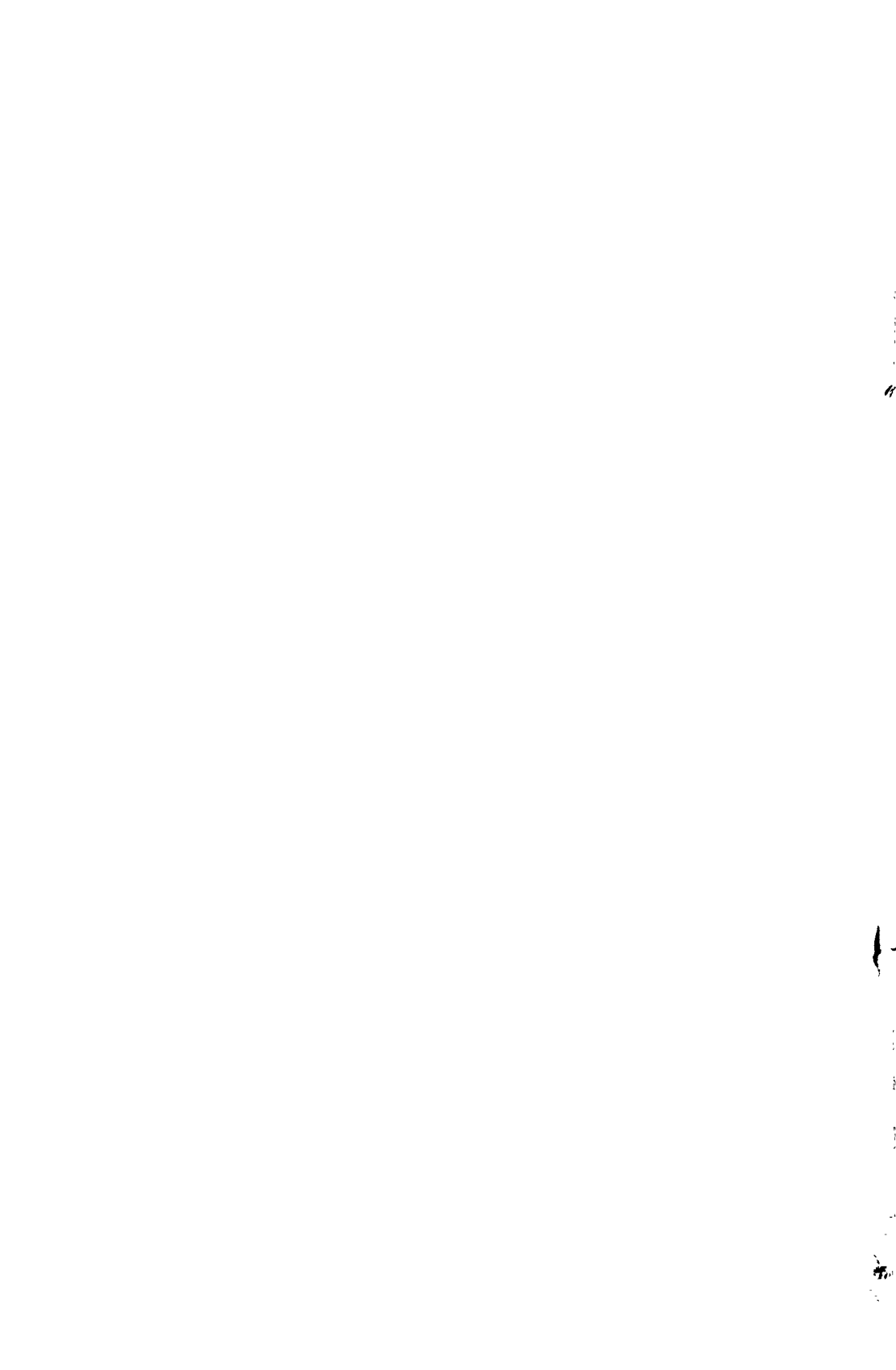
L'hypothèse d'un phonème mi-sonore permet d'expliquer la production du *da drag* et l'irrégularité de son emploi. On peut concevoir qu'entre un mot terminé par *n*, *r*, *l* et un élément commençant par une sourde, il se soit développé, dans certains dialectes, un phonème intermédiaire entre *d* et *t*, c'est-à-dire une mi-sonore qui facilitait la transition entre la sonante et la sourde. Ce phonème supplémentaire a pu, dans certains cas, être noté imparfaitement par un *d* et, dans d'autres cas, être négligé. D'où les irrégularités constatées dans la graphie.

En somme, le *da drag* ne peut guère être une sonore qui se serait maintenue ou développée devant une sourde. C'est plutôt, croyons-nous, une mi-sonore qui fait la liaison entre une sonante et une sourde. Si notre explication est exacte, la notation : sonante + *d* + *t* indique qu'entre la sonante et la sourde des vibrations glottales se font entendre. Il semble dans ces conditions que *d* + *t* représente un son complexe qui s'accompagne au début de vibrations glottales pour s'assourdir finalement. De même, les notations sonante + *d* + *p* et sonante + *d* + *ç* indiquent simplement qu'entre la sonante et la sourde des vibrations glottales se font entendre.

Les suggestions qui précèdent sont principalement destinées à provoquer des observations sur le terrain. A cet égard, nous croyons devoir appeler l'attention des chercheurs sur les points suivants :—

(1) Existe-t-il encore, sur tout ou partie du domaine tibéto-birman, des consonnes mi-sonores ? Ces phonèmes étant peu stables dans les langues austroasiatiques, il ne serait pas étonnant qu'au Tibet leur disparition fût imminente ou déjà accomplie.

(2) Peut-on constater aujourd'hui la présence d'un phonème adventice entre les sonantes *n*, *r*, *l* et les consonnes sourdes ?



Japanese Names for the Four Cardinal Points

By S. YOSHITAKE

IN 1925 P. Pelliot drew a very interesting comparison between the Mongol and the Tungus names for the four cardinal points.¹ This comparison was followed by S. M. Shirokogoroff's detailed study of the Northern Tungus terms of orientation,² to which W. Kotwicz added a short note on the Mongol terms.³ Later in 1928 the latter scholar touched on the same subject in his article entitled "Sur les modes d'orientation en Asie Centrale", in which the Turkish names for the four cardinal points are discussed.⁴ These noteworthy studies show clearly how in the above-mentioned languages the four cardinal points are expressed by various words signifying "right" and "left" and "front" and "back", as well as "upward" and "downward".

The problem of orientation has also attracted the attention of the Japanese linguists, the majority of whom appear to believe that the Japanese word *higashi* "east" has been derived from **himukaši* "facing the sun", and that the term *nishi* "west" denotes *inisi* "past". Adopting this interpretation S. Kanazawa suggests that the Japanese immigrated eastward, whilst the Koreans, in his opinion, migrated southward, because the Korean word *alp* means "front, south".⁵ Further, he infers that the Okinawa people, too, must have immigrated southward, since the word *nishi* is used to designate "north" in Luchuan.⁵

It seems highly gratifying to know that we can consider the two words *higashi* "east" and *nishi* "west" as sufficient evidence for the supposed eastward migration of the Japanese, but it is very disappointing to find that the author does not appear to have tested the accuracy of his hypothesis by the names for the two remaining cardinal points, *minami* "south" and *kita* "north". When examined

¹ P. Pelliot, "Les mots à H initiale, aujourd'hui amuic, dans le mongol des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles," *JA.*, avril-juin, 1925, pp. 193-263; cf. pp. 230-4.

² S. M. Shirokogoroff, "Northern Tungus terms of orientation," *RO.*, tom IV (1926). Lwów, 1928, pp. 167-187.

³ W. Kotwicz, "Mongol terms of orientation," *RO.*, tom IV (1926). Lwów, 1928, pp. 188-9.

⁴ W. Kotwicz, "Sur les modes d'orientation en Asie Centrale," *RO.*, tom V. Lwów, 1928, pp. 68-91.

⁵ Cf. F. Ifa, *Koryūkyū*, Tōkyō, 1922, pp. 59-62; M. Andō, *Kodan Kokugo no Kenkyū*, Tōkyō, 1924, pp. 128-9.

closely these words may be found to support Kanazawa's conviction, or they may equally send his argument to the ground. Our immediate inquiry therefore must be the fundamental meanings of these two terms.

1. *Minami* "South"

S. Matsuoka finds certain vestiges—without revealing what exactly they are—of the custom of connecting the direction with the sex in ancient Japan, and conjectures that the words *mina(-mi)* "south" and *kita* "north" may have been formed **mi* "female" + **ta* "direction" and **ki* "male" + **ta* "direction", on the ground that there are many instances in which the character 南 "south" is used to represent *mina*, and that *mina* and *mita* are interchangeable.¹ According to him **mi* "female" is a variant of *me* "female", and is found in the form **-ami* (where **-a-* is treated as a prefix) in *kamuromi* "female deity" (Matsuoka's interpretation), and in the names of the mythological (or historical) figures *Izanami* and *Awanami*. He further identifies his **-ami* with the Korean *ami* used for calling one's mother, without telling us whether the **-a-* is a prefix in Korean also.² Similarly, in Matsuoka's opinion, the *ki-* in *kita* "north" is identical with *ko* "child" and is found in the form **-agi* (where **-a-* is treated as a prefix) in *sumeragi* "emperor", *kamurogi* "male deity" (Matsuoka's interpretation), and in the names *Izanagi* and *Awanagi*, the form **-agi* being compared by him with the Korean *aki* "child".³ We are also told that **ta* "direction" is found in *sita* "the lower part", where **si* denotes "below, down, lower" as in *simo* "the lower part", *siri* "behind", *asi* "foot", *šidzu* "to hang down, drip", *šidzumu* "to sink", *šidzuka* "tranquillity", *šinu* "to die", *šibomu* "to fade, wither", *šiworu* "to wither, droop", etc.⁴

Another and more plausible explanation of the word *minami* "south" has been put forward by K. Shiratori, who derives it from *mi* "body" (or *me* "eye") + *na* (genitive particle) + *omo* "front, face"; this theory seems to be supported by I. Shimmura, one of the leading authorities on Japanese linguistics.⁵

¹ S. Matsuoka, *Kogo Daijiten*, Tōkyō, 1930, pp. 501, 1064-5.

² *Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., p. 90.

³ *Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., pp. 9-10, 489.

⁴ *Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., pp. 651-2; S. Matsuoka, *Nihon Gengogaku*, Tōkyō, 1928, p. 61.

⁵ I. Shimmura, *Tōa Gogenshi*, Tōkyō, 1930, p. 237.

To what extent the linguistic vivisection, so recklessly performed by these scholars, can be accepted as the only solution to the difficult problem of Japanese etymology is not merely a matter of opinion but demands serious investigation. If Matsuoka believes, as he apparently does, that Japanese was "implanted" by the speakers of the Altaic languages, it would be outrageous to attempt an analysis of the Japanese words without a reference to the similar words found in those languages, except, of course, in some limited cases and the later Chinese loan-words.¹ Nevertheless it is true, as Matsuoka states, that to inquire into the prehistoric stage of the Japanese language would be to transgress the legitimate confines of Japanese linguistics.¹ This is equivalent to saying that to-day, after a long history of 1,000 years of Japanese linguistics, it is as yet premature to speak of the etymology. And as long as we follow suit of the earlier Japanese scholars, the key to the proper understanding of the language will not be found for another 1,000 years. If, on the other hand, we strive to approach the problem with what knowledge we possess of other languages, we may ultimately light upon some important clue to the right method of studying Japanese. In the circumstances, therefore, it would not be unprofitable to examine the Japanese names for the four cardinal points together with the corresponding terms in Turkish and Mongol.

For this purpose we cannot do better than avail ourselves of the results obtained by W. Kotwicz, who, after reviewing the modes of orientation in Central Asia from the standpoint of the burial rites, the structure of dwellings, and the names for the four cardinal points, summarizes as follows² :—

“ Pendant une période de plusieurs siècles, avant et après le commencement de l'ère chrétienne, nous voyons que l'orientation méridionale semble l'emporter en Asie centrale : les preuves à l'appui embrassent presque toute la Mongolie septentrionale jusqu'au lac Baïkal, ainsi que les pentes des T'ien-chan. C'était là probablement une conséquence de l'influence prépondérante de la Chine dans ces pays, au temps des Han, comme le démontrent les recherches récentes. En revanche, sur les marches d'une part, orientales (le peuple des Wou-houan), et occidentales d'autre part (les tombeaux en Sibérie occidentale et chez les Ouriangkhaïs), apparaît l'orientation vers le soleil levant.”

¹ *Nihon Gengogaka*, op. cit., p. 4.

² *Sur les modes d'orientation*, op. cit., pp. 84-5.

“ La chute des Hiong-nou entraîne des bouleversements politiques et des déplacements ethniques considérables, ce qui fait que, dans le nouvel état de choses, où la suprématie revient aux Turcs et qui se montre généralement hostile aux Chinois, l'orientation vers l'est prend le dessus et se maintient assez longtemps, même après la chute des Turcs, chez les Ouïgours et les Khitaïs. De nouveaux courants d'idées, originaires de l'Iran, viennent compliquer la question, mais l'influence de la Chine se montre de nouveau la plus forte et l'orientation chinoise commence à l'emporter : les uns après les autres, Ouïgours, Kirghiz, Joutchens, Mongols enfin, à partir sans doute du IX^e-X^e s., se plient peu à peu à l'orientation vers le sud ; les Mongols, qui la reconnaissaient dès le début de leur domination, durent l'établir définitivement chez toutes les tribus nomades . . . ”

The earliest period here indicated goes back to the time when the tribes who roamed the vast tract of northern Mongolia had no knowledge of writing, and hence the linguistic material supporting the argument is lacking. The Turkish mode of orientation to east is illustrated by Kotwicz by way of the Orkhon *il* “ devant ”, *öŋ* “ devant ” and the Yakut *ilin* “ avant ”, all used to designate “ east ”.¹ Lastly the Mongol orientation to south is shown by the word *emüne* “ south ” which also means “ front ”¹ and occurs in all Mongol dialects : Kalmuk *ömnö* (written *ömonö*) “ front, in front, south part, south ”, Khalkha *ömün*, *ömnö* “ id. ” Buryat *ümänä* “ south ”, etc. According to G. J. Ramstedt the word is found in the Tungus dialects with the meaning “ one ” : Manchu *emun*, *emu*, Goldi, Olcha *omu*, *ömu*, Oroche *omo*, etc., all going back to **emün*, which, he thinks, had an ordinal sense “ the one, the one in front, the first ”.² He further compares the Mongol *emüne* “ front, south ” with *ebür* “ breast, bosom, the space between the breast and the garment ”, and *ebütše* “ to unite ”, and traces the stems of these words to **emü-* and **ebü-*.² However, as B. Y. Vladimirtsov pointed out, the dialectal *ö-*, *ü-*, corresponding to the Classical *e-*, cannot be explained as a result of retrogressive assimilation, since there are instances in which the Classical *e-* (Kalmuk-written *ö-*, dialectal *ö-*, *ü-*) corresponds not only to the Pre-classical-written *ö-* but to the Turkish and Tungus

¹ *Sur les modes d'orientation*, op. cit., pp. 85-8.

² G. J. Ramstedt, “ Über die Zahlwörter der altaischen Sprachen, ” *JFSO*, xxiv, 1, Helsingissa, 1907, p. 5 ; cf. also W. Kotwicz, “ Contributions aux études altaïques, ” *RO.*, tom VII (1929-30). Lwów, 1931, pp. 159-160, 216-17.

ō.¹ The probability is therefore that *emüne* "front, south" goes back not to **emü* but to **ömü*.

It is quite likely that the Korean word *alp* (> *ap*) "front, south" is of the same origin as the Orkhon *il* "in front of, east", Yakut *ilin* "front, east", and a number of other words. Would it then be possible for us to connect the Mongol *emüne* "front, south" with the Japanese *minami* "south"? To this question another Japanese word *mune* (< *muna*-) "breast, bosom" seems to offer an affirmative answer, if we are to take into consideration the Mongol *ebür* cited above. If these two Japanese words go back to the same origin as the Mongol *emüne*, they must have lost their initial vowel, leaving **mi* (< **Vmi*) and **mu* (< **Vmu*) as their stems. The falling off of the unstressed initial vowels is not unknown to Japanese. To quote a few examples of the disappearance of the initial vowels before *m*: *mada* < *imada* "still, yet", *-mari* "over (used in enumeration)" < *amari* "excess", *mote* < *omote* "face", *mago* < *umago* > *mumago* "grandchild", *mugasi* < *umugasi* > *omogasi* "joy, happiness, etc." etc. As instances of the occasional alternation *i* ~ *u* in the stem may be cited: *imo* ~ *umo* "potato", *inu* ~ *unu* "dog", *idaku* ~ *udaku* (> *daku*) ~ *mudaku* "to embrace", *itukusi* ~ *utukusi* "lovely", *iku* ~ *yuku* "to go", etc. The *-na* in *minami* "south" and *mune* (< *muna*-) "breast, bosom"² may be compared with the *-ne* in Mongol *emüne* "front, south", which according to Kotwicz is a variant of *-na* used in the formation of adverbs of place.³ The final *-mi* in the former word would then be a Japanese *directivus* suffix like *-bi*, *-be*, and *-he* (< *-ve*). The initial vowel that has been lost from the two words under consideration cannot be restored at present.

It may be added that in a document preserved in the Shōzōin and believed to date from the Tempyō era (A.D. 729-748) the word *minami* "south" is written 美奈美,⁴ which appears to be the earliest documentary record of this word transcribed in the Man-yō-gana. The transcription, however, does not offer us any further information

¹ В. У. Vladimirtsov, *Сравнительная грамматика монгольского письменного языка и халхаского наречия. Введение и фонетика.* Ленинград 1929, pp. 151-7.

² Matsuoka derives this word from *mu* "body" **na* (suffix), stating that the earlier meaning of the word is "body" (*Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., p. 1236).

³ *Sur les modes d'orientation*, op. cit., p. 87, n. 68; also *Contributions aux études altaïques*, op. cit., p. 161, n. 35.

⁴ Cf. Y. Yoshizawa, *Kokugoshi Gaisetsu*, Tōkyō, 1931, p. 18.

than that, whatever the derivation, the word was pronounced already in the eighth century in much the same way as at present.

There is one more point to be noted. As quoted above, Kotwicz thinks that the Mongols adopted the orientation to south at some time not long before the ninth century. This implies that the word *emüne*, which must have come to acquire the signification "south" at about the same period, may once have been used as the designation of the east.¹ What then is the history of the Japanese word *minami* "south"? The skeletons discovered in the neolithic kitchen-middens in Japan have usually, but not always, been found with the head pointing east.² If this posture hints at the possibility that the Ainu-like inhabitants of ancient Japan orientated to the east, there is nothing to show that the word *minami* was ever used in the sense of "east". Moreover, the antiquity of this word is suggested by the loss of the initial vowel and the presence of the Japanese suffix *-mi*, which must have been added after the function of the *locativus* suffix *-na* had been forgotten.

2. *Kita* "North"

If the word *minami* "south" has really been derived from the same root as *mune* "breast, bosom" and the basic meaning of these two words be "front", we are tempted to seek the idea "back" in the word *kita* "north". We may then connect it with Orkh. *kisrä* "after", Alt. *kīn* "the hind-part, afterwards", Kir. *keyin* "behind, after, afterwards", Koib. *kezin* "the hind-part, behind, after, afterwards", Chag. *käyin* "back, after", Uig. *kädin* "back, after, later"; Yak. *kütäχ* "nape"; Mong. *gede* "nape, the back of the head", etc. It is difficult to decide whether the *-ta* in the Japanese word is a suffix or part of the stem, but we may assume the root of *kita* "north" to be **kiδ*, since all the Turkish words cited above appear to go back to **küδ* (Mong. **ged*).³ This assumption seems to be supported by the words **kinovu** (伎能布) "yesterday" and **kiso** (伎會), **kizo** (伎賊) "bygone", which may also have been derived from **kiδ*. If so, **kinovu** would go back to **kins* or **kiyinə*, followed

¹ Cf. *Sur les modes d'orientation*, op. cit., pp. 88-9.

² Cf. K. Kiyono, "Minzokuron," *Kōkogaku Kōza*, vol. x, Tōkyō, 1929, p. 31.

³ As an example of Turk. *-a* ~ Jap. *-a*, *-i* may be cited *kiru* (stem *ki* - **kiyi-*) "to put on, wear"; Turk. **kaδ* -> Orkh., Uig. *käδ* "to put on, wear", Koib. *kes* "id.," Osm. *qy-* "id.," Yak. *kat-* "id.," etc. The words *kata* "shoulder" and *kulzuku* (stem **kul-uk*) "to put on one's head" seem also to have come from the Turkish **küδ*.

by **-vu** "day". Similarly, **kiso** and **kizo** may be traced back to **kiso* and **kizə*, and *kita* "north" to **kita*.

There is, however, one problem to be solved. Are we to consider the word **kozo** (許序) "last year" to be related to **kiso** and **kizo**? Although Matsuoka thinks that the **ki-** in **kinovu** and **kiso** (**kizo**) is identical with the preterite "auxiliary verb" *ki*, of which the **ko-** in **kozo** is treated as a variant, and that the **-so** and **-zo** in these words mean "time, interval",¹ the question here asked is not so easy to answer. This is because there are at least five more sets of words with allied meanings in Turkish and Mongol: (1) **qoδ* (or **qo*) > Orkh. *qoδ-* "to leave behind", Uig. *qoδ-* "to put, lay down, leave behind", Kkir. *qoi-* "id.," Osm. *qo-* "id."; Chuv. *χʷr-* "to put, lay down"; Mong. *qodzi-* "to delay", *qoyina* "behind, after, later", etc.; (2) **köt* > Kir. *köt*, Koib. *ködän*, Alt. *ködön*, Kaz. *küt*; Chuv. *kv̄t* "posteriors"; (3) **kötš* > Kkir. *kötš-* "to nomadize, migrate", Kaz. *kütš-* "id."; Chuv. *kv̄š-* "to migrate, travel"; Yak. *kös-* "to change one's habitation", etc.; (4) **käts* > Uig. *kets-* "to pass by, cross over", Osm. *gētš-* "id.", Kaz. *kütš-* "id."; Chuv. *kuš-* "id."; Yak. *käs-* "to wade", etc.; (5) **kät* > Tar. *kät-*, Kir. *ket-*, Osm. *gīt-* "to go (away), walk", etc.

There can be no doubt that the Japanese words *koyu*, *koyaru*, *koyasu* (< **koy*) "to lie down, throw oneself down"² have been derived from **qoδ*, and it is possible that the words *katsu* (stem **kat*) "to win, get over"³ and *kosu* (stem **kos*), *koyu* (stem **koyi* > *koye*) "to cross over" come from **kötš* or **käts*. We may likewise trace the word *katsi* "walk" back to **kät*. But it is quite uncertain which of the roots here conjectured has given rise to **kozo** "last year". We must therefore reserve the etymology of this last word as open to

¹ *Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., p. 501. Matsuoka does not explain the function of the **-no-** in **kinovu**. For the preterite suffix *-ki* see my article entitled "An Analytical Study of the Conjugations of Japanese Verbs and Adjectives", *BSOS.*, vol. vi, part 3, 1931, pp. 657-8.

² Matsuoka connects these words with *koyu* "to cross over" (*Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., pp. 570, 596).

³ According to Matsuoka the *ka-* of this word is of the same origin as the Chinese *tšia* (< *ka*, 加 "to add to, join", 嘉 "good, admirable", 佳 "good, beautiful"), whilst *-su* is a suffix (*Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., p. 424). Thus he identifies this word with *katsu* "to add to" (pp. 432-3). However, the word *katsu* (stem *kate*) "to add to", together with *kata* "side", *katsu* "in addition", etc., seems to be related to Osm. etc. *qat* "side, layer, -fold", *qat-* "to add, join, mix"; Chuv., *χʷt* "side, layer, a time", *χʷtš-* "to be mixed"; Yak. *kitar-* "to unite, join", etc., all derived from **qat*.

further study, until we have acquired better knowledge of the vowel-changes in Japanese.

3. *Higaši* “East”

Our derivation of the word *minami* “south” is not reconcilable with the usual explanation of the word *higaši* “east”, as meaning *himukaši* “facing the sun”, which interpretation has led Kanazawa to advance his theory of the eastward migration of the Japanese as stated above. As Matsuoka pointed out, the current etymology has a double fault: (1) the function of the final *-ši* is unexplainable by the Japanese language alone, and (2) *hi-muka* “facing the sun” would be more suitable for the designation of the west than of the east. On these grounds Matsuoka refuses the usual derivation, and suggests that, although the place-name 東生 (in the province of Settsu) is transcribed *himugasi-nari* (比牟我志奈里) in the Wamyōshō, the older form of the word meaning “east” is **fikaši*, because the word in question is, in his opinion, derived from **fi* and **ka*, both meaning “dry”, and **-ši* “wind”, as contrasted with *nishi* “west”, which he believes to signify “a damp wind”. Thus he argues that the eastern wind in Japan is usually dry, and hence the word meaning “a dry wind” came to signify “east”.¹ A very original and extremely ingenious explanation, if only we could accept **ka* and **ni* as the stems of *karu* “to get dry” and *nuru* “to get wet” respectively. Although these two verbs follow the Shimo-nidan conjugation, we must assume that they both belonged once to the Yodan conjugation on the strength of the existence of their transitive forms *kara-su* “to dry” and *nura-su* “to wet”. The important distinction between these two conjugations is that the stem of the Yodan verbs regularly ends in a consonant, whereas that of the Shinonidan verbs ends in a vowel.² Therefore the older stems of the words *karu* “to get dry” and *nuru* “to get wet” would be **kar* and **nur* respectively. The stem **kar* may go back to the same root as *Osm. quru* “dry”, *quru-* “to get dry”, etc., and the stem **nur* may be traced back to the same origin as Chuv. *nüri* “damp, moist”, *nürel-* “to get damp”, *nüret-* “to moisten”, or Mong. *noru-* “to get damp, get wet”. Thus, if the word *higaši* “east” really meant “a dry wind”, it ought to be **hisi* (< **fisi*) or **hikaraši* (< **fikarasi*) like

¹ *Kogo Daijiten*, op. cit., pp. 1048, 961.

² Cf. my article, op. cit., pp. 642, 646.

oroši "a wind blowing down a hill" which seems to have come from **or*.

Finding ourselves unable to accept either explanation of the word *higaši* "east" we are compelled to seek some other solution. For this the Luchuan language offers a useful suggestion. In the dialect spoken in Okinawa the east is called *agari*, *agai* (lit. "going up") and the west *iri* (lit. "entering"), undoubtedly named thus in association with the rising and setting of the sun. The same linguistic phenomenon is found in other languages of the world; for example, in a Kalmuk dialect *naran γarχa* (lit. "the sun goes out") and *naran urγuxu* (lit. "the sun rises") designate the east, and *naran šingekü* (lit. "the sun dives") means "the west".¹ Compare also Chuv. *χivel-tvχtzi* (or *χivel-tvχtš*) "sunrise, east", Kir. *kün tššyis* "sunrise, east", where both *χivel* and *kün* denote "the sun", while *tvχtzi* (or *tvχtš*) and *tššyis* are substantives derived respectively from *tvχ-* "to go out, come out, rise (of the sun)" and *tššq-* "id."

It would therefore be not entirely unreasonable to suppose that the Japanese word *higaši* "east" has been evolved from something like **piŋəsi* with the signification "rising". The stem **piŋə*, from which the substantive **piŋəsi* is here assumed to have been derived, may be compared with Turkish *min-*, *mün-* "to rise", Orkh., Osm. *bin-* "to mount (a horse)", Yak. *mīn-* "to sit up, rise, ride", the forms in *m-* going back to **b-*. The Turkish and Mongol *b-* and *m-* usually correspond to the Japanese *m-*, but there seem also some instances of the *b-* and *m-* in the former languages corresponding to the Japanese **p*-(> *f*-> *h-*). For example: *futo* "great, thick, fat"; Osm. *büyük* "great, weighty, etc.," Kaz. *bryk* "high", Alt. *pözük* "high"; Ur. *pädık* "high, great"; Mong. *biüügün* "great, large, thick", etc.; *homu* (< *fomu*) "to praise", *hogu* (< *fogu*) "to celebrate", *hafuri* (< *favuri*) "a Shintō priest"²; Uig. *maq* "praise", *maqūt-* "to praise"; Ur. *paq* "praise", *paqta-* "to praise"; Mong. *mayta-* "to praise", etc. We have also assumed in the present comparison that the Turkish *-n* corresponds to the Japanese *-ŋ*. The *-n* does not seem always to go back to **n* in Turkish, since it is identical

¹ Kotwicz, *Mongol terms of orientation*, op. cit., p. 188.

² Although Andō believes (*Kodai Kokugo*, op. cit., pp. 202-4) that *homu* and *hogu* have been derived from *ho* (< **fo*) by the addition of the "formative suffixes" **-mu* and **-gu*, they, together with *hafuri*, may provide an example of the alternation **fom* ~ **fog* ~ **far* as here conjectured. M. Ueda quotes two current explanations of the word *hafuri*: (1) *hafuru* "to exorcize (evils)", (2) *hafuri* (~ *habeni*) "to attend on (gods)" (*Dainihon Kokugo Jiten*, vol. iv, Tōkyō, 1929, p. 334).

with *-n* or *-m* in Chuvash for some unknown reasons. We may therefore suppose this strange Turkish *-n* to correspond sometimes to *-n-* and sometimes to *-ŋ-* in Japanese until some contradictory evidence is forthcoming.

Thus, if our hypothesis be accepted, the earliest form of the word *higasi* "east" would be **piŋəsi* which in the tenth century came to be pronounced *fiŋgaśi* and was transcribed 比牟我志, where the character 牟 represented *ŋ*, but not *m*.¹ Compare *minami* > *minnami* "south". It may then be asked: How were the place-names (in Kyūshū), now known as Hyūga, pronounced when they came to be written 日向 in the eighth century? Our knowledge of the pronunciation of one of these two place-names only extends to the tenth century, when it was called *fiuka* (比字加). There is no evidence that it was ever pronounced **fimuka*, whilst the old pronunciation of the other place-name, which is also written 日向, seems entirely unknown. If these two place-names were once pronounced **fimuka*, as the characters suggest, and if the word *higasi* "east" has really come from an earlier **fimukasi* ("facing the sun"), why in the one case did **fimuka* become *fiuka* and in the other **fimga*, both in the tenth century? Until a reasonable answer to this question is forthcoming, we must assume that at least one of these two place-names has nothing to do with the word *higasi* "east". Further, it may be argued that if the Japanese *higasi* is related to the Turkish words *min-*, *min-* "to rise", etc., it may be that its earlier form was **fimugasi*, **fi* meaning "the sun" and **mugasi* going back to the same origin as the Turkish. Or it may also be suggested that the word *higasi* is composed of *hi* (< *fi*) "the sun" and the *directivus* suffix **-gasi* which is found both in Mongol and Tungus. These suppositions, however, are alike improbable in the light of our derivation of the word *nisi* "west" as explained below.

4. *Nisi* "West"

This word, transcribed 爾之 in the Man-yō-shū, is generally believed to have been derived from the verb *inu* "to go away", while, as already stated, Matsuoka thinks it to mean "a damp wind". However, if the word *higasi* "east" is a product of the concept of

¹ Yoshizawa thinks (*Kokugoshi*, op. cit., p. 55) that the character 牟 came to represent *m* towards the end of the Nara period and denies the existence of the syllabic *ŋ* in the Japanese language. Cf., however, Andō, *Kodai Kokugo*, op. cit., pp. 146-162; Matsuoka, *Nihon Genjyōgaku*, op. cit., p. 289.

the rising of the sun as we have here assumed, it would be natural to find the idea of the setting of the sun in the word *nishi* "west", as in the case of the Luchuan names for these two cardinal points. Now, in the Chuvash language *an-* means "to go down" and forms the compound *χivel-anızı* (or *χivel-anıs*) "west", where *χivel* signifies "the sun" and *anızı* (or *anıs*) is a substantive derived from *an-* "to go down". This verb occurs in all Turkish dialects: Shor., Leb., Kom., etc. *än-*, Sag., Koib., etc. *en-*, Kaz., Osm., etc. *in-* "to go down". The Mongol *una-* "to fall, tumble down, etc." is also used to indicate the setting of the sun as in *waran* ("the sun") *unaqui* ("fall") *tşay* ("time") *kürtele* ("till arrives") "until the sunset".

It would then be not unjustifiable to connect all these verbs with the Japanese words *nishi* "west" and *anasi* (*anase, anadzi*) "a north-westerly wind". If this etymology be acceptable, these Japanese words would seem to have been derived from **VuV*, the initial vowel having been lost in the word *nishi* "west" as in the case of *minami* "south". If so, we must consider that the final *-si* in *nishi* "west" and *anasi* "a north-westerly wind", like that in *higasi* "east", is a substantival suffix pure and simple, corresponding to the Chuvash *-zi, -s* and the Turkish *-si*. It would be rash to interpret it to mean "a wind" in conjunction with the *-si, -zi, and -tsi* found in (*yama-*) *oroşi* "a wind blowing down a hill", *tsumuşi* "a whirlwind", *kotşi* "an easterly wind", *hayatşi* "a gale",¹ until at least these words have been studied more thoroughly. The principal objection to this current interpretation is that these hypothetical words **si, *zi, and *tsi* occur neither separately nor at the beginning of a compound word, except perhaps in *tşigi* "a cross beam set up on the roof (of a Shintō shrine)", which has a parallel form *higi* and whose etymology is uncertain. The **si-* in *şinato-no-kaze* "a gentle breeze", and in the names of the mythological figures *Şinatsuhiko* "the god of wind" and *Şinatobe* (alleged to have been born of the morning mist) would probably mean "a wind" or "breath". But it is not **si-*, as Matsuoka would have us believe, but **sina-* that signifies "a wind": otherwise the presence of the *-na-* in these Japanese words is unaccountable. The word **sina-* (< **sina-*) may be compared with Kaz., Alt., etc. *tın* "breath, life, soul, spirit", Yak. *tīn* "breath, soul", Chuv. *tśim* "breath, life", Mong. *tşinar* (< **tīnar*) "essence, nature, etc.," or with Osm., etc. *yal* "a wind", Bar. *yil* "id."

¹ Cf. Matsuoka, *Kogo Dujiten*, op. cit., pp. 652, 833.

There yet remains to be explained the vocalic difference in *nīsi* “west” and *anaši* “a north-westerly wind”. In the Turkish and Mongol words meaning “to go down” quoted above there appear five different initial vowels: Turk. *ān-*, *en-*, *in-*, Chuv. *an-*, Mong. *una-*. The Chuvash *a-* usually corresponds to the stressed *ā-* or *ī-* in Turkish, but only the latter can be compared with the Mong. *u-*, since the Turkish *ā-* generally appears as *e-* in Mongol. But all the Turkish forms here considered are front vocalic words. In the circumstances we must provisionally trace them back to two different sources at least, the Turkish and the Chuvash forms to **ānə-* and the Mongol to **unə-*. It is probably from the former there came into existence in Japanese the word **anəsi* “the direction of the setting of the sun”, which, first through a stress-shift from the first syllable to the second, then through the loss of the initial vowel, became **anəsi* > **nīsi* > **nīsi* > *nīsi* “west”, whilst the earlier form has been handed down as *anaši* (< **anaši* < **anəsi*) with the meaning “a north-westerly wind”. On the other hand, the word *nīsi* has come to signify “north” in Luchuan.

It is quite possible that the words *ana* “a hollow” and *anadzuru*, *anadoru* “to slight” go back to the same **anə*, but whether the word *unaši* (宇奈之) “nape” is a substantive derived from **unə* with the signification “sinking” or it is related to *yugamu*, *igamu* “to crook, distort, bend” cannot be decided at present.

5. CONCLUSION

The hypothesis put forward above may be summarized as follows:—

(1) *Minami* “south” has been derived from **Vmi* with the *locativus* suffix **-na*, thus **Vmina* “front”. This word lost its initial vowel, probably due to a stress-shift, and became **mina*. Later, when the original function of the suffix **-na* had been forgotten, the Japanese *directivus* suffix *-mi* was added, thus *minami* “south”.

(2) *Kita* “north” goes back to the stem **kitə* “back”, hence *kita* “north”.

(3) *Higaši* “east” has come from **piḡəsi* “rising”, which consists of the stem **piḡə* and the substantival suffix **-ši*. This word does not include the signification of the sun.

(4) *Nīsi* “west” can be traced back to **anəsi* “falling”, which is formed of the stem **anə* and the substantival suffix **-ši*. Due to a

stress-shift from the first syllable to the second, the initial vowel was dropped and the -ə- became accented, thus giving rise to *nishi* "west".

A similar comparison may yet be made of the Japanese with the Austronesian and the Finno-Ugrian words, when more convincing results may be obtained. What is important, however, is to realize that the etymological explanations derived exclusively from the Japanese sources are 50 per cent doubtful, and it is the duty of the student of Japanese linguistics to point out all misleading elements to future lexicographers.

Kono Tabi: A little-known Japanese Religion

By ARTHUR WALEY

IN 1802 Kino, a middle-aged Japanese peasant woman in a remote country place, declared that God, having many times tried unsuccessfully to manifest himself in saints and prophets, had "this time" (*kono tabi*) managed at last to find in her a vehicle for the delivery of his full and final message. From 1802 till 1826 (the year of her death) God, through his intermediary Kompira,¹ who plays the part that the archangel Gabriel plays in the Koran), inspired this illiterate peasant with a continuous flow of communications, which from 1811 onwards were taken down in writing and are preserved in some 300 rolls. On the strength of this revelation she founded a sect that despite prosecution in the nineteenth century to-day numbers about 40,000 followers, and which, though its ways of life owe something to Buddhist monasticism, can only be described as a separate religion.

Kino was born in Hataya-machi, Atsuta, province of Owari, in 1756, the third of three daughters. Left an orphan at the age of eight, she was looked after by an uncle till 1768, when at the age of twelve she went into domestic service. In 1778 she married an agricultural labourer in a neighbouring village. He treated her badly, and before long she returned to domestic service. In 1795 she went back to her native village and lived alone, on the produce of her cottage garden. Seven years later, in the summer of 1802, she felt an inspiration descend upon her, and began to preach daily. Her audience at first no doubt consisted chiefly of people of her own class. But before long it included persons of education and refinement, among them some of the provincial Governor's retinue.

The manner in which her utterances were taken down is of some interest. Four "recorders" wrote down what she said, while a fifth listened and memorized. The four versions were then compared and a fair copy made, which was checked by the listener. Another copy was then made, embodying his corrections, and read out to Kino. Finally her corrections were made in a third copy. Of the enormous body of literature thus scrupulously edited the greater part has never been seen except by members of the sect. The only extracts that have been

¹ Sanskrit, Kumbhira. A minor Indian deity, incorporated in the Buddhist pantheon.

printed are those contained in Dr. Ishibashi Tomonobu's pamphlet *Nyorai-kyō no oshie*.¹

Kino died on the second day of the fifth month, 1826, at the age of seventy. She was then living in a hut at Shinkawa, which is still preserved and venerated by the sect: as is also the cottage in which she was born, at Hataya-machi, which has become the headquarters of "Kono Tabi".

In the organization of the sect there is no hierarchy of ranks and grades such as exists in Buddhism and other religions. To manage its affairs two elders are chosen by lot each year, and most of the sixty-two branch-settlements (distributed over all parts of Japan) have a head, chosen in the same manner. These posts can be filled by men or women. All members of the sect, of whatever sex or status, wear a black cotton garment, of the dressing-gown type. At the beginning of the cold season all members of the sect (in practice, several thousands) collect at the headquarters in Hataya-machi, and exchange their summer dress for a slightly thicker winter one, the discarded dresses being washed, mended, and put by at Hataya-machi till they are needed again. The beginning of summer sees a second gathering, at which the light garments are distributed. At meals the men sit on one side of a long mat, the women on the other. Buddhism, of course, has never allowed monks and nuns to eat together. The services are held at 3 a.m. in summer and 3.30 in winter. There is no image or altar, but only a panel inscribed with Kino's "name in religion", Ryūzen, before which the worshippers prostrate themselves. Then follows a reading from *O-kyō-sama*, the cursive text of the foundress's utterances, the only book of devotion that the sect employs.

The deity of Kino's system is called Nyorai, a term borrowed from Buddhism: but since he is omnipotent, omniscient, made the Universe and stands in the relation of a father to mankind, I think one is justified in using the term God. The existence of the Buddhas and Shintō (native Japanese) gods is not denied, but they are represented as being completely subject to Nyorai. God created the first man, causing him to spring out suddenly from the face of a rock, at the sight of which the Shintō *kami* (deities), God's subjects, burst into laughter. The man

¹ I owe all my knowledge of the subject to Professor Anesaki, who sent me this pamphlet and put me into communication with the authorities of the sect. A very short summary of Dr. Ishibashi's work was printed in German in the *Proceedings of the Imperial Academy*, Tōkyō, 1928.

complained after a time that he had nothing to eat. "Lick my skin," said God. "Is it good to lick?" said man, and licked it with his tongue. "Is it sweet?" asked God. "Sweet!" exclaimed man. "I only wish I had known about it from the start." "No wonder you find it good," said God. "it is nectar (*kanro*), the sweetest of all things." "What a pity I did not know before," the man said again. Then God ordered the man to clap his hands three times. Whereupon a small man hopped out of the first man's mouth. The process was repeated till there were seventy-five men. At this point all the deities (including God?) said: "That's all right now," and went up to Heaven. As the seventy-five men had eaten nothing, but only licked God's flesh, they, too, were pure enough to ascend to Heaven, and the earth was left unpopulated save for a *kami* whom the great god of the Ise Shrine left behind as temple-keeper. This *kami*, presumably wishing also to be free to escape to Heaven, took upon himself to create five new men, from whom mankind is descended.

But elsewhere Kino varies the myth, saying that after the deities had retired to Heaven, the Devil (*Ma-dō* "Demon-path") visited the earth and created a woman to be his wife. It is from their offspring that the human race is descended. According to another version the Devil, seeing that the god of Ise and his temple-guardian were going off to Heaven, leaving the five newly created men behind, asked if he might take charge of them. The evils of the world result from the fact that it was thus handed over to the Devil. God labours to mitigate these ills. Why he permitted the situation to arise we are not told, and the problem is hardly one that we should expect Kino to tackle.

Man is thus in a state of original sin, though he is not himself aware of it. He believes himself indeed to be clean of heart and fair of form.

But God is able to see the horns that man has inherited from the Devil, his forefather. The sight fills God's eyes with tears, and he labours to abolish man's spiritual and bodily disfigurements. The task is one which he alone can accomplish. Good works, on man's part, are utterly insufficient. "You believe and constantly assert that those who do good go to the Good Place. But they do not go to the Good Place. On the contrary, they go to a very Bad Place. How often I hear you speak of your ancestors as being in a lovely place! 'How glad we are that our ancestors are in a good place!' Why you should be confident of this I do not know. It breaks God's heart to hear men talk so, and fills him daily with the deepest pity."

God is deeply wounded by the refusal of mankind to let him help them out of their predicament. "You smite my head. 'God, you fool,' you say, 'we don't want any of your interference.' But gently, poor fellows. I am glad that you should smite my head. Beat me, bang me, twist me, spit upon me, so long as you do not shun me I rejoice no less than if you did good to me. So long as your thoughts hang upon me, I do not care whether you chop me in pieces. Indeed, I should count it a blessing that you should chop me in pieces, and not as an affliction."

The words are nominally those of God, as reported by Kompira. Several passages, however, show that Kino regarded herself not merely as a prophetess, but as a transformation (*kawari-mi*) of God, and the sufferings here described may be considered hers no less than God's. Like the Buddhist saint Vimalakirti and like Christ himself Kino vicariously suffered all the woes of mankind.

"I cannot bear it. Put me out of my pain. Will not one of you do as I bid, and put me out of my pain? All the miseries of mankind are being laid on me alone. It is so, it is so. Were I not suffering in place of all mankind, why should a single person suffer such pain as this? It is so. I have many daughters, and endure the punishment of their many sins. Come, God, come and do away with their sins. Do away with them."

Such were Kino's last words, spoken on the second day of the fifth month, 1826. Needless to say, the daughters of whom she speaks were not her daughters in the flesh.

Most of the other published extracts deal with God's love and pity. They do little but transfer the characteristics of Kwannon, in Japan (at any rate, in popular religion) a maternal deity, to Nyorai, who figures as a universal father. In tone they approach very closely not merely to Buddhist but also to Christian conceptions, the resemblance to the latter being enhanced by the fact that, as in Christianity, God figures as a father.

Professor Anesaki, in his *History of Japanese Religion*, has suggested that Kino may have been indirectly influenced by Christianity, though the Christian missions had, of course, been suppressed centuries before her time. As one proof of this he instances the name Ryūzen by which Kino is known to her followers. This he compares with names of the type "Lucena" and the like which occur on the graves of Japanese converted to Christianity by the Spanish and Portuguese missions. The subject is one upon which Professor Anesaki is

a great authority ; but until a definite Christian influence on Kino's doctrines can be proved, the origin of this name must remain an open question.¹ Her debt to Buddhism, born as she was in a Buddhist country, cannot fail to be large. As regards certain exterior aspects of Kono Tabi, there has been a quite recent borrowing from Buddhism. In 1884, in consequence of the law which sought to put an end to the fusion of Shintoism and Buddhism, Kino's followers, in order to avoid the suspicion that their faith was an amalgam of this kind, enrolled themselves nominally as members of Zen Buddhist temples. This obliged them to adopt the tonsure and other outward features of Buddhist monasticism. Moreover, one of the most influential elders of the sect, Daisetsu, who died in 1912, had been a Zen monk before he became converted to Kino's doctrines, and brought with him many Buddhist habits and ideas.

Nevertheless, the chief interest of Kono Tabi lies in the fact that Kino was, in a small way, a religious founder like Buddha or Muhammad and not a reformer, like Nāgārjuna or St. Benedict. A hundred years after her death the miniature Church that she established still continues to flourish, and though a faith confined to the country of its origin and claiming a relatively small number of adherents has not, for the student of comparative religion, the same importance as the religions that have spread over half the world, the fact that we can trace the whole history of Kono Tabi and its scriptures from the beginning gives it a peculiar interest. Linguistically, too, Kino's utterances, so laboriously transcribed, form an important document for the study of Owari dialect in the eighteenth century.

¹ In 1858 the sect was suspected of being connected with Christianity and was temporarily suppressed. But this happened at a time of anti-European panic, and the fact that the sect was not recognizably either Buddhist or Shintō was enough at such a moment to bring it under suspicion.

Early Hindi and Urdu Poets : No. V

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

THE CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF PRAYER

By SHĀH MALIK, 1666

INDIA Office Catalogue of Hindustānī MSS., No. 3, *Sharī'at Nāma*, a Dakhnī poem by Shāh Malik : written on 48 small folios and containing 516 lines. We may describe it as a compendium of Muslim doctrines.

The catalogue, which prints twelve lines of the poem (four taken from the beginning and eight from the end), calls the author Shāh Mulk, but it seems certain that his name was Shāh Malik. This is a natural name, whereas the other is abnormal. One might have hoped to find the name in some line which by its metre would decide the question. It does occur, but unfortunately it is merely spelt out, and the spelling is the same for both forms.

so yū shīn alif he o mīm lām kāf
faraḻ kū so Dakhnī mē bolyā hai ṣāf
san i yak hazār hor sattar pau sāt
kiyā hū isī sāl mē yū hikāt

.. So this Shāh Malik (*shīn alif he* and *mīm lām kāf*) has plainly uttered the religious duties in Dakhnī; the year seven over one thousand and seventy, he has finished in this year this story." (A.H. 1077 = A.D. 1666.)

On the outside of the MS. is written *risāla dar fiqh dar zabān i Hindī i Dakkhan; taṣnīf i Shāh Malik tamām*: "a tractate on theology in the Hindī language of the Deccan; the work of Shāh Malik complete." On the next leaf are the same words except that *Dakhnī* is substituted for *Dakkhan*. These words on the outer leaves were no doubt written by some owner of the MS. After most of the lines of the poem are explanatory notes in Dakhnī prose, written in red ink by a later hand, probably seventy years later.

I have chosen these lines for translation partly because they are in themselves interesting, and partly because they are printed in *Urdū Shahpāre* (Haidarabād, 1929), pp. 245-6. For those who may be studying them as printed in that volume, it may not be out of place to point out a number of misprints there.

p. 245. l. 8	from foot :	<i>us javāb</i>	should be	<i>us kā javāb</i>
4		<i>paregā</i>	.. ..	<i>paregā</i>
4		<i>phire</i>	.. ..	<i>pare</i>
1		<i>mane</i>	.. ..	<i>mene</i>
p. 246. l. 3	.. top	<i>ridā</i>	.. ..	<i>adā</i>
5		<i>kū</i>	.. ..	<i>koi</i>
5		<i>hoe</i>	.. ..	<i>na hoe</i>
7		<i>muqtadā</i>	.. ..	<i>muqtadī</i>

Namāz tuṭne kā beān

From Shāh Malik's *Sharī'at Nāma*, 1666

1. *Namāz ke tuṭne ke hai bīst o panj*
Namāzī ne karnā hai yū yād ganj.
2. *Namāz mē kare bāt yā khāe tū*
Phirāve jo qible te sīnā o mū ;
3. *Bhī karnā salām yā tū us kā javāb*
Dīe tu bī tuṭtā hai sun ai Shihāb.
4. *Namāz mē pukāre o yā āh kahe*
Tuṭegā agar oh hor vāh kae.
5. *Bhī tuṭtā darad ke rone mane*
Karegā amal yak kaṣṭrā jine.
6. *Khankāre agar be 'uzar koī yār*
To jāyagā namāz is te sun ai hushyār.
7. *Paregā galat koī Qur'ān kī*
Bhī tuṭtā pare dek Furqān kī.
8. *Ṭalab bhī kare yū Khudā te jine*
Jo karte ṭalab jū ki ādmyā mane.
9. *Bhī denā javāb chīk kā dar namāz*
Hāsegā jo qahqih sēte bā āvāz.
10. *Tuṭegā faraz tark karne mene*
Najis par bī sijda karegā jine.
11. *Imām muqtadī gair bhī leve bol*
Tuṭegā bī us te katā hū so khol.
12. *Bhī bole khatā apnī gair az imām*
Nāmāz hoe fāsūl bī us kā tamām.
13. *Bhī achnā barābar marul zan agar*
Muāfiq adā tahrīma yak digar.
14. *Zamīn te ucāre tū sijda mane*
Bhī tuṭtā agar har do pāvā kane.

15. *Bhī ṣāhib i tartīb achegā jo koī
Vaḡat bī namāz kā use tang na hoē.*
16. *Tuṭegā namāz is te sun nek rāē,
Namāz mē qazā gar use yād āē.*
17. *Imām te angē muqtadī hoē kharā
Tuṭegā so jāno nhanā tā baṛā.*
18. *Khabar nek bad yā 'ajāib jo koī
Agarci baqur'ān ḡadīṣ sete hoē.*
19. *Namāz mē jo is kā deve jāb agar
To jaygā namāz is te sun kān dhar.*

1. There are twenty-five causes for prayer's failing, the praying man must make them his memory treasure.
2. During prayer, if thou (i) speak or (ii) eat or (iii) turn away from the Qibla thy breast and face
3. And (iv) say Salām, or if thou (v) answer to it (someone's salām),
so also prayer fails ; hear O Shihāb (meteor).
4. In prayer if thou (vi) callest out, or (vii) sayest Ah, it will fail or if thou sayest Oh and Vāh.
5. It also fails (viii) in crying through pain, or (ix) if anyone does with one (hand) many things ;
6. Or (x) if any friend clears his throat without reason. then through that the prayer will go, listen wise one.
7. If any one (xi) shall recite wrongly the Qur'an, it fails too if (xii) he recite looking at the book,
8. Or if any one (xiii) ask thus of God as people ask among men.
9. Also (xiv) give an answer to a sneeze during prayer, or (xv) if one laugh with a guffaw aloud.
10. It fails if one omits a *farz* (xvi) or makes a prostration on anything unclean (xvii).
11. If the Leader and his follower shall say anything wrong (xviii), It will fail for this, I tell you openly.
12. If anyone tells his fault to other than the Leader, (xix) his whole prayer also is unlawful.
13. Also if a man and a woman are on a level (xx) at the opening Takbīr close to one another ;
14. Or from the ground if one lift during a prostration Both feet, it fails also (xxi) ;

15. Or if there is a master of arrangement
and the time also for prayer is not short,
16. The prayer shall fail, listen O man of good advice.
if in prayer he remembers that (a previous prayer) has been
omitted (xxii).
17. Before the Leader if the follower shall stand (xxiii).
it shall fail, know this both small and great ;
18. Good news (xxiv) or bad (xxv) or strange, if any one hears,
even though from the Qur'an or Tradition the answer be,
19. If he give the answer to it,
then the prayer shall fail for that, listen with attention.

The second part of l. 5 is obscure. The accompanying Dakhnī commentary says “doing three things with one hand, or one thing with two hands”.

l. 7 : Recite the Qur'an wrongly. Comm. “if in reciting the Qur'an, i.e. the Al-ḥamd or the sūra, he makes such a mistake as changes the meaning”.

l. 8 : Comm. “asking as from men, O God give me a horse or a wife, or earthly things of this kind ; if he asks for heavenly things the prayer does not fail”.

l. 9 : Comm. “if someone sneezes and says Praise be to God, and the person praying says The mercy of God, the prayer is spoilt”.

l. 10 : Anything unclean, i.e. unclean cloth or place.

l. 11 : Comm. “if the leader forgets something, and an outsider says it, and the leader repeats it after him, the prayer is not valid”. The line may mean “if anyone other than the leader or his follower says anything”.

l. 12 : *tahrīma* or *takbīr i tahrīma*, the opening *takbīr* after which all worldly actions are unlawful (*ḥarām*).

l. 15 : *ṣāhib i tartīb* ; master of arrangement, perhaps the man who sees that the lines of worshippers are even, or the leader.

The meaning is that if during a prayer a man remembers that he omitted his prayers at the previous time of prayer, he must first say those prayers, unless there is actually no time to do so.

ll. 18, 19 : If anyone while praying hears good or bad news, and makes a response, even if he takes the words from the Qur'an or from the *ḥadīṣ*, his prayer does not count.

In the MS. *kāf* is always used for both *kāf* and *gāf* : *gāf* does not occur. *ḥ* has four dots over it, *ḍ* and *ṛ* have four dots under them. In

the poem we find *paregā* and *pare* for *paṛhegā*, *paṛhe*. but *khaṛā* and *baṛā* are written with *ṛ*. In the commentary *ṛ* is written in *aṛ* hesitate, *ghoṛā* horse, *choṛnā* leave ; *r* in *kapre* cloth, *pareā* read, *kharā* and *kharī* standing.

Special Dakhnī words : *tuṭnā* for *ṭuṭnā* break (in title, etc.). two cerebrals not being allowed in one word ; *achnā* for *honā* be (13, 15) ; *kānā* for *kahnā* say (4, 11) ; the agent *jine* who, for ordinary nominative (5, 8, 10) ; *kā* for *ko* to, etc. (7, etc.) ; *bhī* also, at the beginning of a clause (3, 5, 14, 15) ; *admyā* for *ādmiyō* men (8), and many more.

Shāh Malik's use of the word "Dakhnī" to describe his dialect of Urdu should be noted. It would be interesting to know who was the first to employ the word in this sense. It was quite common among his older contemporaries. The earliest I know of was Gavvāṣī, c. 1616.



Western Influence on the Poetry of Madhusūdan Datta

By JAYANTA KUMAR DASGUPTA

THE influence of Western literature is evident in all Madhusūdan's work, but particularly in the *Meghanāda Badha Kāvya* (1861)—an epoch-making poem upon which his fame as a poet mainly rests. For the subject-matter of this poem he went to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Why was this? Was it in imitation of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, or was it his love of Kṛittibāsa that led him to the *Rāmāyaṇa*? Perhaps it was none of these, but his reading of Homer and other poets of Europe which led him to choose a story from the classics of his own country. In a letter to Rājnārayaṇ Basu, he wrote, "As for me, I never read any poetry except that of Vālmīki, Homer, Vyāsa, Virgil, Kālidāsa, Dante (in translation), Tasso (do.), and Milton." Though the theme was Indian, his models evidently were the epics of Europe—the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer, the *Æneid* of Virgil, Dante's *Comedia*, the *Gerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso, and the *Paradise Lost* of Milton. To Rājnārayaṇ Basu he wrote while engaged in composing this work, "In the present poem, I mean to give free scope to my inventing Powers (such as they are) and to borrow as little as I can from Vālmīki . . . I shall not borrow Greek stories, but write, rather try to write, as a Greek would have done." To the same friend he confided, "By the bye, if the father of our Poetry had given Ram human companions, I could have made a regular Iliad of the death of Meghnad."¹ The very epic form was a thoroughly new introduction in Bengali. This was the first original epic poem. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in Bengali were mere translations.

While the Indian poets generally begin their works from the beginning of things, Madhusūdan follows the Western practice of suddenly plunging into the action of the poem. The first canto opens with the death of Virabāhu, one of the sons of Rāvaṇa, the Rākṣasa king of Laṅkā. The *Iliad* opens with an account of the pestilence in the Grecian camps and the wrath of Achilles over the ownership of a captive-girl. The *Odyssey* begins with the descent of Athene in Ithaca after Odysseus had been enthralled for seven years in the island

¹ Letter dated 14th July, 1860.

of Circe. The *Æneid* opens with the storm raised by Æolus which overtook the Trojans flying from the wreck of Troy under Æneas and sailing for Italy. The first canto of Tasso's epic dealing with the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre finds God sending the angel Gabriel to Godfrey and ordering him to assemble the chiefs of the Crusaders and march to Jerusalem, although six years had passed since the Christians had landed in the Holy Land. The first book of *Paradise Lost* opens with the hosts of Satan fallen in Hell as a punishment for their rebellion against God.

While the general practice in Sanskrit and the older vernacular literatures of India is to begin a poem with a prayer to some god like Brahmā, Viṣṇu, or Śiva, Madhusūdan after the model of Western poets begins with a hymn to Sarasvatī, the Hindu goddess of learning. The Western practice is to offer invocations to the Muses. Of course, this custom of worshipping one's favourite god or goddess was a conventional device with Indian poets and was known as the "Iṣṭa Upāsana Niyama" (cf. Kālidāsa invoking Pārvatī and Parameśvara in the Raghū Vaṁsa). But Madhusūdan was no believer in the generally accepted mythology of the Hindus. So he started off with an invocation to Sarasvatī as the least offensive to his own tastes and beliefs. These lines rendered into English prose are :—

"When the great hero, Virabāhu fell in open warfare and went to the abode of Yama untimely, tell me, O goddess, whose words are like nectar, whom did the Rākṣasa king, enemy of Rāghava, install as the commander of his army and send to the battle? How was the fear of Indra set at rest by the lover of Ūrmilā, who killed Indrajit, Meghnād the unconquerable? Saluting your lotus feet, humble as I am I again call upon you, having white arms," etc.

These lines can be fittingly compared with the opening of other famous epics of the world, and one is struck immediately with the remarkable similarity. Thus begins Homer :—

"Of Peleus' son, Achilles, sing O Muse."¹

In the same strain Homer begins his *Odyssey* :—

"The man for wisdom's various arts renown'd
Long exercised in woes, O Muse resound."²

Milton begins his *Paradise Lost* in the following way :—

"Of Man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree . . .
Sing, Heavenly Muse."

¹ *The Iliad*, tr. by the Earl of Derby.

² *The Odyssey*, tr. by Alexander Pope.

Virgil and Tasso also invoke the Muse in the beginning of the *Æneid* and *Jerusalem Delivered* respectively. Camoens begins the *Lusiad* with an invocation to the Muses of the Tagus. Following closely upon foreign models the Bengali poet begins his narrative when a great deal of action had already taken place.

The uproar is so great and tumultuous in the sea-girt kingdom that even the denizens of the sea are disturbed and the consort of the sea-god Varuṇa asks her maid-of-honour if any storm is imminent due to the anger of her husband. In Indian mythology there is no Vāruṇī.¹ She is obviously Thetis of the *Iliad* and there is even in her a touch of Milton's Sabrina, the nymph in *Comus*. The sea-god himself is drawn after Nereus of the Greek pantheon. The god of the winds reminds one of Æolus in Virgil, who "from his imperial throne, with power imperial, curbs the struggling winds and sounding tempests in dark prison binds". The imagery in Madhusūdan's poem is similar to the idea in Virgil when Vāruṇī says: "Fie on the god of winds. How has he forgotten his promise so soon, dear friend? At the court of the king of the gods the other day, I requested him to chain the winds, to imprison all."

The pleasure-garden of Indrajit seems to have been suggested to the poet by Armida's Paradise in *Jerusalem Delivered*,² where the deserter-knight Rinaldo is held in bondage by the enchantress Armida. Here Indrajit moves in a brilliant circle of beautiful women amidst luxurious surroundings, oblivious of the great fight that is going on, and the guardian-goddess of the kingdom in the guise of his nurse has to remind him of his duty. In Tasso's work, Charles and Abaldo go in search of Rinaldo.³ Indrajit tears off his garland in rage and prepares himself to avenge the death of his brother. Rinaldo tore "the rich embroidered ornaments he wore".⁴

The farewell of Indrajit and his wife Pramīlā recalls Armida's mock sorrow and pretended grief for Rinaldo.⁵ But while in the Bengali poem the feelings are genuine, the enchantress in the Italian

¹ Madhusūdan wrote to Rājñārayaṇ: "The name is Varunani, but I have turned out one syllable. To my ears this word is not so musical as Varuṇī, and I don't know why I should bother myself about Sanskrit rules." (Letter dated 3rd August, 1860.) Chitrāṅgadā is a new conception. She is barely mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa.

² *Jerusalem Delivered*, canto xvi.

³ *Ibid.*, canto xv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, canto xv, stanzas 34, 35.

⁵ *Ibid.*, canto xvi, stanza 40.

poem is sorry simply because her conquest is undone. A better comparison would be the grief of Andromache at the departure of Hector before his fight with Achilles.

The second canto opens with a description of evening: "The fragrant winds blew in all directions, asking each other in a whisper, 'what riches have you gained by kissing which flowers?'" This description has a peculiar interest of its own. The author wrote to Rājñārayan Basu, "These lines will no doubt recall to your mind the lines

'And whisper whence they stole
These balmy spoils,'

of Milton and the lines

'. . . Like the sweet south
That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing and giving odour,'

of Shakespeare." And the poet added, "Is not kissing a more romantic way of getting the thing than stealing?" A more appropriate comparison would be the description of evening in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost* and the lines, "When Zephyr upon Flora breathes," etc., in *L'Allegro*.

Madhusūdan obviously was referring to this part of the poem when he wrote to the same friend: "As a reader of the Homeric *Epos*, you will, no doubt, be reminded of the Fourteenth Iliad, and I am not ashamed to say that I have intentionally imitated it—Juno's visit to Jupiter on Mount Ida. I only hope I have given the Episode as thorough a Hindu air as possible." Durgā's visit to Śiva while he is in meditation has a parallel in Juno going to Jupiter on Mount Ida. Śiva says to Pārvatī that nobody, be he mortal or god, can evade destiny. This "Prāktan" or fate is the same as "the voice of destiny" in Homer. This might have been due to the common origin of the myths of the ancient races which must not be confused with literature. This is a classic belief, and the reason may be the similarity of early beliefs. At the bidding of Indra, his charioteer goes to Lañkā with the weapon with which Lakṣmaṇa will kill Indrajit. Lest seeing him in his kingdom, Rāvana should pick a quarrel with him, Indra commands Prabhanjaṇa, the Indian god of winds, to raise a storm, and this description is a direct imitation of Virgil.¹ In the *Lusiad*, Neptune orders Æolus to let loose the winds on the Portuguese fleet.

¹ *Æneid*, Bk. i, ll. 122, ff. "The raising winds rush through," etc.

The Indian goddess of love more resembles Aphrodite of the Greeks than the Ratidevī of Sanskrit poets. Madhusūdan seems to have imitated Aphrodite and Somnus in delineating Rati and Kāmadeva. They find no place in the original *Rāmāyana*. Kālidāsa in *Kumāra Sambhava* (third canto) takes the help of the god of love and his wife to disturb Śiva's meditation, but Madhusūdan's sympathies were different from Kālidāsa's.

The third canto of the poem describes the feelings of Indrajit's wife Pramilā, who arranges to meet her husband in the garb of a warrior. She is just like one of the Amazons in classical Western poetry. But it is more probable that Homer's Athene and Panthesilea, Virgil's Camilla, and Tasso's Erminia were in the mind of the poet in the presentation of this heroic maiden. Older Bengali poetry does not contain many examples of heroic women, so he surely did not go there for a model. Raṅgalāl Banerjee's heroic women may possibly have had some influence in the conception of Pramilā.

The beginning of the fourth canto is an invocation to Vālmiki, the prince of Indian poets. Dante in the *Divine Comedy* invokes the spirit of Virgil ("Hell", canto ii). In the third book of the *Lusiad*, Camoens invokes the aid of Calliope—the Muse of epic poetry and mother of Orpheus. Madhu's line, "In a dense forest the unkind tigress rears you, villain," addressed to Lakṣmaṇa by Sitā is reminiscent of the story of Romulus and Remus who were suckled by she-wolves on wild mountains. These words bear further resemblance to stanzas in Virgil and Tasso.¹ In the course of the description of Rāvaṇa's fight with the bird-king Jaṭāyu, Sitā says that she had a vision regarding her future, which has been obviously suggested by Virgil's picture of the future of the Roman race unfolded to Æneas by his father in Hell (*Æneid*, Bk. vi).

The fifth canto is a prelude to the central idea of the poem. The goddess Māyā sends Dream in the guise of Lakṣmaṇa's mother Sumitrā to tell him to worship the goddess Chaṇḍī but forbids him to be

¹ "And wild wolves that rave
On the chill crag of some rude Appenine
Gave his youth suck."

Jerusalem Delivered.

"Not sprung from noble blood nor goddess born
But hewn from hardened entrails of a rock
And rough Hyrcanian tigers gave thee suck."

Æneid.

accompanied by any other person. These lines are reminiscent of Homer's :—

“ Alone the Ilian ramparts let him leave ”

and—

“ Alone, no Trojan with him, must he go.”¹—

the command of Jove conveyed by Iris to Priam to seek the body of Hector.

This conception of Māyā is somewhat akin to Homer's description of Iris and to the dream of Agamemnon in the second book of the *Iliad* in which the deluding Vision stands near the Greek king in the guise of Nestor. The various obstructions and temptations that Lakṣmaṇa encounters on his way to the temple of Chaṇḍī are counterparts of the obstacles placed in the way of the two knights in *Jerusalem Delivered* who went in search of Rinaldo. The roaring lion, the beautiful damsels bathing and throwing baits to Lakṣmaṇa are exactly of the same nature.² A similar picture is found in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* when Sir Guyon breaks up pitilessly the Bower of Bliss.³ The passages are wonderfully alike. The beautiful and nude women, their occupations and tempting words have been vividly reproduced in this poem. By the time that Lakṣmaṇa had finished his worship at the shrine of the goddess it was nearly dawn and Indrajit was trying to arouse his sleeping wife with words that are similar to those addressed by Adam to Eve in *Paradise Lost* (Bk. v). The last words in Madhusūdan, “ My eternal delight,” are exactly in the spirit of Milton's “ My ever new delight ”.

Indrajit's mother is reluctant to let him fight. He replies, “ What will my eternal grandfather, the king of the Dānavas, say when he hears of this ? . . . the world will laugh.” Hector replies to his wife in the same strain :—

“ . . . But I should blush
To face the men and long-rob'd dames of Troy
If, like a coward, I could shun the fight.”

(Book vi.)

In the sixth canto, Lakṣhmaṇa and Bibhīṣaṇa enter the chamber of sacrifice where Indrajit is worshipping. They go unseen, guarded by Māyā. In the *Iliad*, Priam goes to the Greek camp attended by Hermes and unseen to other eyes (Bk. xxiv, “ Great Priam entered,

¹ *The Iliad*, Bk. xxiv.

² Canto xv, stanzas 50, 58; canto xviii. Also *Lusiad*, Bk. ix, “ Island of Love.”

³ Bk. ii, canto xii.

unperceived of all"). Bibhīṣaṇa's dream of his future kingship and the words, "O! You future king of the Rākṣasas" may well be compared with the words of the witches in *Macbeth* (act i, scene iii). Indrajit sees his uncle standing near the door with a huge lance like a comet. In the second book of the *Paradise Lost* there is a similar idea regarding the belief about comets.¹ While Rāma is hesitating to send his brother to kill Indrajit, Sarasvatī speaks from the skies and asks him not to disbelieve in the divine ordinance. It is more suggestive of Athene speaking to Odysseus whenever he is in some difficulty.

The omen of the snake and the peacock which Rāma sees is suggestive of Hera's omen in the *Iliad* (Bk. xii), and that of the hawk and the dove in the *Odyssey* (Bk. xv). The Indian mind, like that of the Greeks in ancient times, was susceptible to beliefs of this kind and prone to read some meaning into every sign and symbol. Bibhīṣaṇa and Lakṣmaṇa are hidden in a mist like Æneas conveyed by Venus in a cloud to Carthage (Bk. i). In the *Odyssey*, Pallas Athene surrounds Odysseus with a mist to enable him to enter invisible the palace of king Alcinous (Bk. vii). Again, in the *Iliad*, Paris is "from the field conveyed wrapt in a misty cloud" (Bk. iii). Māyā appears before Kamalā, the guardian-goddess of Laṅkā, in the form of a Rākṣasa wife, like Athene descending in Ithaca in the shape of Mentès, king of the Taphians, to confer with Telemachus (Bk. i, *Odyssey*) or Venus meeting Æneas as a huntress.

Lakṣmaṇa's attempt to strike his unarmed adversary is a gross breach of the Hindu laws of warfare. For this, even liberal critics have found fault with him.² It might have been that Madhusūdan's Western predilections were responsible for this weakening of the valiant character of Lakṣmaṇa, and orthodox critics were naturally hurt because in the original *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki he fights with an armed enemy. Then why was it that the poet went against a long-cherished tradition and made Lakṣmaṇa violate the laws of Hindu warfare? The only reason that can be assigned for this is that Madhusūdan had a fondness for things Western, a necessary corollary of his Western ideas. He could not let slip this opportunity of deviating from the older ideals of his race. He was a social rebel and had sympathy for those who seemed to correspond to his own

¹ "And from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war."

² Ramagati Nyayaratna, *A Discourse on Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 262.

ideas. The Rākṣasas were not necessarily non-Aryans. There were two sects among them—Yajñapanthī and Yajñaparipanthī. Rāvaṇa was a Hindu of the Śaiva school. The poet's own sympathies were with the Rākṣasas. "I hate Rāma and his rabble, the idea of Rāvaṇa elevates and kindles my imagination," he wrote to Rājñāraṇ Basu. In his love for Rāvaṇa he might have been influenced by Milton, who had a keen sympathy for Satan. Both make other characters the central figure of their poems, but in their works those of whom the readers think as villains loom large. In his over-zealous sympathy for the Rākṣasas, Madhusūdan was a little uncharitable to Lakṣmaṇa and he failed to do full justice to his character. But we cannot blame him very much if we take into consideration his contempt for things which the orthodox section of his countrymen revered. Madhusūdan might have had in his mind Shakespeare's Achilles, in *Troilus and Cressida*, striking the unarmed Hector, though in Homer the hero is armed with his "trenchant sword" but spearless (*Iliad*, Bk. xxii). Unarmed and unprotected, Indrajit hurls everything before him at his adversary, but all is ineffective through the wiles of Māyā. The simile of the mother brushing off the mosquitoes from the slumbering infant has been borrowed from Homer where Athene turned aside the arrow aimed at Menelaus by Pandarus (Bk. iv, *Iliad*). Hector and Indrajit are alike in cursing and scorning their enemies.

In the seventh canto the fatal news of his son's death is communicated to Rāvaṇa by Śiva's attendant in the form of a Rākṣasa messenger. In a similar manner Iris conveys Zeus's message to Priam. The gods arrayed on the side of Rāma are not far different from the gods descending to fight with Zeus's permission in Homer (*Iliad*, Bk. xx). They are divinities with human emotions and human sensibilities. But Madhusūdan has here followed Vālmiki in whose works gods and demi-gods guard Lakṣmaṇa. Lakṣmaṇa falls struck down by the grief-smitten Rāvaṇa but his corpse is preserved at the intercession of Pārvatī. In the *Iliad*, the body of Hector is ransomed by Priam under Zeus's command conveyed to Achilles by his mother Thetis (Bk. xxiv). In all these details Madhusūdan seems to have closely followed his Western models with striking success.

Nearly the whole of the eighth canto is based upon the sixth book of Virgil's *Æneid* and at certain places there are influences of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. It is remarked by Bhola Nath Chunder, a contemporary of the poet: "Modhu has kept all the great epic authors of Europe in his view and has very successfully imitated Dante and

Milton in his description of the infernal regions. Ugolino gnawing the scalp of his enemy ; the Stygian Council at Pandemonium, Sin in her formidable shape, Death wielding a dreadful dart ; Night and Chaos holding eternal anarchy, have all been closely imitated. Orpheus and Ulysses revert to the mind as Rāma, accompanied by Māyā-Devi, visits our poet's Inferno." Madhusūdan himself wrote to Rājñārayan, "Mr. Ram is to be conducted through Hell to his father, Daśaratha, like another Æneas."

Although the description of Hell is part of the stock-in-trade of the Hindu Purāṇas, Madhusūdan's conception of that awful region is westernized. It is doubtful if he went to any of the Purāṇas for his ideas. On the contrary there is every likelihood that his imagination was kindled by what he read in the European classics in which he felt more at ease than in the tales of Hindu mythology. Homer took Odysseus to the regions of the Shades, Virgil descended with Æneas into the underworld, Dante's journeyings through Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise astounded the Middle Ages, Milton hurled Satan into the bottomless pit, "a dungeon horrible, on all sides round as one great furnace flamed," which he called Hell—the Infernal world.

Following in the footsteps of these great poets of Europe in whose works he was well read, Madhusūdan takes Rāma to his father then enjoying eternal rest in the Indian Paradise. Mainly it is the Virgilian description of the abode of the Dead, with sidelights from Dante and others. In Virgil, the Sibyl guides Æneas, in Madhusūdan, Māyā accompanies Rāma. The entrance to Hell in both Virgil and Madhusūdan is a cave. Again and again Virgil's lines recur to the reader as he proceeds with this part of *Meghanāda Badha Kāvya*. Among the many passages which seem echoes of Virgil there is one—

"The greatest of Rāghavas proceeded, as through the dark wood the traveller goes when at night the rays of the moon enter the forest and smile. Māyā Devī walked ahead in silence,"

which seems partly a copy from Virgil.¹

Daśaratha tells Rāma how Lakṣmaṇa can be brought back to

¹ "Obscure they went through dreary shades that led
Along the waste dominions of the dead.
Thus wander travellers in woods by night,
By the moon's doubtful and malignant light,
When Jove in dusky cloud involves the skies,
And the faint crescent shoots by fits before their eyes."

life as Æneas is told by his father how he should conduct himself in the future and about the future of his family. In his description of the gates of Hell, Datta has directly imitated Dante's lines :—

“ Through me you pass into the city of woe,
Through me you pass into eternal pain,”
“ Hell,” iii, tr. Cary.

words which are written in blazing letters on the iron gates of Hell.¹ Again, there is an echo of Dante in Madhusūdan's “ Enter this land renouncing all desires ”, while Dante says, “ All hope abandon, ye who enter here ! ” The conversation between “ the surly boatman ” in Virgil and the Sibyl and that between Māyā and the gatekeeper of Yama's realms are nearly in the same strain. The boatman is appeased with the “ golden rod ” brought as a present for Proserpine, the gatekeeper with Śiva's trident. For the “ unnavigable lake ” (Avernus) full of “ steaming sulphur ” in Virgil, Madhusūdan has the “ great lake Raurab full of fire ”. The description of the various diseases in Hell finds a good parallel in Milton's *Paradise Lost* (Bk. xi, “ The Lazar House,” ll. 480–9). Dante has similar passages in cantos xxix and xxx of “ Hell ”, where he speaks of divers diseases and plagues.

The idea of a ferocious bird tearing the entrails of the sinner was probably suggested by the following lines of Virgil :—

“ A ravenous vulture in his opened side,
Her crooked beak and cruel talons tried ;
Still for the growing liver digged his breast.”

In Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* the suffering Titan is hanging on a mount in the Caucasus while he is taunted, mocked, and reviled by hideous Furies, but in Greek mythology a vulture rips the heart of Prometheus. Madhusūdan was evidently acquainted with these stories.

The advent of Rāma in that sphere of dismal darkness, horrible stench, a place without fresh air, without flowers and trees, is welcomed by the spirits in the same way as the “ gladsome ghosts in circling troops attend ” Æneas and “ with unwearied eyes beheld their friend ” and “ delight to hover near ” him. Some of Rāma's Rākṣasa enemies avoid meeting him just as the Argive chiefs and Agamemnon's train fly from Æneas's “ well-known face with wonted fear ”, and the shade of Ajax “ disdains to stay, in silence turns and sullen stalks away ” (*Odyssey*, Bk. xi).

¹ “ Through this path the sinner passes to the land of sorrow and to everlasting pain.” Madhusūdan.

The idea of women tortured by a woman attendant in Hell seems to have been borrowed from Virgil's "Queen of Furies", who snatches from the mouths of the Thessalian chiefs the genial feasts, and has a snake hissing from her locks.¹ Similar descriptions are found in the works of the Greek dramatists. Orestes flying from the Furies is a well-known instance. Rāma meets heroes, mighty warriors, renowned princes, whose names were once famous, now reduced to mere shades. But he misses a few whose funeral rites have not been performed yet. His guide says, "Husband of the princes of Videha, there is no entrance to this city without funeral rites." In Virgil there is a similar idea :—

"Nor dares his transport vessel cross the waves,
With such whose bones are not composed in graves."

In Dante's "Limbo" (canto iv of "Hell") the souls of those persons whose funeral rites have not been performed wander aimlessly.

Jaṭāyu leads Rāma to his father's abode. The sacred poet "divine" Musæus shows Æneas "the shining fields" where the happy souls reside. In Kaśīrāmdās's *Mahābhārata* the dwelling-place of pious men in the land of the dead is known as the "Sanjīvan-purī". Kavikaṅkaṇa's *Chañḍī* also refers to the same. Though the name occurs in *Madhusūdan*, he made changes and alterations in its description. Æneas's father lives in a flowery vale, Daśaratha worships Dharmarāja at the base of a banyan tree, and the first words they utter when they meet their sons are full of feelings of the same kind. Anchises exclaims with open arms and falling tears :—

"'Welcome,' (he said), 'the Gods' undoubted race
O long expected, to my dear embrace
Once more it is given me to behold your face.'"

Daśaratha addresses Rāma with terms of welcome and endearment. Rāma tries to touch his father's feet but feels that his attempts are in vain. Both Æneas and Odysseus had experiences of the same kind.² Anticlea tells her son that she is an airy creature and Daśaratha says that he is a mere phantom.

¹ Cf. "Her snakelocks hiss", Virgil; "And hissing snakes for ornamental hair," Tasso: "In her locks a deadly snake hissing," *Madhusūdan*.

² "Thrice around his neck his arms he threw;
And thrice the fitting shadow slipped away,
Like winds, or empty dreams that fly the day."

Æneid.

"Thrice in my arms I strove her shade to bind,
Thrice through my arms she slipped like empty wind,
Or dreams the vain illusions of the mind."

Odysseus.

We now come to the concluding part of the great epic. Following Homer, Madhusūdan makes Rāvaṇa pray for an interim of seven days for performing the funeral rites of his son. Priam wanted a truce for eleven days. Rāvaṇa orders the messenger to convey the message thus :—

“ Tell the hero the king of the Rākṣasas, Rāvaṇa begs this of you—
‘ Stay in this land with your army giving up enmity. The king desires
to perform duly the funeral rites of his son.’ ”

Rāma replies,

“ I shall not take up arms for seven days.”

In Homer, Achilles says,

“ So shall it be, old Priam ; I engage
To stay the battle for the time required.”

Iliad, Bk. xxiv.

The lament of Sītā, “ My friend, wherever I go, I put out the light of happiness,” is very similar to Helen’s lamentations in Homer.

The funeral ceremony is partly borrowed from Homer. Those who would object to any inference of foreign influence in these descriptions would naturally argue that it is due to mere parallelism in myths—Eastern and Western, and hence, the coincidence is accidental: there is certainly a vast difference between a close parallel and an accidental coincidence. One is tempted to conclude that the Homeric influence worked more strongly upon Madhusūdan’s mind than the similarity of myths. The Rākṣasa mourners return to Laṅkā in the same manner as the Trojans turned back to Priam’s palace after Hector’s funeral ceremonies.

These comparative studies would be sufficient in themselves to prove how much indebted Madhusūdan was to the poets of Europe. In him we find the classic dignity of Homer, the magnificence of the similes of Virgil, the grand stateliness of Dantesque imageries and the epic serenity of Milton. It has been well observed by one of the best commentators on this poem: “ *Meghanāda Badha* is the most final and best illustration of the union of the East and the West, which was the main aim of Madhusūdan’s literary efforts. Its main ideas are from *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmikī and Kṛttibāsa; the incidents have been arranged after the *Iliad* of Homer; the language breathes of the stately and grand verse of Milton; its ‘alaṅkāra’ beauties are after the Sanskrit poems. It abounds in places with echoes of Vālmikī, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Kṛttibāsa on the one hand and on the

other of Homer, Virgil, Dante, Tasso, Shakespeare, and Milton.”¹ Had the poet written verses all through his life in English, he would have been one of those writers that men talk of occasionally and at rare intervals as things of curiosity and objects of academic interest. Few would have cared to read him seriously. It was an auspicious day for Bengali literature when Madhusūdan wrote this poem and added to Bengali poetry a dignity and grandeur, a sonorousness and imaginative height, a boldness of conception, unknown and undreamt of before, and it is certain that he has not been eclipsed so far in his particular sphere and no greater specimen of heroic poetry has as yet been written in Bengali. This was possible only because of the fact that Madhusūdan had as his models the vast storehouse of Western epic poetry. Himself an original poet of high order and a genius endowed with rare scholarship and ability, the foreign influence on his mind acted well.

Hector Badha Kāvya, a poem on the death of Hector, was dedicated to his friend Bhudeb Mukerjee, the eminent educationist and man of letters. The subject-matter was taken from Homer and the language is also Homeric. Hitherto, Bengali poets had composed soft and sweet lyrics or devotional songs. The grand heroic poetry was unknown to them. In the preface to this poem he expressed his profound admiration for Western epics and specially the works of Homer. He intended to write one more poem on the epic-model. This was to deal with the conquest of Ceylon. Madhusūdan made a synopsis of the preliminaries of this work and these are based mostly on the first book of the *Æneid*, though the plot planned by him differs in details from Virgil. To Rājnārayaṇ Basu he wrote in 1861: “I like a subject with oceanic and mountain scenery, with sea voyages, battles, and love-adventures. It gives a fellow’s invention such a wide scope.” Murajā, Pavana, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu, and Yakṣa were to be modelled after Juno, Æolus, Venus, Jupiter, and Mercury. “It is my ambition to engraft the exquisite grace of the Greek mythology on our own,” he wrote to the same friend. Had he been able to fulfil his plans there would have been another opportunity of making a study of Western influence on his poetry.

Western influence is seen in another poem. *Tilottamā Sambhava Kāvya* (1860) is romantic poetry in Bengali after the model of

¹ Rai Bahadur Dinanath Sanyal, Introduction to *Meghanada-Badha Kavya* (translated from the original Bengali).

Keats in *Hyperion*. It is an eulogy of beauty which was the ideal of Keats. The beginning is as stately as *Hyperion* and it is likely that Milton exercised some influence on it.¹ Tilottamā looking at her own beauty is like Eve in *Paradise Lost*. But the poem lacks the human interest of Milton. The characters do not seem to be persons of flesh and blood. In Milton, Hell is the lowest region of the world. In this poem, the home of Viśvakarmā which is situated in the northernmost end of the world is the lowest region. Viśvakarmā creating Tilottamā, and Vulcan making the armour of Achilles are alike in their labours. About this poem, Rajendralāl Mitra wrote to Rājñārayaṇ Basu. "The ideas are no doubt borrowed, and Keats and Shelley and Kalidas and Milton have been largely, very largely, put in requisition; but as you justly say, 'whatever passes through the crucible of the author's mind receives an original shape.'" Rajendralāl further speaks of "the Miltonic grandeur of Tilottamā".

Personal and individual love-poems were successfully attempted by him after the manner of European poets in the *Vrajaṅganā Kāvya*. The ode form is used in these poems. The poet made a distinct change in Rādhā's character. In the works of the Vaiṣṇava poets she is a half-divine or semi-divine woman. But here she has been given a human touch. She has the emotions and sentiments of a human being. Kṛṣṇa is also different from the customary Vaiṣṇava conception. He is simply a human lover. Madhusūdan lacked the devotional emotion and fervour of Vaiṣṇava poets and therefore his conception of love is not of the type of Vidyāpati and Chāṇḍīdāsa. Some critics try to trace in these poems the influence of Vaiṣṇava poetry. But if they have anything at all in common with the Vaiṣṇava poems the similarity is on the surface only. Madhusūdan appreciated Vaiṣṇava poetry but he could never think of Rādhā in her divine ecstasies. At the most he could think of her just like the Gopīs who are always human and whose love for Kṛṣṇa is for Rādhā's sake only.

Vīrāṅganā Kāvya, another work in blank verse, was written in imitation of the epistle of Ovid (the *Heroides*) and the epistles of Pope. The subject-matter is woman's love in straits. Both Ovid and Madhusūdan portray legendary characters. But it is a pity that Ovid's eroticism and frank sensibility influenced Madhusūdan to a certain extent as in the epistle from Tārā to Chandra.

¹ Rāmgatī Nyayaratna notes the English style of beginning from the middle in this poem. p. 262. *Discourse on Bengali Language and Literature*.

Another important literary achievement of Madhusūdan for which he was mainly indebted to Europe is the introduction of the sonnet into Bengali. It was during his sojourn in Europe that he first tried to write in this new form. In 1865 he wrote to Gaurdas Basak from France : " I have been lately reading Petrarca, the Italian poet, and scribbling some ' sonnets ' after his manner. . . . I dare say the sonnet (Chaturdaspadi) will do wonderfully well in our language. . . . Our Bengali is a very beautiful language, it only wants men of genius to polish it up. . . . It is, or rather it has the elements of a great language in it." A sonnet inscribed to Dante elicited words of appreciation from Victor Emmanuel, king of Italy, who wrote : " It will be a ring which will connect the Orient with the Occident." Among his better-known poems, one addressed to Bengal reminds one invariably of Byron's. " My Native Land, Good Night," in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*.

Apart from the introduction of blank verse and the enrichment of Bengali literature by the writing of epic poetry, rich with heroic figures and grand descriptions, his greatest contribution to his literature is the creation of a secular poetry, a poetry which like older Bengali poetry does not preach the cult of some deity. " When you sit down to read poetry leave aside all religious bias," was his advice to a friend.¹ Much of his poetry deals with the passion and prejudices of living men and women though it cannot be denied that it is untouched by anything divine or supernatural. He wrote poetry which forms no part of any religio-literary cycle but is poetry for its own sake. It may be suggested that Vidyāsundara too was free from the religious touch. But Bhāratachandra's poem stands on a different level. He found in it an opportunity of delineating a contemporary incident, magnified somewhat by his revengeful spirit and marred with frequent touches of indecency. Madhusūdan would never support such unseemly ideals in a poet who vitiated his art for personal purposes and lowered the standard of literature. He turned the tide of public taste to a far better channel and saved it from degeneration. In a land ridden with conventions and customs, he had the courage to revolt from old-world ideas and it was quite proper that a Bengali imbued with Western ideas should do so. The course of Bengali poetry was directed to something better and received a new shape, freeing itself from conventional ideas, whether intellectual or moral.

¹ Letter dated the 29th August, 1861, to Rājñārāyaṇ Basu.



Yogakṣema

By RAI BAHADUR AMARNATH RAY

THE word *Yogakṣema* claims high antiquity. It is found used in the Vedic Saṃhitās, Brāhmanas, and Śrauta-Sūtras. (See Bloomfield's *Concordance*, p. 808a.) It occurs in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, *Bṛgu-vallī*, ii, 51, and in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, ii, 1, 2. Its best-known use is in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, ix, 22, while it is found further compounded as *niryogakṣema* in ii, 45 of the same work. The following uses of the word may also be noted : *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti-parvan*, ch. 348, verse 72, and ch. 74, verse 1 : *Manu Saṃhitā*, vii, 127, and ix, 219 ; and Śrīdhara's Commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, v, 9, 14, and x, 24, 24.¹ In its Pali form, *yogakkhema*, the word is to be found in the *Dhammapada*, ii, 3, and very frequently in Tripitaka literature, for instance, in *Majjhima Nikāya*, i, 163, 167, 477 : *Samyutta Nikāya*, ii, 195 ; and *Anguttara Nikāya*, ii, 247, 248. In its Prakrit form, *jogakkhema*, it occurs in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitram*, iv, 4. It is proposed in this note to discuss the true import of the word. For this purpose it will be best to turn to its use in the *Bhagavadgītā* verse, ix, 22, as that work claims a large number of commentaries.

The verse runs as follows :—

*Ananyās cintayanto mām ye janāḥ paryupāsate
Teṣāṃ nityābhīyuktānāṃ yogakṣemaṃ vahāmy aham.*

Śaṅkara explains the word *yogakṣema* thus : *yogaḥ aprāptasya prāpaṇaṃ* (attaining the unattained) and *kṣemaḥ tadrakṣaṇaṃ* (maintaining the same). This interpretation has been generally accepted and the verse taken to mean that because the constant devotees fix their mind solely upon the Lord and think of nothing else, not even of the sustenance of their body, the Lord, in His mercy, takes it upon Himself to meet their physical needs. Even modern Indian interpreters like Tilak and Gandhi have accepted this meaning, the former quoting in support the lexicon *Śāsvatakoṣa*, where the word *yogakṣemaḥ* has been explained as *sāṃsārika-nitya-nirvāhaḥ*, i.e. "the meeting of daily worldly needs". Rāmānuja, however, though he appears to have accepted Śaṅkara's splitting up of the compound, takes *yogaḥ* to mean

¹ The numbers of the chapters and verses of the three works are given as in the editions of the works, in Bengali characters, published by the Bangavāsi Press.

“ finding me ” (i.e the Lord), and *kṣemaḥ* to mean “ non-return from that state ”. This is hitting the right meaning in a wrong way, for once *mokṣa* is attained, there can be no question of return from that state. Śrīdhara, belonging to Śaṅkara’s school, thus explains the word : *yogaṃ dhanādi-lābhaṃ kṣemaṃ tatpālanam, mokṣaṃ vā*. It is not clear whether he suggests *mokṣaṃ* as an alternative meaning for the entire word *yogakṣema* or for *kṣema* only. In the latter case, attainment of wealth and liberation would be a rather incongruous juxtaposition. In any case, it is certain that both Rāmānuja and Śrīdhara had doubts about the accuracy of Śaṅkara’s interpretation.

The *Mīmāṃsakas* would have us consider the following matters when looking for the meaning of a word or a passage, viz. *upakrama* (introduction or preface), and *upasaṃhāra* (conclusion); *abhyāsa* (repetition); *apūrvatā* (novelty); *phalaṃ* (result); *arthavāda* (praise or laudatory statement); and *upapatti* (what is established). Most schools of thought accept this rule of interpretation. In any case, the introduction and the conclusion, on the one hand, and the context, on the other, must be looked into whenever a word or a passage presents difficulty. From the opening and the concluding verses of chapter ix, it would appear that the theme of the chapter is to describe the means to *mokṣa* or release from evil, and to trace the *gati* or course of the devotee’s soul. Turning to the context, we find that verses 20 and 21 describe the fate of the desirerful Vedic sacrificers who attain to heaven as the result of their good works, but have to be reborn on the expiry of the fruits of those works, while verses 23 and 24 say that the worshippers of other gods are also subject to rebirths, as they do not know the *tattva* (i.e. the real nature) of the Lord. It would be idle to expect the author to say, in the intervening verse under consideration, that the Lord looks after the daily physical needs of His constant devotees. The real meaning of the verse is that while Vedic sacrificers and the worshippers of other gods are subject to rebirths, the constant devotees of the Lord are not subject to them, because they know the nature of the Lord and are united to Him. This is the meaning of the Lord bearing their *yogakṣema*. In fact, what is stated in these five verses (20–24) is summed up in verse 25. So the word *yogakṣema* in the verse under consideration really means release from the cycle of rebirths.

Before proceeding to discuss how the word *yogakṣema* might be made to yield this meaning, it would be well to say that the meaning proposed by Śaṅkara does not appear to have been invented by him.

for in the *Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā*, i, 100, the word is similarly explained. It would appear, however, from the *Manu Saṃhitā*, vii, 127 (see also Kullūka's gloss thereon), and other uses of the word, that this was the meaning which business people would attach to the word. To a trader *yogakṣema* would be to get hold of a valuable article of trade, and to guard it carefully, so as to make a good profit out of it when the opportunity came. To me, however, this appears to be an instance of the degradation of words, for examining the Vedic passages referred to by Bloomfield, the other passages referred to above, and also the Pali use of the word, it appears to me that the original meaning of the word was undoubtedly "the highest Good" or the "Summum Bonum". In Pali literature, Nirvāṇa is called the *yogakkhema*. No doubt, in the *Dhammapada* passage, referred to above, Buddhaghosa explains *yogakkhema* to mean "release from the fourfold bondage". We do not know what this fourfold bondage is, nor on what authority Buddhaghosa relied for this interpretation. The only authority one might think of would be the *Śukla Yajurveda (Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā)*, xxx, 14, where *yogaḥ* means "tying cattle to stakes" and *kṣemaḥ* means "releasing them from this bondage". I am, however, for splitting up and explaining the compound thus: *yogeṣu* ("among gains") *kṣemaḥ* ("what is good or auspicious"), so that the word, *thus explained*, would be equivalent to *niḥśreyasa* or the "Summum Bonum". In the *Kātha Up.*, ii, 1, 2, the word is undoubtedly used as a synonym for *śreyaḥ* or "good", though Śaṅkara misinterprets it here also. The word can bear no other meaning in Śrīdhara's *Īkā* on the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, v, 19, 14. See also Kullūka's gloss on *Manu Saṃhitā*, ix, 219. In the *Saṃhitā* passages quoted by Bloomfield, the commentators, who are all later than Śaṅkara, follow his interpretation. The real meaning in each case, however, appears to be the one suggested here, and the word can yield that meaning only if the compound is split up in the way proposed by me. It is needless to say that though the highest good for all must be the same, it is not given to all to realise it. In fact, its conception varies among different people according to temperamental dissimilarity. To the ordinary man of the world begetting offspring, attainment of riches, and immunity from disease would usually be the highest good, while to the spiritually minded Indian the highest good would undoubtedly be the escape from the cycle of rebirths.

The *Gītā* verse, ix, 22, as interpreted by Śaṅkara, is the earliest authority, if not the sole authority, relied upon by people who, in their

eagerness for union with the Lord, give up all efforts for self-maintenance and face untold sufferings and not infrequently death. No misinterpretation of a scriptural passage has perhaps been so fraught with evil as this one : but it is by no means an easy matter to convince even clever people that Śaṅkara made a mistake. Strangely enough, his Vaiṣṇava opponents (except Rāmānuja), ever so ready to find fault with his interpretations, have had no hesitation in following him here.

Notes on the Transcription of Burmese

By J. R. FIRTH

THE phonetic text given below is a simplified "broad" transcription of story No. 5 on p. 37 of *A Burmese Phonetic Reader*, by Armstrong and Pe Maung Tin,¹ and is based on experience gained in the practical use of the *Reader* with Burmans, and also in the teaching of Burmese phonetics in the Indian Institute, Oxford.

This simplified broad transcription reduces the number of vowel signs from eleven to eight, eliminating **a** and the unsatisfactory letters **i** and **u**. Length-marks are also eliminated, and tone-marks reduced from eleven to two only.

The sign **ɣ** has been replaced by the more familiar **ʃ**, the affricate signs **tɕ**, **tɕh**, **dʒ** by **c**, **ch**, **j**, and **ɟ** by **y**.

These simplifications are in accordance with World Orthography, which has been successfully applied to twenty African languages.²

In the broad transcription the simple signs **i**, **e**, **ɛ**, **a**, **ɔ**, **o**, **u**, denote simple vowels of medium length pronounced with "creaky" voice, terminated by a weak closure of the glottis, the tone being slightly falling.

The nasalized vowels and diphthongs **ī**, **eī**, **ā**, **oū**, **ū**, **aī**, **aū** are to be treated as similar to the above. For reasons which are given in a subsequent paragraph, these nasalized vowels are written **ij̄**, **eīj̄**, **aj̄**, **ouj̄**, **uj̄**, **aij̄**, **auj̄** in connected texts.

iʔ, **eiʔ**, **ɛʔ**, **aʔ**, **ouʔ**, **uʔ**, **aɪʔ**, **auʔ** are very short vowels and diphthongs, pronounced with strong stress, terminated by an abrupt closure of the glottis, the tone being slightly falling from a somewhat higher starting-point than in the first group, **i**, **e**, **ɛ**, **aī**, etc. These very short stressed vowels are pronounced with what may be described as clear "bright" voice and are in sharp contrast with the long stressed vowels on a falling tone having a gradual "fade-out" ending, pronounced with dull breathy voice. e.g. **ˈi**, **ˈe**, **ˈɛ**, **ˈa**, **ˈaī**, etc. This contrast is most important, as syllables preceded by the tone-mark **ˈ** (e.g. **ˈa**) or followed by abrupt closure (e.g. **aʔ**) are often more prominent than other syllables.

The vowels **ˌi**, **ˌe**, **ˌɛ**, **ˌa**, **ˌɔ**, **ˌo**, **ˌu**, **ˌaī**, **ˌaū**, and **ˌī**, **ˌeī**, **ˌā**, **ˌoū**, **ˌū** are pronounced with gradual "fade-out" ending on a low level tone,

¹ University of London Press.

² See the publications of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 22 Craven Street, London, W.C. 2.

and with somewhat "breathy" voice. They are usually very long, but may be shortened in everyday speech.

There remains the neutral vowel ə. This is always unstressed and very short, and usually something like *_a*, *_e*, etc. in tone. This neutral-vowel-weak-syllable sign ə is all that is necessary to indicate what the *Reader* calls Toneme IV. It sounds rather like *e* when followed by another vowel or *y*.

For differences of vowel quality in the phoneme groups 'i, i[?], i, *_i*, 'a, a[?], ā, 'u, u[?], ū, *_ū* and the character of the diphthongs 'eī[?], 'eī, ou[?], 'oū, ai[?], aī, au[?], aū, the *Reader* should be consulted.

Length in itself is not significant. Syllables preceded by the tone-marks *_*, ' (as *_a*, 'a) are long. Those concluded with abrupt closure marked [?] (as in a[?]) will always be short, while unmarked symbols like *a*, *e*, *o* and nasalized forms like *ī*, *aū* are normally of medium length.

The notation *a*, a[?], *_a*, 'a, is quite unambiguous for the phoneme variants of *a*, as well as for the three tonemes in which they occur.

A glance at the table of vowels and tones given below will show that *ε* and *o* are never nasalized, that *eī* and *oū* occur but not *ē* and *ō*. Diphthongs are either followed by abrupt glottal closure occurring only in Toneme I, or have a closing nasalization.

This closing nasalization resembles *n* or *ŋ* in *eī* and *aī* and *ŋ* in *oū* and *aū*. To simplify and broaden the transcription the sign *ŋ* may conveniently be used in final position with the following conventions:—

(1) It indicates the closing nasalization in *eī*, *oū*, *aī*, *aū* above described, which may be written *eīŋ*, *ouŋ*, *aīŋ*, *auŋ*.

(2) It indicates the nasalization of vowels like *ī*, *ā*, *ū*, which may be written *īŋ*, *aŋ*, *uŋ*.

The sign *ŋ* in final position preceded by a simple vowel is thus used instead of the nasalization mark.

(3) No nasal consonant is heard when *ŋ* is written:—

(a) At the end of a breath group.

(b) When the following syllable begins with a vowel or the semi-vowels *y* and *w*, or generally with such consonants as *hm*, *hl*.

(4) But when *ŋ* is followed by initial *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *θ*, *ð*, *j* in the next syllable the "intrusive" homorganic nasal must also be understood. Thus, taking examples from the first few lines of story No. 14 on p. 51 of the *Reader*:—

(i) *də _gauŋ _ði* = *.də _gaū(n) _ði*.

(ii) *_eiŋ tə _eiŋ hma* = *_eī(n) .tə _eī _hma*.

(iii) $_dei\eta \ `g\varepsilon = _de\bar{i}(\eta) \ `g\varepsilon:$

(iv) $\theta i^? \ `kai\eta \ _bo = _,\theta i^? \ ka\bar{i}(m) \ _bo:$

In (i) the final η signifies the nasalization of the close of the preceding diphthong $a\bar{u}$, and also the homorganic nasal n determined by the following δ . Similarly in (iv) η is to indicate the closing nasalization of $a\bar{i}$, and also the homorganic nasal m determined by the following b .

TABLE I

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	REMARKS.	
Toneme I	a	i	e	ε	a	ɔ	o	u		Simple vowels of medium length and nasalized vowels and diphthongs. Creaky voice. Weak closure.	
		iη	eiη		aη		ouη	uη	aiη		auη
	b	i [?]	ei [?]	ε [?]	a [?]		ou [?]	u [?]	ai [?]	au [?]	Slightly falling. Very short "bright" vowels and diphthongs. Stressed. Abrupt closure. No nasal vowels.
Toneme II		$_i$	$_e$	$_ε$	$_a$	$_ɔ$	$_o$	$_u$	$_ai\eta$	$_au\eta$	Long vowels and diphthongs. Nasalized vowels and diphthongs. Low level tone. Gradual ending. Breathy voice.
		$_i\eta$	$_ei\eta$		$_a\eta$		$_ou\eta$	$_u\eta$			
Toneme III		$\ `i$	$\ `e$	$\ `ε$	$\ `a$	$\ `ɔ$	$\ `o$	$\ `u$			Long vowels and diphthongs. Nasalized vowels and diphthongs. Stressed. Breathy voice. "Fade-out" ending. Falling tone.
		$\ `i\eta$	$\ `ei\eta$		$\ `a\eta$		$\ `ou\eta$	$\ `u\eta$	$\ `ai\eta$	$\ `au\eta$	
Toneme IV				ə						Weak obscure vowel. Unstressed. Very short. Neutral tone.	

1. ε and $\varepsilon^?$ are never nasalized.
2. $\varepsilon^?$ distinct from ε does not occur.
3. Diphthongs either followed by abrupt closure ($ai^?$) or have closing nasalization ($ai\eta$).

4. $i\eta$, $ei\eta$, $a\eta$, etc., are the symbols used in the transcribed text. η in final position indicates nasalization of the preceding vowel, followed by the nasal homorganic with the initial consonant of the next syllable if that initial is p , b , t , d , k , g , θ , δ , j , etc.

Table II shows the number of signs used (*a*) in the narrow transcription of story No. 5 in the *Reader*, and (*b*) in the broad transcription here suggested.

In comparing the figures showing the number of letters used, it should be remembered that the number of different letters used for the vowels is eight in the broad as compared with eleven in the narrow, and that the affricates only require three different letters in the broad, while there are five in the narrow.

The total number of letters used is about the same, but as a result of the phonetic economies described above, the actual letters bear much more of the burden of phonetic significance, so that a drastic reduction of diacritical marks has been made possible.

The proposed broad transcription is in accordance with what is now termed World Orthography, and might serve as the basis of a romanized spelling of Burmese.

TABLE II

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	No. of letters.	No. of tone-marks.	No. of length-marks.	No. of marks for "checked" vowels.	No. of nasalization marks and "Sandhi" nasals.	Total.
(<i>a</i>) <i>Reader</i>	327	143	58	52	36	616
(<i>b</i>) Broad	326	77	<i>nil</i>	23	23	449

The number of inter-syllable white spaces is the same.

TEXT

(The fable of the North Wind and the Sun)

myau[?] _le `miŋ ne _ne `miŋ

myau[?] _le `miŋ ne _ne `miŋ, θu dε[?] _ŋa `a `ci _dε lo, `piŋ
_khouŋ _ne ja `douŋ, `iŋ _ji _thu _du wu[?] _la dε, khə `yi _dε tə au[?]
_ko _myiŋ də _ga, θu _go `iŋ _ji chu[?] _auŋ, ta[?] _naiŋ _ðu ga, _θa `a
`ci _dε lo, hma[?] _yu _yaŋ, gə di `tha ja _dε. _le `miŋ ga, ta[?] _naiŋ
ðə lau[?] tai[?] tə, ca[?] ca[?] tai[?] _le, khə `yi _ðε ə wu[?], _ko _hma _θa
ka[?] _le. ə _taŋ _ca də, _le `miŋ ga mə ta[?] _naiŋ lo, ya[?] ya _dε. _di
də _ne `miŋ ga, _ne _pu pya _ya, khə na gə `le ne, khə `yi _ðε ai[?] lo,
ə wu[?] chu[?] ya də, _le `miŋ ga _ne `miŋ _ha, θu dε[?], _θa _ba _be _dε
lo, _wuŋ _khaŋ ya _le _dε.

A Grammar of the Language of Bugotu, Ysabel Island, Solomon Islands

By W. G. IVENS, M.A., Litt.D.

INTRODUCTION

A PART of the island of the central Solomon Islands which was called Santa Ysabel by the Spanish discoverers is known as "Sambana" to the natives of Narovo (Eddystone) and Mandegusu islands, who used to raid it. The north end of the island is called Kia, and the southern end is known as Bugotu. There is no one native name for the whole of the island.

A short grammar of the Bugotu language appears in Dr. R. H. Codrington's *Melanesian Languages*, Clarendon Press, 1885, pp. 546-54. When this grammar was published the material available for the study of the language was not very extensive. In preparing the grammar Dr. Codrington relied mainly on information received from Bugotu-speaking natives, who were present in the Melanesian Mission school at Norfolk Island. He was also aided to some extent by the likeness between the language of Bugotu and that of Florida, a much fuller grammar of which appears in his *Melanesian Languages*.

The Bugotu language was first learned by Bishop J. C. Patteson, a list of whose publications in the Bugotu language, which he called *Mahaga*, will be found on p. 525 of S. H. Ray's *Melanesian Island Languages*, Cambridge Press, 1926. In this book Mr. Ray has referred a number of Bugotu words to Indonesian sources. The Ysabel words quoted by the Spanish discoverers of the island in 1567 are discussed in *The Discovery of the Solomon Islands*, Hakluyt Society, 1901. Further reference may be made to Ray, *MIL.*, pp. 8, 525.

The Rev. H. P. Welchman and Mr. E. Bourne, of the Melanesian Mission on Ysabel, prepared a MS. vocabulary of Bugotu words, and this has been largely used in the preparation of the following grammar. This Bugotu vocabulary is now being edited with a view to publication.

There is ample material now available for the study of the Bugotu language, the whole of the New Testament having been translated, together with the book of Psalms, the book of Proverbs, the prophets Isaiah, Haggai, and Zechariah, as well as a set of extracts from the Old Testament ranging from Genesis to Nehemiah. These have been drawn on in the compilation of this grammar.

Orthography.—In the texts the sound *ngg* (i.e. *ngg* in English “finger”) is printed as *g*. It is, however, a variant of *k* rather than of *g*. For the sake of ease in study the sound *ngg* is here written out in its full value. The sound *ng* (i.e. *ng* in English “sing”) is also written out in full. In the texts it is printed as *n*.

Metathesis of Syllables.—Dr. Codrington commented on the word *hathangatu* “hundred”, which is the equivalent of the Bugotu word *hangalatu* “hundred” (the *th* of Bugotu being equal to the *ng* of other languages), and stated that “as the sense of *hangalatu* is lost by the change, it may be presumed that the word is borrowed”. If this case of metathesis were an isolated one, the charge of borrowing might perhaps be sustained. By the way, there are other instances of metathesis in the language, e.g. *hege* “self”, “alone”; *gajika*, *kajiga* “to cough”; *sakapa*, *ku* “a booth”.

The language of Kwara (Ae. North Mala. Solor Islands, the language of a district not far removed from Bugotu) exhibits metathetic forms. The fact of the metathesis does not necessarily suppose a borrowing, and it is not plain what Dr. Codrington meant by his statement in the above quotation as to “the loss of the sense”.

Accent.—The accent in Bugotu is generally on the antepenultimate syllable: *suli*, *suisuli*.

ABBREVIATIONS

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| <i>ML.</i> , <i>Melanesian Languages</i> , R. H. Codrington, D.D., Clarendon Press, 1885. | <i>tion</i> , vol. iii: “Linguistics,” S. H. Ray, Cambridge Press, 1907. |
| <i>MIL.</i> , <i>Melanesian Island Languages</i> , S. H. Ray, M.A., Cambridge Press, 1926. | <i>excl.</i> , exclusive. |
| <i>TSE</i> , iii, <i>Report of Torres Straits Expedition</i> . | <i>incl.</i> , inclusive. |
| | <i>pers.</i> , person, persons. |
| | <i>pl.</i> , plural. |
| | <i>sing.</i> , singular. |

For the references to Roviana see *MIL.* p. 543.

I. ALPHABET

1. The vowels are: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*.

Diphthongs are: (1) *ae*, *ai*, *au*: *rae* “to be excessive”; *fai* “four”; *gau* “bamboo”; (2) *ei*: *fei* “fish”.

Double vowels occur, and the doubling indicates a lengthening of the sound: *iiu* “she”, *iira* “they” (of women); *boo* “a herd”,

“ a company ”. The dropping of a consonant in reduplication causes a long vowel sound : *jiijigi* “ to take an oath ”. There is no “ break ” in the pronunciation of any of the Bugotu words where such consonant has been dropped.

An interchange of vowels is seen in certain words : *o* and *u* are used indifferently in *tuni*, *toni* “ perhaps ”, and in *kamoto*, *kamotu* “ cut off short ” ; *o* and *a* interchange in *tovongoi*, *tovongai* “ when ”, “ until ”, and in *korongoso*, *korongasa* “ marrow ”, “ brain ”.

2. The consonants are : *k*, *g*, *ngg* : *t*, *d*, *j*, *ch*, *th* : *p*, *b*, *v* ; *m*, *n*, *ng*, *gn* ; *r*, *l* ; *s*, *h*. There is no *w* or *q*, and no nasal *m* (*mw*).

- (i) The *g* in Bugotu is what Codrington calls the “ Melanesian *g* ”, and has the same sound as the Spanish *g*, or the *g* of modern Greek.
 (ii) The *d* is generally *nd*, but it is sometimes a pure *d*. “ Certain families or sets of people (in Bugotu) use *d* rather than *nd*.” Codrington. “ The sound of *j* to some extent follows that of *d* : *j* is in some mouths the English *j*, in others it is *nj*.” id. The *ngg* is for *k* : *nggari* “ child ”, Sa’a *kale* : *Nggela*, the native name for Florida island, is in Sa’a *Kela*.
 (iii) The sound of *ch* is as *ch* in English “ church ”. (iv) The *th* is soft. It represents an *l* in the Florida language or in Mota, Banks’ Islands : but sometimes it is a variant of *d* : *thanu* “ to bale ”, Sa’a. Mala, *danu*. (v) “ By some natives *b* is sounded pure, but it is generally strengthened by *m* preceding.” Codrington. In the translations, and in this grammar, there is no printing of *m* before *b* or of *n* before *d*. “ The sound of *gn* is that of the Spanish *ñ* (or of *ni* in English ‘ onion ’). It is a change from *n*.” Codrington.
 (vi) There is an interchange of *n* and *l*, *tangomana*, *tangomalaga* “ to be able ” ; of *n* and *gn*, *mana* “ spiritual force ”, *magnahagi* “ to regard with favour ” : of *th* and *l*, *thonga*, *longa* “ the beach ”, *theutheu*, *leuleu* “ to mock ”.

II. ARTICLES

3. Demonstratives :—

Singular : *na* ; *gna* ; *sina* ; *sa*.

Plural : *mara*, *ara* ; *arahai* ; *koi*.

The article *na* is in very general use as meaning both “ a ” and “ the ”, and also as marking a word as a noun. All words used as nouns, both those without and those with a definite noun ending, are preceded by the article *na* : *na tinoni* “ man, a man ” ; *na vathe* “ the house, a. any, house ” ; *na fata* “ a, the, thing, that which ” ; *na nggari* “ a child, the child ” ; *na mane tango* “ a workman ” ; *na nago mane* “ the head man ” ; *na kulaga* “ friendship ” (*kula* “ a friend ”) ; *tugu* “ to exchange ”, *na tuguva* “ exchange ” ; *mono* “ to abide ”, *na mono* “ abiding, they abode ”, *na monogna* “ abiding, to abide ” ;

na dotho "a gift, love"; *na toke* "goodness"; *na tutuni* "the truth".

When the connotation is general *na* may be dropped: *ei vathe* "house-building, to build houses". The article *na* is used with the pronoun *hava*: *na hava* "what? anything". It is also used with the possessive nouns *ni. ga*: *na ninggua*, *na nimua*, *na nigua* "my, etc."; *na ninggua na vunagi* "his chief"; *na nimua na tinoni* "your man, your men"; *na gamiu* "for you to eat, your food"; it is used with the negative *boi*: *na boi na ninggua* "it was not mine"; it is used with a verb following *mara* "people" to indicate a number of persons: *mara na tabu* "the saints"; *mara na kuma* "the destitute"¹; it is used with the "noun of assemblage" *komi*, which is used before nouns as a sign of the plural: *na komi mavitu nggounggovu* "all the peoples"; it is also used with *marai*, *maraira*, which are formed from *mara* "people", and are generally used as pronouns of the 3rd pers. pl.: *na marai* "those persons".

In the translations there is a use of *na* with the relationship terms: *na tamagna* "his father"; but *a*, the personal article, is the correct use with relationship terms when used of specific persons.

Codrington gives a use of *na* in *na Bugotu* "the Bugotu people", but no instance of this occurs in the translations. However, Lau, Mala, uses *na* in much the same way, though not with the plural: *na i fera* "a person of the place".

Gna denotes "the belonging to", and is used of both persons and things: *na pen gna i velepuhi* "the pen of the teacher"; *mara na thaba gna a Isakar* "the princes of Issachar"; *a Mary gna i Magdala* "Mary of Magdala"; *na mane gna i Nasaret* "the Nazarene". (In the last two instances the *i* is the locative and not the genitive.) The phrase *a Mary gna i Magdala* shows that *gna* here is not the suffixed pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing., "his, hers, its," though in the phrase *na mane gna i Nasaret*, *gna* may be open to this interpretation; see below, 9, 15.

Sina denotes "a, a certain, another": *sina mane* "a certain man, another man"; *sina bongi ke mathaho. sina bongi ke teo* "some days he has malaria, some days not"; *sina boo, mi sina boo* "one herd, then another herd". The *na* of *sina* is the article *na*: *si* appears in Lau, Mala, as an article used of things: it is used also as an article in Roviana, Solomons: see *MIL.*, p. 544.

¹ For the use of *na* with a plural noun, compare Roviana (*MIL.*, p. 544) *ri na ngara* "chiefs".

Sa means "a", it is the article used after a negative: *sa meleha* "a place"; *sa nigna fata* "his things"; *sa lage* "ten"; *sa vavaligna na naedia* "a covering for their feet"; it is used with *hanu* "person"; *sa hanu* "so-and-so, any person, some one"; *e teo sa hanu* "there is no one"; *e teo sa fata* "there is nothing". For *sa* see *MIL.*, pp. 63 (6) and 544. The hill languages of North Mala use *sa* as a personal article.

Mara is the same as the Mala word *mwala*, *ngwala* "people, person": *ngwala* "person, you there!" It is a noun meaning "people": *na mara i Higota* "the people of Higota" (one of Bishop Patteson's examples); *kekeha mara* "certain people". When followed by a noun, or when used with an adjective, it denotes the plural of persons: *mara na tabu* "the saints"; *mara na thaba* "the rulers"; *mara ke puhi* "the adults". It is used in address: *mara Israel* "Oh Israel!"; *mara* "you people!" "In Kiriwina the word used to secure the attention of anyone whose name is forgotten is *mala* 'you there!'" *TSE.* iii. p. 440. *Mara* in Bugotu is thus the Trobriand *mala*, the Sa'a *mwala* "people", the Lau *ngwala* "person", and also the four native variations of the name of the island of Mala, viz. *Mala*, *Mwala*, *Ngwala*, *Mara*.

Ara is used of sets of people: *ara tamamami* "our fathers"; *ara idomiu* "your mothers"; *ara legugna* "his descendants"; *ara Israel* "the Israelites". It also means "they who": *ara nggounggouvu kena havi mai kori vathegna* "all those who lived in his house". *Ara* is compounded of *a*, personal article, and *ra* the pronoun, 3rd pers. pl., seen in *iira*, *maraira* "they".

Arahai is both interrogative and indefinite; it denotes "who, they who, those who": *arahai na maraira kedana taviti* "who are they that will go?" It is compounded of *ara* and *ahai* "who? some one".

Koi is used of the plural of persons only, and precedes the noun. The use of *na* with *koi* shows the latter to be a "noun of assemblage": *na koi tinoni* "the men"; *na koi vairine* "women"; *koi vairine* "you women!"

When the idea of several things of the same kind is implied, the noun is repeated with the copulative *ma*, and: *na fata ma na fata*, "things."

4. Personal article: *a*. All personal names, male and female, native and foreign, are preceded by the article *a*. This article applied to a word makes it a personal noun: *a Vahavidia* "their Saviour";

a *Fate i maramagna taligu* "the Judge of the whole earth"; it is used of particular persons, and with the relationship terms: a *Mama tutu loalova* "the Father everlasting": a *tamagna* "his father": a *idogna* "his mother": a *Jesus a dathegna a Joseph* "Jesus the son of Joseph"; it is used with the plural: a *taudia* "their wives": also *iira a taudia* "their wives". The word *hanu* "person" is used with the personal article *a*: a *hanu* "so-and-so, the man who": *e tolu a hanu* "three persons": *mara e vati a hanu* "four persons": *na hanu* means "the thing, that which". For *hanu* see *ML.*, pp. 135, 528. and *MIL.*, pp. 68, 404 (13).

III. NOUNS

5. Names of parts of the body, the relationship terms, and words denoting position take the suffixed pronouns of possession, *nggu*, *mu*, *gna*, etc. Certain nouns in Bugotu do not take these suffixed pronouns; among these are the words for "canoe, bag, sword, club, spear, arrow, adze". The use of the possessive noun *ni* often obscures the question of the suffixing of the pronoun of possession; e.g. *na nigna na bage* "his bow", or *na bagegna* "his bow".

A word may be used as a noun in a verbal form without any definite noun ending: *mono* "to abide", *na mono* "dwelling, to abide, a place"; *toke* "to be good", *na toke* "goodness".

A phrase with the article *na* preceding may be used as a noun: *me kaea na nia hujuu sapa na hinage* "asked that a canoe come"; *na ijumi vaniagna* "a reckoning to him, it was reckoned to him".

6. Verbal noun endings in Bugotu are: *a. ta. ga, gna, agna, ana*. These are all suffixed to verbs.

A: *udu* "to walk in file", *uduudua* "companion": *ijumi* "to count", *ijumia* "counting, number"; *mono* "to abide", *monoa* "dwelling"; *dua* "with, companion", from *faidu* "to be on friendly terms with one another": *duamu* "your companion, with you".

Ta is used only with the suffixed pronouns: *dika* "to be bad", *na dikatamua* "your anger"; *toke* "to be glad", *na toketanggu* "I am glad". There is a similar use of *ta* in Sa'a.

Ga: *kula* "friend", *kulaga* "friendship": *hadi* "to ascend", *hadiga* "height"; *horu* "to go down", *horuga* "depth". It would seem that *ga* properly is an adjectival suffix: but in the instances given the article *na* precedes, showing that the word so used is a noun.

The noun suffix *gna* may be added to an intransitive verb used with the verbal particles, the subject being always expressed: a *Sara*

ke hugugna "Sarah denied"; *kotida thaothadogagna* "you shall know". This use marks it as gerundival. It may be added also to a form consisting of transitive verb and pronominal object, with the articles *na*, *sa* preceding, the whole forming a gerundive; or it may be added to an intransitive verb with the article *na* preceding: *regi* "to see", *reiregiu* "see me", *na reiregiugna* "the seeing of me, to see me"; *na voliugna* "the buying of me, my price"; *sa vatokeragna* "a blessing for them"; *na kasagna* "completion"; *na koligna* "to lie down". The suffix *gna* may also be added to a form consisting of verbal particle, transitive verb, pronominal object: *vetula* "to command", *ke vetulaugna* "commanded me"; *luti* "to forbid", *ku lutigogna na ganiagna* "I forbid thee to eat it". The preceding example shows an object following the gerundival use. The suffixing of *gna* may convey the idea of purpose: *ke vakouragna* "to give them water"; *na tavitigna kori hanganagna* "to walk in his ways".

A compound noun appears in such phrases as: *na ijumi kasa gamugna* "the-numbering-complete-you-ing, your whole number", where *gna*, the noun suffix, is added to the pronoun *gamu* "you", and *kasa* "whole" intervenes between the verb *ijumi* "to count" and its object; *na sokara pungusigamugna* "opposing you, to oppose you".

There is a use of the verbal noun suffix *gna* following *dia*, the personal pronoun, 3rd pers. pl., which is suffixed to nouns, where *dia* is preceded by *ra* attached to a transitive verb, and the composite phrase may have an object: *na palikutiradiagna na komi pui* "the keeping of, to keep, the laws"; *na fateradiagna* "to judge them"; *oro nia piipiisi pungusiradiagna* "they two clad themselves with them"; *kena nia voliradiagna nigna na rongu* "they were bought with his money"; *na bali talangiradiagna* "to lead them, their being led". It is tempting to treat both *ra* and *dia* as suffixed pronouns, having in view the Bugotu practice of doubling the pronominal object; but it must be remembered that *dia* is a pronoun of the class which can only be suffixed to nouns, and this at once shows *ra* to be a noun form.

In the Sa'a and Lau languages of Mala the form *la* is used as a pure gerundival suffix, the pronouns of possession being suffixed to it, thus marking its character as a noun. Since *l* and *r* interchange freely in Melanesian languages, it is highly probable that the Bugotu *ra* of the above phrases represents the Mala gerundival suffix *la*, which has a similar use. The Lau phrase *anilanalaa* "the eating of it, for

eating" is the exact equivalent in form of the Bugotu *voliradiagna* "the buying of them", except that the suffixed pronoun of the former, *na*, is singular, whereas *dia* is plural. In Lau, however, and in Sa'a, any of the pronouns may be suffixed to the gerundival form *la*, whereas in Bugotu only the pronoun of the 3rd pers. pl. may be suffixed to *ra*. In order to distinguish the gerundival use of *ra* from those of *gna* and *agna*, which are noun endings, this *ra* may be called an "infix gerundival particle".

Since the change of *l* and *n* is quite a regular one in the Mala languages, it would seem that the Bugotu gerundival noun ending *gna*, i.e. *na*, represents the Mala *laa*, the final vowel of which is lengthened to distinguish the noun suffix proper from *la*, the gerundival ending. Thus the gerundival forms *la*, *laa*, of Mala, and *ra*, *gna*, of Bugotu, are all the same.

A suffix *gna* is added to the cardinal numbers to form ordinals: *rua* "two", *ruagna* "second". It would seem that this *gna* is the same as the Sa'a *na* which has a similar use: *ruana* "second".

Agna is a gerundival suffix also, and is used only with transitive verbs; it thus differs from the gerundival suffix *gna*, which, as shown above, may be suffixed to both transitive and intransitive verbs: *na birehiagna* "to see, seeing, sight": *o tolu na horu i pusiagna* "you struck three times"; *na taveti saniagna* "the departure" (a composite phrase); *na ruvatiagna* "divination". A verbal particle or a pronoun may replace the article: *ke varuai kiloagna a Abraham* "he called Abraham twice"; *e tateliagna vania* "he declared (it) to him"; *u ganiagna* "I eating", i.e. "I ate". An object may follow such gerundival use: *ke tafuruagna na gold* "spreads gold over it"; *me ke vathangutiagna na thepa* "and plastered (it) with mud"; *na hagore vaniagna a Lord* "speaking to, spoke to, to speak to, the Lord"; *mi manea keda tuguagna na livomu* "and he shall be thy mouth-piece".

Agna may be attached to a verb with a pronominal object, the article *na* preceding: *na vatokegoagna* "to bless thee, the blessing of thee"; *na haiduvigamuagna* "the surrounding of you"; *na vathehegamiagna* "the killing of us, to kill us".

The above examples show that *agna* is a noun suffix by itself, with gerundival force, and is not made up of *a*, a noun suffix, with *gna* the suffixed pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. added, as Dr. Codrington supposed. *Agna* suffixed may convey the idea of purpose just as *gna* does: *na eiagna na fata iiani* "the its-doing the

thing that, to do that thing": *na kouviagna na bea* "to drink water". (See also examples above.)

In Florida a noun ending *a* is added to verbs, and the pronouns of possession (those which are added to nouns) are suffixed: *bosa* "to speak", *bosaanggu* "my being spoken to". Dr. Codrington (*ML.*, p. 524) rightly regards this *a* as a gerundival suffix, and states that its use is mainly passive. It, again, is probably the equivalent of the Mala *la*, a noun ending (Sa'a *mae* "to die", *maelana* "his death"), the consonant *l* having been dropped. Instances may be found in the Sa'a and Ulawa languages of the dropping of *l*.

It may be suggested that initial *a* of the Bugotu gerundival suffix *agna* is the same as this gerundival *a* of Florida, and that *agna* is compounded of two suffixes both gerundival, *a* + *gna*. Compound noun suffixes occur in Mala: thus Kwara 'Ae has 'anga as a noun suffix, a compound of *la* and *nga*, the *l* of *la* having dropped, and the "break" indicating this fact. Also Sa'a has the noun endings *ngaha*, i.e. *nga* + *ha*, and *tanga*, i.e. *ta* + *nga*, *ha*, *ta*, and *nga* all occurring in Sa'a as noun suffixes. That *agna* in Bugotu is only used with transitive verbs brings it into line with the gerundival suffix *la* in the Sa'a and Ulawa languages which has a similar use, and adds strength to the assumption that the gerundival form *a* in Florida and the initial *a* of the Bugotu suffix *agna* are both for *la*, *l* having dropped. The reason for suffixing the gerundival forms *la* in Sa'a, etc., and *agna* in Bugotu, to transitive verbs only, seems to lie in the fact that in these languages the gerundive is primarily active and not passive.

It is worthy of notice that a suffix *agna* is used in a gerundival way in the Maori language, either by itself, or with the consonants *h*, *k*, *m*, *r*, *t* prefixed, which are the consonants of the transitive suffixes used with verbs in that language.

Ana is seen as a verbal noun ending in *mamataguana* "fearful, awful", from *matagu* "to fear"; *maimanihiana* "object of reverence"; *sisiriwana* "dishonourable"; *soleana* "peace"; *tutuana* "continuously, for a memorial". It will be seen in *MIL.*, p. 545, and *ML.*, p. 138, that *ana* is properly a verbal noun ending, but its use in Bugotu inclines more to the adjectival side.

Two words, *hagetha* "doorway" (*hage* "to go out or in"), *tuguva* "redemption" (*tugu* "to change"), show noun endings in *tha* and *va* respectively. These may be compared with the Mala *la* ("th" for "l") and the Mota *va*, which are noun endings.

7. The word *bali* forms nouns by being prefixed either to verbs or to gerundives: a transitive verb following *bali* may have the pronoun of the object suffixed, and the article *na* may precede the composite form. Codrington (*ML.*, pp. 525, 528) compares *bali* with Florida *malei* "place". (See also *MIL.*, p. 444, "Nouns with Prefix.") The meaning of *bali* is "thing by which, thing for the purpose of": *tatango* "to work", *bali tatango* "a tool, a scrub knife"; *bali sopou* "a seat"; *bali puipui* "firewood for the native oven"; *na bali kou* "a drink"; *na fata bali rioriso* "the things for writing with, pens, paper, etc."; *bali vanga* "to eat, for eating"; *ke toke na ngali bali vanga* "the canarium nut is good for eating"; *bali fotalia na ulugna na tinoni* "for breaking men's heads"; *bali tatarida* "the binding of them, to bind them"; *na gai na bali thaothadogagna na toke ma na dika* "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil"; *na bali hogoniagna na rongo* "to store treasure".

It will be seen from the examples given that *bali* followed by a verb, and used with or without the article *na*, may denote purpose. *Bali* is also used with a noun: *bali hava* "thing for what? what?"

The word *tamatahi* "brethren, sisters, family" shows a prefix *tama* used with *tahi* "brother, sister". This *tama* is used in Roviana as a prefix.

8. Verbs may be used as nouns without any change of form: the article *na* precedes, and the pronouns *nggu*, etc., may be suffixed: *me ke ahehe kori ihugna na ahehe i havi* "and he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life"; *havi* "to live", *na havi* "life", *na havigna* "its life"; *na gaugabua i havimiu* "the blood of your lives"; *hagore* "to speak", *na hagoregna* "his word". The verbal particle *ke* may precede: *naba* "to be like, equal to", *igoe ko nabagna a Pharaoh* "thou art like (him) Pharaoh". The personal pronouns may be added in addition to the suffixed pronouns: *ke nabamu igoe* "like to thee".

9. Genitive. The genitive relation of nouns one to another is effected (a) by the use of the preposition *i*: *na ahehe i havi* "the breath of life"; *na magavu i haidu* "the day of meeting"; *aru kulagna i vaivine* "her women friends". This *i* is used with the verbs *turugu*, *tabiru*, which denote "begin, change": *me turugu i velepuhi* "and began to teach". (b) By juxtaposition, one noun qualifying another, the article *na* not being used with the second noun: *na komi thanggi botho* "all kinds of beasts"; *na tabili gahira* "a vessel of stone"; *vathe taulagi* "bride-chamber"; *na ngoi rongo* "the money bag".

The former of two nouns thus used may have the pronoun suffixed in the 3rd pers. sing.: *na livogna na nggaratu* "the head (mouth) of the spear"; *na vathegna a God* "the house of God"; *na mavitugna na meleha* "the people of the place"; *na manegna i Misraim* "a man of Egypt"; *manugna na bongi* "a night bird". (c) The preposition *ni* is used as a genitive in certain phrases: *puku ni mana* "all powerful"; *pau ni mane* "an elder"; also *pau ni taviti* "to continue going": this *ni* is the regular genitive in Florida.

10. An instrumental prefix is *i*: *ikonga* "a crook"; *ignavi* "tongs"; *idathe, itina* "stones for cracking the canarium almond".

11. Plural of nouns. The plural of nouns is formed by the use of *komi* following the article *na* and preceding the noun; *komi* is used of both persons and things. The use of *na* with *komi* shows the latter to be a "noun of assemblage": *na komi tinoni* "the men, many a man, men"; *na komi botho* "pigs, the pigs". It is not always necessary to use *komi* to indicate plurality; *na ninggua na tinoni* means either "my man" or "my men"; *ke vagagna na vaitugu kori maaloa* "like the stars in the sky". But when *komi* is used there is a definite insistence on plurality. Ray says "Roro *ikoi* (see *TSE.*, iii, p. 446) may be Bugotu *komi* through the dropping of *m*". Duke of York (*ML.*, p. 566) has *kum* as a plural sign.

As stated above under "Articles", *koi* is used of the plural of persons only. There is also a use of the pronouns *marea, iira* "they", *iraani* "these", *irangeni* "those", and of the article *ara* and the noun *mara* to denote a plurality of persons: *mara e rua ara dathemu* "they two your children, your two children"; *e lima hangavulu mara na dathe* "the fifty children"; *marea kena mono* "they who are abiding"; *iira na vaivine* "the women"; *e salage rua iraani* "these the twelve, the twelve"; *iraani na rinogagna a Sarah* "these are the days of Sarah". To denote totality *nggovu, nggounggovu* "all, complete" and *hihovu* "all" may be added to the noun: *na komi meleha nggounggovu* "all the lands". *Udolu* means "whole, all, totality": *na meleha udolu* "the whole place". *Sethe* "to be many, all" is used with the verbal particle *ke* as an adjective meaning "many": *marea kena sethe* "many people"; *na (komi) mavitu ke sethe* "many peoples".

12. Gender. To denote gender *mane* "male", *vaivine* "female" are added to the noun: *na rungaogna na vaivine* "his, her, mother-in-law".

IV. PRONOUNS

13. Personal. Pronouns used as the subject of a verb.

- Sing. 1. *inau, nau, u*.
 2. *igoe, o*.
 3. *imanea, manea* "he, it"; *ia* "she".
- Pl. 1 incl. *igita, gita*.
 1 excl. *igami, gami*.
 2. *igamu, gamu*.
 3. *imaraira, maraira, imarea, marea, maria, timara, timarea* "masculine"; *iira* "feminine".
- Dual 1 incl. *irogita, rogita*.
 1 excl. *irogami, rogami*.
 2. *irogamu, rogamu*.
 3. *iromaraira, romaraira, romarea* "masculine"; *iroiira, roiira* "feminine".
- Trial 1 incl. *itolugita, tolugita*.
 1 excl. *itolugami, tolugami*.
 2. *itolugamu, tolugamu*.
 3. *tolumara, toumaraira, tolumarea, tolira, tolu irani* "masculine"; *tolira* "feminine".

The dual and trial forms contain the numerals *ro* "two", *tolu* "three".

The short form *nau*, 1st pers. sing., is not in very general use. The short forms of the pronouns 1st and 2nd pers. sing., *u, o*, are used as subjects: *u ania* "I said"; *o ahoru* "thou sayest". They are combined with the verbal particle *ke* in the forms *ku, ko*, and serve as subjects.

It will be noted that different pronouns for masculine and feminine are used in the 3rd persons singular and plural, and in the dual 3rd pers. also, i.e. gender is distinguished. This usage is rare in Melanesia. The distinguishing of gender, wherever it occurs in Melanesia, would seem to be a Papuan usage. Ray states (in a letter) that gender is distinguished in some Papuan languages in New Guinea. Also that Vella Lavella and Bougainville (in the Solomons) have a similar usage (see *TSE.*, iii, p. 435).

The form *manea* "he" is evidently made from the word *mane* "male". Codrington is undoubtedly correct in regarding the form *ia* "she" as the personal pronoun, 3rd pers. sing., which occurs so commonly in Melanesia. In *ML*. Codrington gives Maewo, Wango,

ia, Fiji *koya*, Malay *iya*, as personal pronouns, 3rd pers. sing. (see *MIL.*, pp. 428-9). The initial vowel of *ia* has been lengthened in the Bugotu *ia*. *Manea*, *ia*, may precede personal names.

The forms in the 3rd person plural masculine are derived from the noun *mara* "people". For the *ti* of *timara*, *timarea*, see below, 24 (3), *ati*, etc.

The forms with initial *i*, except *inau*, *igoe*. *ia*, *iira*, are used when the diction is emphatic.

The form *iira* of the 3rd person plural is the regular form *ira* which is seen in Mota, Fiji, etc., the initial vowel being lengthened in Bugotu.

The pronouns of the 3rd person, singular and plural, masculine, are used of things as well as of persons. There is no plural suffix *i*, *gi*, such as occurs in Florida, used of things. The phrase "the two men" is rendered *romarea na mane*; *itadia romarea* "of, for, the two of them"; "they three" may be expressed by *tolu iraani*, a demonstrative pronoun being used with the numeral.

14. Pronouns suffixed as object to verbs and prepositions.

Sing. 1. <i>u</i> .	Pl. 1 incl. <i>gita</i> .
2. <i>go</i> .	1 excl. <i>gami</i> .
3. <i>a</i> .	2. <i>gamu</i> .
	3. <i>ra</i> .

There is no plural *ni* used of things as in Florida. When the object of a verb or preposition is expressed, there is always an anticipatory object in the form of one of these pronouns suffixed to the verb: *keda padau inau na miomilo* "let the destitution fall on me"; this is an ordinary usage, and is not by way of giving prominence to the pronoun; *vania na vunagi* "for the king". The gerundives *gna*, *agna*, may be added to a form consisting of verbal particle or noun, transitive verb, and suffixed pronoun of the object: *ke vetulaugna* "commanded me, to command me"; *na vathegamiagna* "the killing of us, to kill us"; *kena mai pungusira romarea* "they came against them both".

15. Pronouns suffixed to nouns, and to certain nouns used as prepositions.

Sing. 1. <i>nggu</i> , <i>nggua</i> .	Pl. 1 incl. <i>da</i> .
2. <i>mu</i> , <i>mua</i> .	1 excl. <i>mami</i> .
3. <i>gna</i> .	2. <i>miu</i> .
	3. <i>dia</i> .

These are the pronouns of possession : *dathenggu* " my son " : *na taviti atudia* " their departure " ; *manegna i Bugotu* " a man of Bugotu ". The forms *nggua*, *mua* of 1st and 2nd persons singular are used with the stems *ni*, *ga* : *tangihia ninggua na pohe* " I want cloth " ; *na gamua* " your food " .

For the dual, *ro* " two " precedes the noun, and the plural forms of the pronoun are used : *ro limadia na vaivine* " the hands of the two women " : *ke mono irotadia* " dwelt with the two of them " : *na ro matamiu* " the eyes of you two " . *Ro* is itself treated as a noun, the article *na* precedes, and the pronouns are suffixed : *na romiu* " of us two " ; *na rodia* " the property of the two of them " .

For the trial, *tolu* " three " precedes the noun, the plural forms of the pronoun being used : *na tolu limadia* " the hands of the three " .

Nouns with pronouns suffixed, and used as prepositions, are : (*na*) *vunegna* " because " ; *hiligagna* " near " ; *kamanegna* " opposite " ; *hotagigna* " in the midst of " ; (*na*) *eigna* " the doing of (it), because " .

16. Demonstrative pronouns. *Ari* " that, there " ; *ani*, *eni*, *eeni* " this, here, that, there " ; *ngeni*, *ngengeni*, *nggeri*, *nggengeri* " that, those, there " ; *na* " here, this " ; *inau na* " as for me " ; *igoe na* " you ! " ; *a Christ keda mai na* " (when) Christ shall come " ; *keda hatheu na* " will call me " ; *keda nere na* " if he sleeps " . With *ngge-ni*, *ngge-ri*, compare *Sa'a nge*, *nge-na*, *nge-ni*.

Compound : *ia ani*, *ia eni* " this " ; *ia ngeni*, *ia nggeri* " that " ; *na vunegna ia ani* " because of this, therefore " ; *ia nggeri ari* " that's it there ! " ; *ia vamua ngeni na titionogna a Kamakajaku* " this then is the story about Kamakajaku " . The form *ia* does not occur singly, but has *ani*, *ngeni*, etc., added. It is (as seen above) the regular Melanesian pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing., he, etc.

Plural : *ira ani*, *ira eni*, *ira ngeni* " these, those " ; *imarairu ani* (*ngeni*) " those there " . The form *ira* is the regular Melanesian pronoun 3rd pers. pl., they.

Hi : *ivei hi mane ari* " where is that man ? " shows *hi* as a demonstrative ; *da imanea hi tuni eri* " haply he is that person " . *Hi* used by itself denotes a finished action (as do also *na* and *ri*) : *nggoru hi* " when that was finished " ; *ke vula hi* " he has come " ; *me ke lavi hi* " and when it was evening " ; *toke hi* " that will do ! enough ! " *Hi* combines with *ri* and *na* to make the forms *hiri*, *hina*, which are used as demonstratives : *itada eeni hiri* " of those here " ; *ia ani hiri* " these here " ; *ia ngeni hiri* " those here " ; *da anggai hina* " do this, then " ; *teo hina* " no ! not that ! " *Ri* is in constant use as an

explanatory word, and is used to soften speech: *ke vano pada vamua a Martha ri* "when Martha met him"; *inau ri* "here I am, it is I". On Mala, *ri* is in use as a demonstrative (also in Roviana, *MIL.*, p. 547).

The demonstrative pronouns generally follow the word they qualify.

17. Interrogative pronouns. (a) Persons: *hai*, *ahai*, plural *arahai* "who?"; *na nigna ahai* "whose?"; *na tononga ahai na* "whose property is this?" The interrogative *na* may be added: *ahai na* "who?" (b) Things: *hava*, *e hava*, *na hava* "what?"; *na hava gua* "what else? all and sundry"; *igita katida hava* "what shall we be?"; *na tango na hava* "what work? work of what sort?"; *bali hava* "what does it matter?"; *e hava* "why?"

18. Indefinite pronouns. The interrogatives are also used as indefinites: *hai*, *ahai*, *hava*, *na hava*, are used as meaning "anyone, anything"; *e hava* is used in exclamations as meaning "how"!; *e hava na tinoni thaba* "how great is this man! what a great man he is!"; *e hava rae toke* "how good it is!"; *na hava* also denotes "that which"; *sikei* "one", *si* "a, one", also mean "anyone, anything"; *ke teo sikei* "there is no one, no one"; *si na mane* "a man, a certain man, any man, a different man".

Kekeha is "some"; it is a reduplicated form of *keha* "one, the first"; *kekeha ara dathemu* "some of your children"; *arahai*, a compound of *ara*, a plural article used of persons, and *hai*, the interrogative used impersonally, denotes "those who, they": *tuu vano arahai nggounggou* "more than they all"; *marahai na nigna na vike* "and all his family".

Sopa, *soasopa*, is "every, each, different": *soasopa vike nggounggou* "every family"; *tagna sopa na vike* "among every family"; *leulegu* "following" is used as meaning "every": *leulegu vuovugoi* "every morning"; *leulegu magavu* "daily".

19. Relative pronouns. There are no relative pronouns; their place is taken: (a) by a pronoun of the object suffixed to a verb: *na tila ia ani ku sabiria i Marau* "this club I bought it (which I bought) at Marau"; *ivei na tinoni ku regira* "where are the men whom I saw?" (b) by the use of the instrumental preposition *nia*: *na tila ia ani ku nia thabuhigana na tinoni* "this is the club I with it killed a man (with which I killed a man)"; (c) by the use of a clause: *ke dothovia a tahigna me ke regia* "he loves his brother and he saw him (whom he saw)"; *ke mai imaneu ke maturingita* "here comes he

that dreams ". "The persons who, they who " may be expressed by *na marai, arahai*, with verbal particle and verb following.

20. Possessives. The possessive nouns are *ni*, of general relation, and *ga*, which is used of things to eat and drink; both are used of friends or enemies.¹

Both *ni* and *ga* have generally articles of their own, *na, sa*, distinct from the *na* belonging to the noun with which they are used. This *na* is written separately. The pronouns of possession are suffixed to both *ni* and *ga*: *na nigua na vike* "his people"; *na nigua ahai* "whose?"; *nidia arahai* "whose (plural)?" In the 1st and 2nd persons singular, the forms suffixed to *ni* and *ga* are *nggua, mua*, not *nggu, mu*: *ninggua na kana* "my enemy"; *marea na ninggua na thevu i oka* "my enemies"; *eidia ara gadia tamatahi* "for the brethren"; *ro gadia na thevu i oka* "their enemies"¹; *ninggua na fata* "a thing of mine"; *keda hea na gagna na bread, ma na gagna na bea keda talu mono* "his bread shall be given him, and his water shall abide"; *na gamua* "your food".

Ni is used, with the suffixed pronouns of possession, as meaning "for my part", etc.: *imarea kena rigia nidia* "they saw it for their part". In the phrases *matagu ninggua* "I was afraid", *tangihia ninggua na pohe* "I want cloth", *ninggua* has the force of a personal pronoun.

V. ADJECTIVES

21. The adjectives follow the nouns, and in general all words used as adjectives are in a verbal form, being used with the verbal particle *ke*: *ke iso* "small"; *ke hutu* "large" (but *na nggari iso* "a small child" is a correct use; also *manu hutu* "large bird, i.e. eagle"; *ke boi dani hutu gua* "not yet broad daylight"); *kori meleha ke toke me ke hutu* "in a good and large place"; *na komi vike ke sethe puala* "very many nations"; *na rathe ke tabu* "the holy house"; *na fata hina ke iso teoteoa* "that which is least".

22. Adjectival endings: *ga, a*. are adjectival endings; *ga* is added to nouns: *bea* "water", *beabeagu* "watery"; *faafata* "layer", *faafataga* "in layers"; *a* is in more general use and is added to verbs: *iso, isoa* "little"; *teo* "not to be"; *teoa* "gone, destroyed"; *udolu, udolua* "all, complete"; *toke, tokea* "good"; *havi* "to live",

¹ The use of the possessive *ga* with the word denoting "enemy" occurs also in Melanesian languages in New Guinea: see *MIL.* p. 438. Ray (in letter) also quotes Iai language, Loyalty Islands, Melanesia, *iwahnai hniöny mönya* "my enemy".

havia "living, alive"; *talapono* "to hide", *talaponoa* "secret"; *polo* "to hide", *poloa* "secretly"; *hutu* "to be big", *hutua* "much, big" (see 34).

23. Comparison is made by *vano* "to go" with the preposition *ta*, to which the pronouns of possession are suffixed: *ke hutu vano* "it is bigger"; *ke hutu vano tadia iraan* "bigger than those (things)"; *ke thaba vano tagna imanea* "he is greater than he"; *tuu vano* "standing beyond" also denotes comparison: *a tamadia ke dothovia tuu vano tadia* "his father loved him more than them"; *vano me vano* means "more and more". A simple statement also conveys an idea of comparison: *ke hutu eeni* "this is big", i.e. "it is bigger".

For the superlative *puala*, *rae*, *hehe*, are used: *ke dika hehe pula* "very bad"; *ke rae bohe* "it is very grievous"; *na horugna ke hutu pula* "its fall is very great"; *ido* "mother" is used of anything very big: *idogna na liva* "the mother of scorpions!"; *hangga* denotes "somewhat, rather": *na fei ke hangga hutu* "a fairly large fish".

VI. VERBS

24. The verb is conjugated in Bugotu by means of particles. These precede the verb and may themselves serve as the subject.

The particles in use are: (1) *e*, *ke*, without tense significance. These two particles mark a word as a verb; both are used with the gerundive, and *ke* is used with certain nouns: *ke nabamu* "sufficient for you". The particle *e* occurs in its simple form when the meaning is "there is, it is", or when used with the conjunctions *ba* "or", *ma* "and", or in the forms *be*, *me*, or with the words *minggoi*, *gua* "lest", *nggi* "illative", etc.: *e teo sa ngaengate itanggua* "fury is not in me"; *e toke* "it is good"; *e tutuni* "truly"; *e kiloagna na horara* "there is a naming the sea, he called it sea"; *e ania*, *e gagua*, *e ahoru* "saying". phrases used of quotations, the subject not being expressed; *uha e uha* "rain rains, i.e. it is raining"; *me vuerugei* "and (it was) next morning"; *e hau me hau* "for ever and ever"; *be teo* "or not"; *keana e teo* "or (if) not"; *nggi e hagore vania* "thereupon (he) said to him". There is a use of the particle *e* in the expressions *e hava* "what?"; *e ngiha* "how many?" and also with the numerals from "two" to "ten": *e rua* "two".

When the subject is in the 3rd pers. plur. *e* combines with the verbal particle *na*, and this *ena* is used instead of the 3rd pers. plur. of the pronoun: *ena minggoi sethe pula* "lest they increase greatly".

In the Sa'a and Ulawa¹ grammars this *e*, which also occurs in those languages, is treated as a pronoun, 3rd pers. sing., but the Bugotu use of *e* shows it to be a verbal particle in origin.

The particle *ke* occurs in its simple form when the subject is in the 3rd pers. singular, or when it is used with a verb to form adjectives, or in phrases like *ke bongi* "it is night, by night"; *ke dani* "by day": *ke taviti imanea* "he has gone"; *na tinoni ke toke* "a good man". It coalesces with *u*, *o*, the short forms of the personal pronouns, 1st and 2nd persons singular, in the forms *ku*, *ko*, which are used as subjects. In the plural, 3rd pers., it is used without loss of vowel in the forms *keda*, *kedana*, *kena*, *kena da*. It sustains the loss of its vowel when compounded as in the forms given below in (4).

(2) *Da*, with tense significance, denoting the future, and with an imperative and conditional use as well. When the sense is future *da* may be used with the particle *ke* in the forms *keda*, *kedana*, etc., *kuda*, etc. (see (4)): *da anggai hina* "this is what you must do"; *da sokara*, *da silada* "arise, shine!"; *keda anggai* "let it be, it will be, thus"; *ara dathenggu e rua koro da sopou* "let my two sons sit"; *da u gagua* "for me to say"; *ba da gagua* "or to say"; *ku bosi adoa da e mono gua* "I don't know if he is still there"; *da mono e lima hangavulu* "if there be fifty"; *da tutugu gua ri ngengeni* "if there be twenty there".

(3) Plural and dual particles uncompounded with the particle *ke* :—

Pl. 1 incl. <i>ati</i>	Dual 1 incl. <i>oro</i> .
1 excl. <i>iti</i> .	1 excl. <i>uru</i> .
2. <i>oti</i> .	2. <i>oro</i> .
3. <i>ena</i> .	3. <i>ro</i> .

These are without tense significance. The forms *ati*, *iti*, *oti*, differ from the corresponding forms *a*, *ai*, *au*, of Florida, though the *a* of *ati* may be the same as the *a* in the Florida and Vaturanga forms. For the *ti* which occurs in them, reference may be made to the pronominal forms *tati*, *geati*, *goati*, in Nggao, Ysabel, and to *dat*, *meat*, *muat*, *diat*, in Duke of York Island (see *ML.*, pp. 556, 567). Ray gives the pronominal forms *tahati*, *gehati* (which also contain *ti*) in a grammar of the "Bush" language of Ysabel (see *MIL.*, p. 529). Ray says (in letter) that the *ti* of these forms is all that remains of the numeral *vati* "four". This would be a Papuan usage from the evidence of *TSE.*, iii, p. 463, where Ray says: "It is interesting to note that in some

¹ Ivens, *Anthropos*, 1910; *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vols. xxii ff.

of the Melanesian languages of New Guinea there are traces of a former inability to count beyond three". After quoting the Wedau *vi-maga-ina* "fourth", which is formed from the root *maga* "many", he also says (p. 464): "This identity of the words for 'four' and 'many' seems to show . . . that all beyond three was 'many' (in Wedau) as in most of the Papuan languages." It seems probable, therefore, that the *ti* of Bugotu *ati*, etc., is for *vati* "four". (With the *ti* of *ati* may be compared the initial *ti* in the pronouns *timara*, *timarea* "they".)

The *ra*, *ru*, of the forms *oro*, *uru*, are variants of the numeral *rua* "two", and appear also on Mala. It is plain that there is but one form for the dual, apart from *ro*, 3rd person, *uru* being adopted to preserve the exclusive use. There is no explanation of the initial vowels.

Ro is used as a verbal particle in the dual number, and serves by itself as a subject. The vowel of the conjunction *ma* "and" changes to *o* before *ro*.

The above particles are used as subjects of the verb, and serve instead of the personal pronouns of their equivalent number and person; they are also used with the conjunctions *ngge*, *nggi* (of consequence), and *ma* (copulative); the vowels of *ngge* and *ma* drop before the initial vowel of the particular particle with which they are used, and the consonant of the conjunction joins on to the particle: *ati boi regia* "we have not seen him"; *nggati rongovia miti legua* "we have then heard and follow"; *nggi ena jufu mena piniru* "then they went and encamped". These particles are not used with *da*, the future particle, nor are they used with a subject, pronominal or otherwise.

(4) Particles compounded with the particle *ke*, in all numbers:—

Sing. 1. <i>ku</i>	Pl. 1 incl. <i>kati</i> .
2. <i>ko</i> .	1 excl. <i>kiti</i> .
	2. <i>koti</i> .
	3. <i>kena</i> .
Dual 1 incl. <i>koro</i> .	Trial 1 incl. <i>kotolu</i> .
1 excl. <i>kuru</i> .	1 excl. <i>kutolu</i> .
2. <i>koro</i> .	2. <i>kotolu</i> .
3. <i>koro</i> .	3. <i>kotolu, otolu</i> .

These particles are without tense significance. They may serve by themselves as the subject of the verb, instead of the personal pronouns of their equivalent number and person, or they may be used

with a subject, pronominal or otherwise : *kati ado nggi ati dothovia* "we know that we love him"; *iira kena saisami* "they hastened"; *maraira kena regia* "they saw it"; *na kulidia kena pui* "their ears were deaf".

It is evident that the plural and dual forms of these particles are a compound of *ke* with the particles *ati*, *iti*, etc. The trial forms, with the exception of *otolu*, 3rd pers., are similar in make up to those of the dual number, *tolu*, three, being suffixed to *ko*, *ku*, instead of *ro*, *ru*, two. The forms in the singular are a compound of *ke* with *u*, *o*, the short forms of the personal pronouns, 1st and 2nd persons. In the 3rd pers. sing. *ke* serves alone. The future particle *da* follows any one of the above particles when the sense is future; in the 3rd pers. pl. *kedana* is the more usual form, but *kenada* also occurs.

25. The Imperative. A verb may be used by itself as an imperative : *vatigo* "be off! get away!"; *heu mai* "give me!"; *mai* "come here!" The pronouns *o* "thou", *gamu* "you", and the particles *ko*, *koti*, are used when the sense is imperative : *o taviti moko velea* "go and speak!"; *vano. koti hatia* "go ye and get it!" As stated above, the verbal particle *da* is used by itself as an imperative : *da rarai* "awake (thou)!"

26. The past tense is shown by *gohi* following the verb. This is only used of a definite past, and is not in constant use where in English a past tense is used. The change in tense is not generally stated. *Gohi* is also used (like 'oto in Sa'a) to denote emphasis : *na komi fata na nimiu gohi* "your things, I mean". The demonstratives *hi*, *na*, *ri*, are used following the verb to denote completed action. *Nggovu* "to finish, complete" may be added after a verb to denote completeness of action : *ke vathehera nggovu* "killed them all out".

27. Repetition of the object. An anticipatory object is used consisting of a pronoun suffixed to the verb, the object then following; this is not done merely to express emphasis : *ke vetulara na komi tahigna* "he commanded (them) his brethren"; *keda bosu regiu gua inau* "he will not see me again".

The pronoun *a* is suffixed as object to certain verbs where an object is not used in English : *ke velea* "he said"; *kena hagorea* "they said"; *e ania* "said he"; *ku risoa vanigamu* "I wrote to you"; *keda hangavia vanigamu* "I will open to you".

28. Negative Particles. The negative particles used with verbs are *boi*, *bosi*, the latter being the more emphatic; they follow the verbal particles *ku*, etc. : *ku bosu adoa* "I don't know"; *koti bosu kalasu aanga atu* "ye shall not go out in haste"; *moko boi sula* "and

thou art not comforted " ; *me ke boi tagna na hehenggu* " and not of my spirit " ; *bosi imanea na* " is it not he ? " These negative particles may qualify nouns, or words which are nouns in form : *ku boi tinoni* " I am no man " ; *keana bosi ninggua* " but not of, for, me " ; *boi nigna* " he doesn't want to " . The gerundival ending *gna* may be added to *boi* : *ke boigna na nggari duamami* " the lad is not (not being with us) " .

29. The conjunction *nggi*. *Nggi* is used (1) as a connective particle, meaning " thereupon, then, and " ; (2) as an illative, meaning " in consequence " ; (3) with the verbal particle *e*, meaning " if, in order to " ; (4) to denote " that " in dependent clauses ; (5) of indirect speech ; (6) with the short pronouns *u*, *o*, used as subjects, or with the verbal particles *e*, *ati*, *iti*, *oti*, *ena*, used as subjects ; (7) with the verbal particles compounded with *ke* when these are followed by the future particle *da* : *nggovu nggi* " thereupon, after that " ; *ngiha nggi oti vano* " when are you going ? " ; *kuda vetulara arahai nggi kedana ohoa* " I will send some to (that they should) carry it " ; *nggi e velea* " if he says " ; *nggi e vanga me ke kou* " to eat and drink " ; *nggi e talangia mai* " let him bring him hither " ; *nggi e vathehea* " to kill him " ; *koti hagorea nggi inau* " ye say that it is I " ; *a Joseph ke vetula nggi e rote vonura na nidia na vuke* " Joseph bade them fill their sacks " .

The vowel of *nggi* does not drop before the vowel of the verbal particle or the pronoun with which it is used. The personal pronouns, except *u* and *o*, are only used with *nggi* when the sense is future and the particle *da* is added to the verbal particle *ke* or those particles which contain *ke*.

30. The words *minggoi*, *gua*, *go*. These all mean " lest " . *Minggoi* is used immediately preceding a verb : *koti minggoi veihuhugi* " see that ye do not quarrel " ; it may follow the conjunction *nggi*, used with the verbal particle *e*, or it may follow *ngge* : *nggi e minggoi varego* " lest thou be destroyed " ; *e minggoi sonovigita na thepa* " lest the earth swallow us up " ; *gua* is used with the pronouns *u*, *o*, used as subjects, or with the verbal particles *e*, *ati*, *iti*, *oti*, *ena*, used as subjects ; *minggoi* may be added : *gua oti minggoi manggoli* " lest ye faint " ; *gua e minggoi auaugamu* " lest ye be tempted " ; *gua e iti thehe* " lest we die " ; *go* is used only with the verbal particles *e*, *ena*, of the 3rd person, and *minggoi* may be added.

31. The dehortative is *sa*, or *sagoi*, the longer form being compounded of *sa* and *goi* " at all " ; of these, *sagoi* is in more general

use : *sagoi matagu* "do not fear"; *o sa sigo au* "do not look out"; *koti sagoi piapilau* "do not lie". Both *sa* and *sagoi* are used as strong negatives : *sa dorovia gua na matangu* "shall see my face no more"; *keana a Pharaoh da sa tango piapilau gua* "but let not Pharaoh deal any more deceitfully"; *a God keda sagoi hagore vanigami* "let not God speak to us"; *inau kuda sagoi mane piipisi* "I will not be a healer". (Compare the use of *sa'a*, the dehortative, in Sa'a.)

32. The use of nouns and gerundives, i.e. noun forms, as verbs has been exemplified above under "Nouns", *gna*; *agna*. Further examples are : *imarea ngge na jufu kori meleha i mono* "so they came to a place of abode"; *hava ko resugna na pohemu* "why have you torn your clothes?"; *nau tovongai tokenggu* "as soon as I am well"; *ena vanohehedia* "they desire"; *ke boi sonovia tokegna na vanga* "there is not a good swallowing of food, i.e. I can't swallow my food"; *ko sagoi matagu na horugna* "do not fear to go down".

33. Certain verbs are treated as nouns by the suffixing of the pronouns of possession, 1st pers. pl. incl., but the resultant phrase can only be translated as a verb in the imperative : *atu* "to go", *atuda* "let us go!"; *raraida* "let us awake!"; *nereda* "let us sleep!". This use may be compared with the Santa Cruz use of a suffixed pronoun with the verb. (See *ML.*, pp. 489, 491, *mopenge* "my seeing", i.e. "I see".)

34. The Passive. There is no passive, but a passive sense is conveyed (1) by the use of the particle *ke* with a transitive verb : *arahai kena tinaraira* "those who are instructed"; *ke rote vonura na duke* "they have filled the bags, i.e. the bags have been filled"; *tagna ke birehira* "when they were made"; or by the use of particle and neuter verb : *na komi fata ke jou* "the things that are planted"; (2) by the use of the gerundive : *kena nia voliradiagna nigna na rongo* "they were bought with his money"; *na ratheheugna* "the killing of me, my being killed".

Passive endings. There is a passive ending in *a*, which doubtless is an extension of the adjectival suffix in *a* : *hangavia* "opened"; *hogaginia* "boundless"; *risoa* "written"; *rotea* "fallen down"; *souravia* "flooded"; *siria* "burst"; *tavea* "flowed"; *rathehea* "killed" (see 22).

35. The order of the Bugotu sentence. The subject often comes, though not necessarily, at the end of the sentence : *na mane ma na vairine ke birehira imanea* "male and female created he them"; *me ke vele tokeru a God* "and God blessed them"; *ke poha na kidoru*,

ke rugu au na manu "the egg bursts, out comes the bird"; *na botho ke gania na iu* "the dog seizes the pig"; *ke gani nggovu gohi inau* "I have eaten it all"; *ke liligi na hinage, me ke luvu na tinoni* "capsizes the canoe, and drowns the man", i.e. "the canoe capsizes, and the man is drowned".

36. "When, time when" is rendered by *tagna*. *itagna* "in it, while, when"; *tagna iangeni* "then"; *itagna na maiagna mai* "when he is come, at his coming"; *tagna koti sopou kori vathemi* "when you sit down in your houses"; but a simple statement may serve the purpose: *inau ku thehe gohi, koti ngiluu inau* "(when) I am dead, ye shall bury me"; *inau ku mono mua* "while I stay".

37. Quotation. There is no particle which marks quotation, but certain phrases are employed: *e ahoru, e (ke) ania* "saying, says he, said he" (these may be added at the end of a sentence in addition to whatever verb meaning "to say" has been used as the predicate): *ke gagua* "said he, saying"; *mena ania, Ke havi a dathemu* "saying. Thy son liveth"; *gua* "thus" denotes a quotation: *ke hagore gua* "he spoke saying"; *mi manea* "then he (said)"; *ke anggai e ahoru a Jihova, ke velea* "thus spake Jehovah, saying"; *ea* also denotes a quotation, and may occur at the beginning or the ending of a sentence: *ea manea* "says he"; *a Hannah ke tarai, ea* "Hannah prayed, saying". The *a* of *ea* is probably for *ga* of *gagua* "to speak, say", the *g* having dropped, and *ea* in some connotations appears to mean "done".

38. Verbal Prefixes. The causative prefix is *va*, which is used with verbs, and with the numerals to form the ordinals: *aoaso* "to walk", *vaaoaso* "to lead by the hand"; *varuagna, varuai* "a second time, second"; *vavatigna* "fourth"; *vavitugna* "eighth". A form *fa* also appears: *famaemane* "to be arrogant". There is a prefix *vi* which is used with the numeral *tolu* "three": *vitolu* "the third day", *vitolugna* "third". (Cf. Roviana *vina* in *vinarua* "second", and Wedau *vi* (*TSE.*, iii, p. 473).) The reciprocal prefix is *rei*: this is used with verbs, the verbal suffix *gi*, used intransitively, being generally added: *veihaohagoregi* "to converse"; *veidikahuginigi* "to hurt one another", show *gi* added to a verb already possessing a transitive suffix; *veirarori* "mutual sympathy" is used as a noun. Some forms serve as both verb and noun: *veitotorigi* "to split up a village, dissension"; *veituagi* "to altercate, altercation"; *veithabuthabu* "to beat one another" is used without *gi* suffixed; *koti veimono soleanu* "be at peace one with another" shows *rei* used without *gi*.

There is also a word *veinigi* meaning "mutually": this is made up of *rei*, reciprocal prefix, *ni*, prepositional verb, *gi*, verbal suffix: *veinigi gagathati* "to bite one another": *koti veinigi tango na dotho* "serve one another in love".

The prefixes *hai*, *fai*, denoting mutuality, appear in the verbs *haidu*, *faidu* "to gather together". cf. Sa'a *hāi*.

Condition is denoted by the prefixes *ma*, *mama*, *ta*: *malumu* "easy"; *mamaluba* "loosed"; *tavoga* "different". Other prefixes are *tata*, *tava*, *toto*: *tatangutu* "to assemble in crowds"; *tavalili* "to depart"; *taraguguri* "to blow in gusts"; *tavaumu* "loosed"; *totopiti* "revolving, a wheel".

Vari, *fari*, is a prefix of reciprocity: *vari hotagigna Bethel ma Ai* "between Bethel and Ai"; *varinanaba* "to be equal with one another"; *variapo* "to toss about"; *faritango* "to work together"; *fari* is used as a verb meaning "to share". cf. Mota *var*.

39. Suffixes to verbs. These suffixes when added to the Bugotu verb do not make them necessarily transitive (i.e. a pronominal object is not necessarily added to them), though they are definitely transitive suffixes in the Sa'a and Ulawa languages. The suffixes are: (1) Simple: *i*, or *i* preceded by a consonant: *gi*, *hi*, *ki*, *li*, *mi*, *ni*, *ngi*, *ri*, *si*, *ti*, *vi*. These suffixes are used indifferently, and no particular sense can be assigned to any one.

baka "to be bruised", *bakai* "to bruise".

jathe "to call", *jathegi* "to call attention to"; *veihaohagoregi* "to converse".

liohi, "to look at" (Sa'a *lio*, "to look").

piru "to plait", *piruki* "to plait a thing".

hanggu "to be steep", *hangguli* "to climb up".

iju "to count", *ijumi* "to count things".

matagu "to fear", *mataguni* "to fear a thing".

buta "to open the eye", *butangi* "to stare at".

tapo "to strike", *taponi* "to brush with the hand".

nggarusi "to scratch something" (Sa'a *karu* "to scratch").

pono "to close over", *ponoi*, *ponoti* "to close over a thing".

dodoro "to see", *dorovi* "to see something".

A supplementary verb *la* also appears, attached to verbs, and meaning "to do": *boi* "not to be", *boiboila* "to be disobedient", i.e. (nothing do); *dika* "to be bad", *diadikala* "to damage (to do bad to)"; *havu* "to wash", *havulu* "to wash someone (to wash do)";

dua "to be together with", *duaduula* "to increase in numbers (put together)". A transitive suffix *mai* is seen in *palamai* (*pala*) "to embrace".

(2) The suffixes *agi*, *gini*; *agi* is added to the consonants *g*, *h*, *l*, *ng*, *r*, *s*, *v*, the forms being: *gagi*, *hagi*, *lagi*, *ngagi*, *ragi*, *sagi*, *vagi*. These forms are often intransitive (i.e. a pronominal object is not attached to them), but *gagi*, *ngagi*, and *vagi* have a transitive force. A suffix *ni* is added to the suffixes *agi*, *hagi*, *lagi*, *sagi*: *liusagini* "to exceed", *liu* "to go beyond". The suffix *gini* is transitive in use: *kia* "to laugh", *kiagini*, *kiagi* "to laugh at a person"; *vahotha* "to be entangled, difficult", *vahothagin* "to be costly, valuable". Ray says that the suffixes *agi*, *gini* are derived from the Indonesian forms *akən*, *kən*, *kan*.

harugagi "to sacrifice", *haru* "to make an offering".

thabuhagi "to wink at".

polohagini "to conceal", *polo* "to be hidden".

kekelaagini "to importune", *keke* "to cry aloud".

jatangagi "to be brimful of", *jata* "to be brimful".

gnaoragi "to subside", *gnao* "to subside, of water".

livusagi "to commit", *livusagini* "to put down and leave", *livu* "to put".

boitagini "to refuse to do", *boi* "not to be".

kobathagi "to be destitute", *kobathagini* "to strip off", *koba* "to be void".

ahavagi "to be angry with", *aha* "to be bitter".

The verb *veidikohaginigi* "to harm one another" shows the suffix *gi* added to *hagini*. The suffixes *agi*, *agini*, are added to the verb *talu* "to put": *taluagi* "to put"; *talugini* "to set an ambush for".

40. Reflexive. A reflexive meaning is conveyed by *tabiru* "back, again", and by *hege*, *gehe* "self (a noun)": *manea ke vathehe* (*tabiru*) *gehegna* "he killed himself"; *ke hotu gehegna* "it fell off of itself"; *imanea gehegna* "he himself"; "of one's own accord" is rendered by *puku* (a noun): *na ninggua na pukunggu* "of my own accord".

41. Reduplication of verbs. A verb of two syllables may be reduplicated as a whole: *ili*, *ilili*, "to totter"; *aru*, *aruaru* "to bore"; *ahu*, *ahuahu* "to smoke". The first syllable of a verb may be repeated: *vahi*, *vavahi* "to choose"; or the first two syllables may be repeated: *udolu*, *udoudolu* "whole"; with words of two syllables the whole may be repeated with the dropping of the second consonant: *vela*, *veavela*; *vene*, *veevene*; *hiro*, *hiohiro*. With verbs

of more than two syllables the first two syllables are generally repeated, and the second consonant may be dropped: *hagore*, *haohagore*; *pataka*, *paapataka*: but *hagohagore* and *papataka* also occur. The general idea conveyed by reduplication is that of intensification of meaning: *hiohiro* "to search earnestly": but this is not always the case, and many verbs occur only in a reduplicated form.

42. Auxiliary verbs: *talu* "to put, to continue" is used with other verbs as an auxiliary: *e boi talu polo* "is not hid": *talu hage* "to enter": *talu mono* "to abide": *talu regi* "to see": *talu piniru* "to encamp": *eigna na hava koti nia talu sokara* "why stand ye here?" *Mono* "to dwell" also denotes "to be": *ruha* "to begin", *ruhai* "to become, to be": *hangga* "to lack, to be short of" also denotes "to be about to, nearly, hardly any, somewhat": *inau ku hangga tuturi aura* "if I should tell of them": *vano* "to go" denotes "to be": *na fata tavoga da vano olihigna* "let another thing come, be, in its place".

VII. ADVERBS

43. (1) Direction: *mai* "hither" is used as a verb meaning "to come": it is used with the locative *i* to denote "from, place whence": *kena mai ivei* "whence come they?" *mai i Pirihadi* "from Pirihadi": *tagna na turuguna mai* "from the beginning till now": *na mai regiugna* "the coming to see me, to see me": *atu* "away, out, forth" is used as a verb meaning "to go forth": *lau*, *i lau* "seawards": *longa*, *i longa* "south": *eta*, *i eta* "east": *i etagna* "up east". The *ita*, *yta*, added by the Spanish discoverers of the Solomon Islands to the native name of the island which lies south-east of Ysabel, Mala (which they entered in their Log as "Malaita" or "Malayta"), is the Bugotu word *i eta* "east": for it was from Ysabel that the Spaniards first saw Mala, and their informants would say, on being asked the name of that island over there, *Mala i eta* "that's Mala up there!" *Paka* "over there", of general direction: *gathaga* "up, eastwards" (S. a 'ala'a); *horu* "down, to go down".

(2) Place (see "Demonstrative Pronouns", 16). *Eeni*, *eri*, *ceri* "here": *ia ani* "here": *ngeni*, *ngengeni*, *ia ngeni*, *ia nggeri*, *nggeri*, *nggengeri* "there": *garige* "near", used with *i* locative: *hau*, *i hau* "far": *ivei* "where?": *iveimu* "what part of you?" shows *ivei* as a noun; it is also used as meaning "place where, anywhere": *i sungga* "within": *sungga i vathe* "in the house": *i kosi*, *i kosigna*

“without, outside”; *utu* “outwards”; *talugu, i talugu, talugugna* “outside, the outside”.

(3) Time. The adverbs of time are generally used preceding the noun: *ngiha, i ngiha* “when?”; *ngihanggi* “when? how many? how much?”; *tovongoi, tovongai* “when, as soon as”; *nggeni* “to-day, of time past, already, just now”; *kenu gua* “to-day, of future time, presently”; *kenu gua vuovugoi* “to-morrow morning”; *vuovugoi* “on the morrow, to-morrow” (Sa’a *hu’o*); *vugei, vuevugei* “in the morning, this morning”; *(i)ke anggi eni* “now”; *ke anggai eni vaho* “this very day”; *valiha* “the third day, of past or future time”; *ku taviti gohi valiha* “I went the day before yesterday”; *kuda taviti valiha* “I will go the day after to-morrow”; *valiha gohi* “three days ago”; *i gnotha* “yesterday”; *nggi e giagilai* “until”; *goi*, “also, again, at all,” precedes the verb; *inggai* “until, the time preceding an event”; *kidi* “for the first time, formerly”; *ku boi kidi regia* “I never saw him”.

(4) Manner: *hava nia* “how?”; *e hava e ania, ivei ke ania* “how?”; *bali hava* “why?”; *e hava rae toke* “how good this is!” shows *hava* used indefinitely; *ia ngeni* “thus”; *anggai, ke anggai, ke anggainia* “thus”; *vaga, vagagna, hogogna* “as, like, like as”; these are used with the verbal particle *ke*, the possessive pronoun 3rd pers. sing. *gua* may be added: *ke vagagna na manu* “like a bird”; *gaonggai* “so”, following *vagagna* “as”; *hitagi* “even, indeed”; *eigna* “because, for”; *eigna na hava* “why?”; *gua* “still, again, more, also”; *gua* “lest” is used with the verbal particle *e*, as is also *minggoi* “lest”; *gua ri* “perhaps, haply” used following the verb; *mua* “yet, still, more, again, also”; *kikimua* “slowly”; *vamua* “only, merely, forsooth, indeed, I mean (in explanations)”; *sikei vam* it doesn’t matter *ua* “! it’s all one and the same”; *varaha* “merely, for no reason, just”; *vaho* “very, certainly, just, thus”; *mugua* “certainly, really, indeed”; *e tutuni mugua* “truly!”; *vunegna, vuhagna* “because of”; these are nouns, and are preceded by the article *na*: *na vunegna na hava* “why?”; *tuni, toni* “probably, possibly, perhaps”; *na bule, kanabule* “perhaps”; these are followed by a gerundive: *gathi* “somewhat, few”; *gathi ngiha* “too few”; *u gathi havi toke mua* “I am still fairly well”; *gohi* denotes a definite preterite, and follows the verb: *tangomana, tangomalaga* mean “can, be able to”; *o boi tangomalaga na regiagna na thepa* “you cannot look on the earth”; *keda boi tangomana na ijumiradiagna* “they cannot be numbered”. *Teo* is “yes”, *hii* is

“no”: *na* asks questions, and follows the interrogative pronoun *ahai* “who?” or occurs at the end of a sentence.

VIII. PREPOSITIONS

44. (1) Simple:—

Locative: *i, kori.*

Genitive: *i.*

Motion: *regi, thae; pungusi; sani.*

Instrumental: *nia.*

Dative: *ni, vani.*

The locative *i* used with the adverb *mai* “hitherwards” denotes “motion from”: *kena legua mai i Galilea* “they followed Him from Galilee”; *i nggaringgu mai* “from my youth up”; the locative *i* precedes place-names; *kori* means “within, at, in, of, from”; it is compounded of *kora i* “inside, at”: *hage kori hugu* “to enter the harbour”; *kori vido* “in the place”; when used with *au* “out, away” *kori* denotes “from”: *rugu au kori* “to go out from”.

The use of the genitive *i* is shown above under “Nouns”, 8. It may be used of place, and is not to be confused in this connection with the locative *i*: *igita i Bugotu* “we of Bugotu”; *vaivinegna i Sion* “daughter of Sion”. The articles are not used with *i* and *kori*: *na ahehe i havi* “the breath of life”; *kori vuthe* “in the house”. Two verbs denoting “change” and “begin” are used with *i* genitive: *tabiru i, tuguru i*; cf. *Sa'a aehota* “to begin”, *oli* “to change”, *la* “to go, to be”, which are used with *i*, a genitive.

There is a use of *ni*, a genitive, with the noun *puku* “real”: *puku ni mana* “really powerful”; also with *pau* “head”: *pau ni mane* “adult, elder”; *pau ni taviti* “an uninterrupted going, to go straight on”.

The prepositions denoting motion are all verbs, and they always have the pronouns of the object suffixed; *regi* “to go, to see”, *thae* “to go”, both mean “to, towards”; *pungusi* denotes “against, in opposition to”; *sani* means “from”, and is generally used in composite phrases: *na taviti saniragna* “to leave them”. *Nia*, the instrumental, means “by means of, by, thereby, withal, therewith”; it precedes the word or phrase with which it is used: *ke nia voliradiagna nigna na rongu* “he bought them with his money”; *ke nia poko na poka* “he is clad with clothes”. There is a use of *nia* in *e hava nia* “why?” *o hava nia eeri* “what are you doing here?”

A form *niagna* is used as meaning "with".

Ni is called by Ray "a prepositional verb": it precedes the verb, and the pronoun of the object is suffixed; it means "with, by, to, for": *me ke nira havugagi* "and sacrificed therewith"; *a Abraham ke nira udu haidu* "Abraham went along with them"; *me ke nira hage kori hugu* "and there is an entering for them into (they enter) the harbour"; *keda nia lealeaa na tootonggo* "they rejoiced with joy".

Ni is used with certain verbs, the pronoun of the object being suffixed in agreement with the object of the verb: *keda niu fate hatheugna na koakoa* "my sins will condemn me"; *ko nia tuhu vano na limamu* "stretch out thy hand"; *ko sagoi nia jike sania* "turn not away from it". Other verbs which have *ni* preceding them are *bati* "to resist"; *hugu* "to deny"; *raba* "to scatter"; *siriu* "to hate"; *tootonggo* "to rejoice"; *thare* "to be undecided".

Vani denotes "to, for" of the dative; *vania* is used as meaning "said to him"; the phrase *na ijumi vaniagna* "the reckoning to him, it was reckoned to him" is a composite noun in form.

The instrumental *nia* is probably formed from "the prepositional verb" *ni*.

The verbs *ani*, *vele*, mean "to tell to" a person, and they have the pronoun of the object suffixed: *me ania* "and said to him"; *he* means "to give to" a person, and has a similar use: *me hera* "and gave to them". *Ani* seems to mean "to do to a person" (cf. *Ulawata* "to do, to say").

(2) Nouns or verbs, with pronouns suffixed, used as prepositions:—

Ta "at, in, with, of, from"; *ei* "for, on behalf of"; *dua* "with, companion"; *kamene* "opposite to, fellow".

Ta is of very general application: *tagna na rido* "in the place, from the place, at the place"; *ke taviti tagna* "goes from thence"; *i* may be prefixed to *ta*: *na kuli itadia* "they have ears"; *ke sabiri itanggua* "he bought it from me"; but *ta-* not *ita-* is used when governing: *tagna na hehenggu* "of my spirit"; *tagna ia ani* "herein"; *tagna ia ngeni* "then"; *itagna na maiagna mai* "when he is come"; *tagna* also denotes "when, while". For *ta* see *ML.*, pp. 159–60.

Ei is a verb in origin, and means "to do": *ei rathe* "to build houses"; *eigna* "the doing of it, because". When used as a preposition it has the pronoun of the object suffixed in agreement with the word which it governs: *eigna na hava* "why?"; *einggu, einggu inau* "for me"; *eida igita, eimami igami* "for us"; *eidia* "for them". The article *na* may precede: *na eidia na botho* "about the pigs".

Dua means "companion, fellow", and with the pronoun of possession suffixed it signifies "with": *duagna* "with him, i.e. his fellow, in his company"; *duamiu* "with you".

(3) Compound. The compound prepositions are nouns with suffixed pronouns, and the locative *i* may precede them: *popo. i popo* "above, next". *popogna* "its top, on it, above", *i popogna suusupa* "on the tops of the hills", *vula i popo* "next month"; *sara* "below, beneath, under", *sara i rathe* "under the house", *i saragna. i sasaragna* "underneath (it)"; *kora* "within, resting in", *kora i (kori) valhe* "in the house", *korangu inau* "in me", *i koragna* "within, in"; *thepa* "earth", *i thepa* "below", *i thepagna* "underneath, below"; *legu* "to follow, after, behind, last, rear", *i legugna* "afterwards", *legugna na thehe* "after death"; *hiliga* "round, about", *i hiligagna* "near".

IX. CONJUNCTIONS

45. Copulative *ma*; disjunctive *ba, ma*; consequential *ngge, nggi*; adversative *keana*; connective *kari*.

The conjunctions *ma, ba*, shift their vowels in agreement with the first vowel of the word that follows. There is a complete change of vowel in the case of *ma*, viz. *me, mi, mo, mu*, but the changes of *ba* are confined to *be, bi*. The form *mi* "and" is preferred even when the following vowel is other than *i*: *thevu mi thevu* "part and part"; but *ma* is used before the articles *a, na, sa*. The vowel of *ma* drops when used with the pronouns *u* "I", *o* "thou" and the verbal particles *ati, iti, oli, ena*, and the vowels of both *ma* and *ba* drop when the locative preposition *i* follows, the resultant forms being *mi, bi*. The vowel of *ma* drops before the initial *i* of the pronouns *inau* "I", *igoe* "thou", and the resultant forms are *minau, migoe*. In the case of the other pronouns beginning with the vowel *i*, this vowel replaces the vowels of *ma, ba*, but the resultant forms *mi, bi* are written separately from the pronoun; *mi gita, mi ia, bi marava*, etc. The form *me* is often used as a connective when the following vowel is other than *e*; *me* may also denote "or". Similarly the form *bi* is preferred to *ba*; *bi . . . bi* denotes "either . . . or"; *be teo* "or not, haply" may be used in questions, and occurs at the end of a sentence. *Ngge* has a consequential use only, and means "then, thereupon, after that"; its vowel drops before the pronouns *u* "I", *o* "thou", the resultant forms being *nggu, nggo*: the vowel of *ngge* also drops before the first vowel of the verbal particles *ati, iti, oli, ena*: *nggati, nggiti*, etc.: *ngge* is not used with the verbal particles which are compounded with *ke*; *ngge* may be followed by *minggoi* "lest": *ko retulara na mavitu nggena minggoi hujuu mai* "bid the people not to come near"; *nggati minggoi thehe* "lest we die".

For *nggi* see par. 30.

X. NUMERALS

46. Cardinals :—

<i>sikei</i> "one"	<i>ono</i> "six"
<i>rua</i> "two"	<i>ritu</i> "seven"
<i>tolu</i> "three"	<i>alu</i> "eight"
<i>vati</i> "four"	<i>hia</i> "nine"
<i>lima</i> "five"	<i>salage</i> } "ten"
	<i>hangavulu</i> }

The numerals from "two" to "ten" are used with the verbal particle *e*: *e rua* "two"; *tutugu* "a score", *mola* "ten thousand", are both used with the verbal particle *e*.

In counting a series *keha* "one" is used, and not *sikei*; *sikei* has the further meanings of "a, the first, once, the one . . . the other, each": *sikei gua* "one more"; *sikei na vula e salage ratigna na magavu* "the first month, the fourteenth day". There is a form *siesikei* = one. *Sakai* (Florida *sakai* "one") is used in Bugotu as meaning "together, with one accord, reciprocally": *sakai godo* "covenant, agreement".

The articles *si*, *sa* also denote "one": *si na mane* "a certain man"; *sa meleha* "a place"; *e teo su uha* "there was no rain".

The forms *ro*, *ru* "two" appear in the pronouns of the dual number; they are a change from *rua*: *na ro matadia* "our eyes, the eyes of us two"; there is a separate use of *ro*: *ro ravinegna* "his two sisters"; *ro tadia* "the two of them"; and the pronouns are added to *tolu* "three": *sikei na toludia na tango* "they three had one trade".

Salage "ten" is made up of *sa*, the article, and *lage*; *kasa* "to be complete" (*Mota paso* "to be finished") is added to *salage*: *salage kasa* "a full ten"; *e salage sikei* "eleven"; *e salage rua* "twelve"; *mara e salage rua* "the twelve"; *salage* is used to denote "a great number": *e salage ngiha* "how many tens!", i.e. "how numerous!"; *na salage thaba* "abundance".

Hangavulu "ten" is used only of tens which are not units of twenty: *e lima hangavulu* "fifty"; *e hia hangavulu me hia* "ninety-nine".

There is nothing to mark the unit over ten, but a word *tomaga* is used meaning "to be in excess, over and above": *e lima tomaga* "five and a few over"; *e salage me tomaga* "some over ten"; *tutugu* (a noun) is "a score, twenty": *tutugu sikei* "twenty-one"; *e tutugu lima* "twenty-five". A "hundred" is *hathangatu*, which is the Florida *hangalatu*, by metathesis: *si na hathangatu* "one hundred".

There is nothing to mark the unit over a hundred : *e rua na hathangatu vitu hangavulu me ono* "two hundred and seventy-six". A "thousand" is *toga* : *mola* is "ten thousand" : *feferi* "a hundred thousand" : *vuthea* "a million" : *vuthegila* "ten million". These are all nouns. The last two numbers are used of stored canarium almonds.

"How many?" is *ngiha* : *ngiha* has also an indefinite use : *gathi ngiha* "too few".

There is no distributive : *sopa, soasopa* "to be different" serves the purpose : *sopa hathangatu na thanagi* "by hundreds" : *e onoono soasopa na alodia* "six wings apiece".

There are certain words which denote a specific number of things : *sikei na aba* "a ten of turtles, ten turtles" : *sikei na boka i topa* "a ten of *topa* fish, ten *topa* fish" : *sikei na pangga* "a ten of pigs, ten pigs" : *sikei na pigu* "a ten of coconuts, ten coconuts" : *si na tatha* "a fleet of canoes, ten, fifteen, twenty, or a hundred canoes" : *sikei na varipuku* "one knot, a hundred *buma* fish".

47. The ordinals are formed by adding the suffix *gna* to the cardinals, i.e. by using them as nouns ; the article *na* may precede : *rua* "two", *ruagna* "second". "First" is *sikei* or *nago* "face, front, before" : *ke nago* "first" : *na nago na na legni rahui* "the first and the last".

There is a use of *horu* "times, repeated occasions" as a multiplicative : *ngiha horu i tuturiagna* "how many tellings?" : *e tolu na horu i vaniagna* "three times of telling" : *keda hangavulu i tangoliagna* "it will be ten the doing of it, ten times". The ordinals also have the same use : *ruagna, e ruagna* "twice" : *kidi* means "first, formerly, for the first time".

The cardinals with a gerundive denote a multiplicative : *e tolu ningqua na kaeagna* "it is the third time I have asked". *Vitolu* used with *magavu* "day" means "the fourth day", i.e. "three clear days" : *vitobugna* "third". This prefix *vi* is not used otherwise.

The causative prefix *va* is used with all the ordinals from the second to the tenth : *varuagna, vasalagegna (vasalage)* ; these forms are used in general as multiplicatives, "twice, ten times," etc. *Varuai* means "second, a second time" : *na varuai ahagna* "a second name" : *na varuai taviti saniragna* "the second time of leaving them".

XI. EXCLAMATIONS

48. *a* is used of summoning or of address : *a Moses* "Moses!" *nige* is used in questioning, and to call attention : *ori* "oh! hey!"

come now!"; *toke* "well then! good! come now!"; *au* "who can say! don't know!"; *keke, akeke* "eh!" a cry of pain or fear; *namu* "aha!"; *ido* "mother" is used in *ido i meleha* "mother of countries!" to express wonderment.

XII. EXAMPLE OF BUGOTU NARRATIVE

A translation of the story appended here will be found on pp. 365-6 of Dr. Codrington's *The Melanesians*. The original MS. story was written for Dr. Codrington.

THE STORY OF KAMAKAJAKU

Titionogna A Kamakajaku

He dwelt on the hill at Gaji and he was
Manea ke mono kori suasupa i Gaji. me
 mending nets and he looked at down the sea
suke bau. mi manea ke siromia horua na hagalu
 black very and they his grandchildren they about to
ke jongo puala; mara kukuagna kena hanggu
 go down to the sea and collect shellfish and Kamakajaku
horu i tahi. mena vagoda; ma a Kamakajaku
 says to them you go dip in the place I
ke anira. "Koti vano toia mai tagna na vido ku
 saw mine the saltwater said he to them And they
rigia na gagua na tahi," e anira. Mara
 his grandchildren they went forth down and they got shellfish
kukuagna kena atu horu mena vagoda
 and they netted fish and then they dipped the saltwater
mena unggura; me nggoru kena toia na tahi,
 and they went up and arrived at the village and they
mena hadi mena vula kori melcha. mena
 went gave to him and he said you give it here
atu hea. mi manea ke ahoru. "Koti hatia mai
 the dish and I pour down and I see (it) the
na nahu mu tilima horua. muku regia na
 blackness of it like I looked at it down says he
jongogna vagagna ku siromia horua," e ahoru;

and he poured down and looked at it and did not find
me tilima horua me regia me bosì regi-puda
 like looked at it down dwelling on the hill And
vagagna ke regia horua na mono kori suasupa. Me
 next morning he took the saltwater vessel and went forth
vuevugei me hatia na tahi, me atu
 down and put (it) in his ear a piece of flint and
horu, me talua kori kuligna na vido i nadi, me
 went down and came to the sea and put (it) down on
taviti horu, me vula i tahi, me talua i
 the beach his bag and club and shield
longa na nigna na ngoi, ma na tila ma na reoreo ;
 thereupon took (it) the vessel and swam and went seawards
nggi e tangolia na tahi me otho, me sapa,
 and looked up to the hill on it he dwelt and not
me tada hadia na suasupa tagna ke mono, me bosì
 get sight of it yet and further went seawards still
regi-pada mua, me hujuu sapa mua,
 till saw the hill at Gaji Thereupon dipped and
nggi e regia na suasupa i Gaji. Nggi e toia, ma
 the surface of the sea sounded and bubbled then
na matagna na tahi ke taitangi me buaburara, ngge
 he heard come a *kobili* a fish big exceedingly and
rongovia mai na kobili na fei hutu puala, me
 it came swallowed him and with him went and went off
mai sonovia, me nia taviti me talu vano
 to the rising (of) up the sun and with him went
tagna na songgalagna hadi na aho, me nia taviti,
 and went till with him arrived at place of shoal
me taviti nggi e nia jufu kori masa i kakaba,
 and turned from side to side till perceived Kamakajaku
me goro kililia nggi e rongovia a Kamakajaku
 that on shore already probably I here then
da i longa gohi tuni. "Nau eni nggi,"

says he and then thought of the flint in his ear and
e ahoru : me ngge gagana na nadi kori kuligna, me
 felt for it and found it and cut open the belly of
tangolia hadia, me tango-puda, me thavikutua na kutugna
 the *kobili* and leapt out thereupon saw (it) a bright light
kobili, me thovo au ngge regia na raraha.

And sat and pondered Where indeed I here
Me sopou me toatoga, "Mivei hiri nau eni?"
 says he. Then up comes the sun with a bang at one swoop
e ahoru. Ngge hadi mai na aho ke podilo me rараja.

And the sun says Don't come near me here
Ma na aho ke ahoru, "Sagoi garaniu mai ;
 at once you die stay on my right says he And
kenu gua o thehe ; mono kori madothonggu," e ania. Me
 he kept far off still and rose up the sun then
haunia mua, me thovo haliu na aho ; ngge
 he followed to dwell up in heaven and went and arrived
legua mono hadi i popo, me atu jufu

at the place of the children of the sun and he said
kori meleha ara dathegna na aho ; me gagua,

Here you dwell says he to him Then he dwelt with (them)
"Eeni mo mono," e ania. Ngge e mono tadia

the children his and the grandchildren his and the Sun
ara dathegna mara kukuagna, ma na aho

departed. And Kamakajaku stayed and they asked him
ke tariti. Ma a Kamakajaku ke mono ; mena huatia,

Where thou come hither And he says At
"Ivei ko turugu mai?" Mi manea ke velea, "I

the earth I dwelt in my place then I dipped
thepa ; ku mono kori ninggua na mono ; nggu toi

saltwater and a fish big swallowed me then I came
tahi, ma na fei hutu ke sonoviu, nggu mai

arrived at your place good
jufu kori nimiu meleha toke."

So dwelling together and eating raw food forsooth
Ngge na mono haidu : ma na vanga deedee vamu
 they in heaven and he then showed to them fire
imara i popo. mi manea ngge tuturia vanira na joto,
 so they ate cooked food And they said
ngge ena vanga muamuha. Mi maraia kena velea
 to him Don't go to place that it is tabu
vania, "Sagoi vano kori vido iangeni, e tabu,"
 saying to him And they went for their part and he
e vania. Mena taviti nidia, mi manea
 keeping house and thought What they said to me
ke tautau vathe, me gagana, "Na hava kena niu?"
 Don't go they said said he And went and went
"Sagoi vano, kena ahoru," e ahoru. Me taviti me vano
 set on edge the stone covering hole in sky and
bokihia na gahira tautafugna kilo i popo, me
 looked down on his place at Gaji and cried
siromia horua nigua na mono i Gaji, me tangi.
 They gave him food and he refused for his part
Ena hea na vanga, me boi nigua.
 They then asked him Did you go to the back end there
Nggena huatia, "Mo vano buriti nggeri?"
 Don't go we said to you indeed yes And
"Sagoi vano, kiti anigo ri." "Hii." "Mo
 you want to go down And he says yes
magnahaginia na horu?" Mi manea ke ahoru, "Hii."
 And they gave him a banana and they gave him a
Mena hea si na vudi, mena hea na
 seed of *pau* and they took (it) a cane and they tied it
sagaro i pau, mena hatia na gue, mena taria
 to the saddle-piece of the house and sat therein
kori kokopagna na vathe ; me mono i koragna
 he Kamakajaku and they let him down If
manea a Kamakajaku ; mena ulia horua. "Keda

cry the birds and things don't you look out crying
tangi na manu ma na fata, o sa sigo au ; me tangi

the cicalas and things dwelling on the earth then you
na gnago ma na fata ke mono kori thepa, nggo

look out And they lowered him and they lowered him
sigo au." Mena ulia, mena ulia

down and short one cane and they joined on another
horu, me kudo si na gue, mena panggua sikei,

done. And arrived down at hill (where) he dwelt
ea. Me jufu horu kori suasupa ke mono.

And his friends they searched for him for they thought
Mara kulagna kena hiroa, eigna marea kena gagana

he was dead already And on the day he came
ke thehe gohi. Mi tagna na magavu ke horu

hither coming at (from) heaven they at it rejoiced
mai turugu i popo kena nia lealeaa,

because they again saw him and glad their hearts
eigna kena goi regia, me toke na hehedia.

And he lived a long while then he died on his
Me mono me hau, ngge thehe kori nigna

hill at Gaji. And finished yes just that
suasupa i Gaji. Me nggovu ; hii ; ia vamua ngeni

the story of Kamakajaku
na titionogna a Kamakajaku.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS RECOVERED FROM TUN-HUANG BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., PRESERVED IN THE SUB-DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL PRINTS AND DRAWINGS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND IN THE MUSEUM OF CENTRAL ASIAN ANTIQUITIES, DELHI. By ARTHUR WALEY. 10 × 7½ in., pp. 328. London: Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum and of the Government of India. 1931.

As Mr. Laurence Binyon tells us in his preface, the paintings described in this volume "form a collection of inestimable value both for the student of Buddhism and for the student of Asiatic, especially Chinese, art". It is therefore fortunate that the Catalogue has been prepared by a scholar of the calibre of Mr. Waley. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that he is the one man in this country who combines sufficient knowledge of Buddhism, Oriental art, and the Chinese language to undertake such a task. It has been done with the thoroughness that one associates with the publications of the British Museum: each painting is fully described and explained in the light of the legends which it may happen to illustrate: colours and measurements are specially noted; and all the Chinese inscriptions are transcribed and translated at length. Inasmuch as the more important paintings have already been reproduced in *Serindia, The Thousand Buddhas*, and elsewhere, no illustrations are given in this volume, but only references showing where they are to be found in those works.

It must not be imagined that the book is free from blemish. On the contrary, it is sadly disfigured by all manner of mistakes, largely arising from carelessness; and I never remember to have seen a book issuing from the Oxford University Press with such a formidable number of misprints. Most of these, however, occur in the Chinese text, and the author, not the printer, must be held responsible for them.

Professor Pelliot has written a long review of the work in *T'oung Pao*, vol. xxviii, pp. 383-413, but there are many points he has not touched upon. I propose, therefore, to run through it page by page, noting briefly what appear to me to be mistakes, but omitting such corrections as have already been made, except where confirmation may be needed from the original documents, to which I have had free access. Readers

should bear in mind, of course, that many of the Chinese inscriptions are so much damaged as to be more or less illegible. Only one who has attempted to decipher badly mutilated Chinese texts can appreciate the difficulties that must have been encountered in the compilation of this catalogue.

p. xvii, n. 2. The latest date found in the Stein Collection of MSS. is not A.D. 993, but 995, which appears in S. 4172, an interesting document fixing the boundaries and extent of certain pieces of farm land in the possession of different owners. This has been for some time on exhibition in the King's Library. But S. 5850, a commentary on the Hridaya-sūtra, would seem to have been copied not earlier than 1022, for a prefatory note mentions the third Sung emperor by his temple name of 眞宗 Chên Tsung.

p. xviii: For "k'uei" read "kuei" (軌).

p. xx: 支謙 Chih-ch'ien translated not the Lesser but the Longer Sukhāvati-vyūha. The earliest existing version of the former is that of Kumārajīva.

p. xxvii: Mr. Waley has confused the two apocryphal sūtras of the Ten Kings (Kyōto Supplement C. xxiii, 4, Nos. 8 and 9). S. 3961 is not the Kṣitigarbha sūtra with the colophon containing the date "10th year of 天聖 T'ien-shêng" (A.D. 1032), but the 十王生七經, a fragment of which is also preserved among the paintings (CCXIII). Unfortunately, one confusion has led to another; for assuming, so it would seem, that nothing in the Stein Collection could be as late as 1032, Mr. Waley fastens upon a dubious *nien-hao* 天聖 said to have been adopted by the rebel 董昌 Tung Ch'ang, which lasted only one year (895-6). The impossibility of this being right has been shown by M. Pelliot, who, however, also rejects the date 1032 on the ground of the popularity of the sūtra at Tunhuang when the cave-library was bricked up about 1035. Although it is the other sūtra which appears in the Stein Collection, this argument will perhaps hold good for both, seeing that they are said to have been transmitted by the same person. But the whole colophon is obviously unreliable and legendary in character. Last line but one: For "forest" read "priest".

p. xxxii: For "Saddharmapundarika" read "Saddharma-pundarika". (Mr. Waley treats these "damned dots" rather after the fashion of Lord Randolph Churchill; he usually ignores them, but is by no means consistent.) The chapter dealing with Avalokiteśvara is not the 24th but the 25th.

p. xl, 6th line from bottom: For "Dharmakshema" read "Dharmaraksha". Note 4: For "No. 662" read "No. 663". Note 7: For "Dhṛtarāstra" read "Dhṛitarāshṭra".

p. xliii, 4th line from bottom: For "Dharmatāra" read "Dharmatrāta".

p. xlvi: For 緣 read 緣.

p. xlvii: For 蛤 read 蛤.

p. xlviii, l. 4: For "po-tou" read "po-t'ou".

p. lii: With regard to the pronunciation of Tun-huang, there can be little doubt that the first syllable 燉 was aspirated in the T'ang dynasty: see K'ang Hsi *sub voce* and Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary*, p. 323. Mr. Waley is wrong in saying that the modern pronunciation Tun-huang is already indicated by the *I ch'ieh ching yin*, for it seems that even 遁, the sound there given, was aspirated in ancient Chinese.

p. 6, Chinese text, l. 1: The missing character here is certainly 永 ("live perennially in the Pure Land") and not 神 as conjectured by M. Pelliot. Further on in the same line, for 界 read 果. 登佛果 "to attain the fruit of Buddha", i.e. the state of an Arhat, is a well-known phrase. It occurs, for instance, in the colophon of S. 791.

p. 7, l. 9: The eighth character is not 兼, and the one following is written 伎. "Craftsman's apprentice" is the meaning of 伎術子弟 rather than "artist" or "musician". Note 3: There is no need to refer English readers to a Paris MS. for a list of priests in the Yung-an Monastery, for there is a similar list in S. 2729 at the British Museum.

p. 10: 本使 means not the Emperor's envoy but "the present Governor" (of Tunhuang).

p. 11: Mr. Waley again refers to a Pelliot MS. for a priest named 神威 Shên-wei, when he might have found him in the colophon to S. 2701. The respective dates are 864 and *mou-hsü* (probably 878), so that the two may very well be identical.

p. 16, l. 9: For "dharpālas" read "dharma-pālas".

p. 18, l. 4: Dele "及 for 乃".

p. 21, Chinese text (scene 2): For 𪔐 read 𪔐, and below, for "attack" read "kill".

p. 22, l. 2: The last two characters, left blank, are 父 母.

p. 23, scene 12: Transpose the characters 蓮 and 七.

p. 24, scene 15: For 思(?) 其捨僉 read 恐其捨命.

p. 25 (1): The missing character appears to be 勝: "the female novice Shêng-chên." (2): 大乘寺 Ta-shêng Ssü. This was a large

nunnery at Tunhuang. Two complete lists of its inmates at different dates, one perhaps of the ninth and the other of the tenth century, have been preserved to us in S. 2614 (v²) and S. 2669. The former MS. records a total of 173 names, the latter 209, with details of age, place of birth, surname, religious name, and familiar name. (3): The fourth and fifth characters should be 婆姨, and the sixth is probably 章, not 孟.

p. 27 (2): The third character, as written, is not 試 but 識.

p. 27 (3) and 28 (5) *ad fin.*: For 切 read 功: "note made on completion of the task".

p. 28 (5): 礼 does not stand for 祀 but for 禮. For 感 read 惑.

p. 33, dedicatory inscription, l. 5: For 錫 read 錫. The missing character is 迷.

p. 39, main inscription: The third line should end at 灾. After 創造 add 功德. Donors' inscriptions (1): M. Pelliot scented something wrong here, and on looking up the text I find that 弟亡娘子 is a misreading for 女六娘子 "the sixth daughter".

p. 43, l. 6: For "three hundred" read "thirty".

p. 44, inscriptions, l. 3: The last character but one should be 哉 (for 灾).

p. 45, inscriptions (3): For 敵 read 故.

p. 50 (1): For "Mantel" read "Mantle".

p. 51, ll. 8 and 10: For "Amogavajra" read "Amoghavajra".

p. 62: Note 2 should be transferred to p. 63 and become note 1.

p. 63, note 1: The meaning of these references to CLXXVIII and CCXLV is obscure.

p. 64, inscriptions, l. 2, and p. 65 (2), l. 3: For 今 read 令.

p. 65 (7), l. 1: 善 is omitted before 提.

p. 67 (1): Line 2 should begin at "cause all living creatures", and line 3 should take the place of line 2. For "deficiencies" read "deficiencies".

p. 68, l. 6: After "he" insert "shall".

p. 69 (12): 當爲其人請苾芻僧轉讀禮懺 "he must ask some one to bring him a Bhikshu priest who shall perform the ritual and service", etc. Translate rather: "On behalf of that man one must ask a priest to recite the ritual of confession." (19): "Indured" seems to be a misprint for "injured"; but as a form of violent death is in question, the word should rather be "killed". This is a common meaning of 害.

p. 71, 2nd line from bottom: For 扞 read 枉.

p. 76, l. 9: 二塗 is evidently a mistake in the text for 三塗 "the three inferior paths of transmigration or states of sentient existence, namely *prētas*, animals, and beings in hell". l. 10: For 大合 read 六合, and for 板 read 枝.

p. 77, l. 11: For "quickly" read "all". 蚤 being a vulgar form of 齊.

p. 85, inscriptions (5): For 季 read 李. Chavannes, I think, was wrong in saying that a deceased mother cannot be recognized as a donor (*Serindia*, pp. 1336-7). For not only here but on p. 45 and elsewhere we find paintings dedicated by a deceased mother. 新婦, as M. Pelliot has pointed out, should not be translated "new wife" but simply "daughter-in-law". Correct also p. 231 (5) and (6).

p. 88, main inscription, l. 1: Instead of 貢, M. Pelliot suggests 員, which may be right, though the character looks more like 貞 (which would also go better with 德). l. 4: For 乎 read 平. The phrase 國安仁泰社稷恒昌, which recurs several times on these paintings, is translated here by Mr. Waley: "In order that the land may enjoy peace and its inhabitants contentment, that its altars may flourish continually . . ." 仁 would thus be written for 人. This reading is proved correct by the actual occurrence of 人 in No. CCXLV (p. 200) and the substitution of 民 in No. CCXVII (p. 188). But on p. 96 Mr. Waley translates the same phrase: "With the prayer that the country might enjoy peace, benevolent rule and prosperity, and that the harvests might be always abundant." On p. 188 the translation runs: "May the land be peaceful and its people prosperous; may the rural shrines continually flourish." On p. 201 we get another variation: "That the land may enjoy peace and its people quietness; that the village shrines may never cease to be kept up." On p. 237: "That the land may be peaceful and its inhabitants at rest; that the village shrines may flourish continually." On p. 202 the second half of the sentence is rendered: "May village and clan altars flourish"; and on p. 318: (社稷康泰) "May the gods of the soil be peaceful and unassailed." Mr. Waley ought to have made up his mind as to the best translation and stuck to it. 泰 certainly means "prosperity" rather than "contentment" or "quietness", and 社稷 are the spirits of land and grain, figuratively used for the country as a whole.

p. 89 (7): The fourth character, which Mr. Waley conjectures to be 迺 *tsa*, is really the ordinary manuscript form of 延 *yen*. See, for instance, the date 延昌 *yen-ch'ang* in S. 2067. (8): For 兒 read 興.

(17): For 供 read 子. Last line: For “Ch‘u-ting” read “Ch‘ou-ting”.

p. 91, No. LVII: For “MANSUŚRĪ” read “MAÑJUŚRĪ”.

p. 92, note 1: The suggestion that the flat circular objects in the painting are iron draughtsmen for the game of wei-ch‘i is not a happy one, seeing that this game has no resemblance to draughts, and is not played with disks, iron or otherwise, but with semi-globular pips.

p. 94, l. 6: 迹 should be transliterated *chi*, not *ch‘ih*. Chinese text, l. 1: For 粟 read 粟. 方便 are the necessary means for salvation. “The diplomacy of the soul” is a very fanciful, not to say inaccurate, rendering.

p. 95, main inscription, l. 1: For 專 read 惠. l. 3: The first character is 躬, the fifth is 宅.

p. 97 (3), l. 2: The third character seems to be 智.

p. 98, l. 1: 仰倒 is to fall, not head downwards, but face upwards.

p. 99, right side (2): For 廷壽僉 read 延壽命. Left side (5): For 剛金 read 金剛. Mr. Waley has ignored the flick of the brush which shows that two characters are to be transposed. A similar case is 赤松 on p. 318, note 2. Donors' cartouches (2): For 卿 read 鄉. Tun-huang Hsiang is one of the twelve districts into which Tun-huang Hsien was divided. The next character is certainly 書. (3): The seventh character cannot be 卒. The tenth seems to be 頭, the twelfth and thirteenth 再廷. (4): The sixth character is 姨.

p. 100, main inscription, l. 2: After 是 add 以. l. 5: After 李文 add 定 (Li Wên-ting). l. 8: After 永無 add 刁斗 (“May the battle-gong never be heard”). Cf. p. 200 (where Mr. Waley incorrectly has “war-trumpet”) and p. 318.

p. 101, Chinese text, l. 10: For 卒 read 率. l. 11: Before 尊 insert 稱 (?), and before 佛 insert 聳 (= 齊) 助. l. 12: 安仁 is not “peace and benevolence”, but part of the stock phrase that recurs so often: 國安仁泰. See above, on p. 88. At the end of the line add 吉.

p. 102, main inscription, l. 1: For 已 read 己. l. 2: The fourth and fifth characters, left blank, are 座都. l. 3: For 已 read 亡. l. 4: The last character seems to be 願. l. 5: 香 is certainly wrong. It is followed by 大, omitted in the transcription.

p. 104: For “*Fu-Mo-ēn-chung Ching*” read “Fu-mu”, etc. The same mistake occurs on p. 183. For this apocryphal sūtra, Mr. Waley refers to S. 149, which is very fragmentary, and in a note on

p. 106 he says that the latter portion of the text yields no meaning, and that there must be many mistaken characters. This is not so; there are several other copies of the sūtra in the Stein Collection, some very nearly complete, e.g. S. 2084, from which the present inscription can be entirely reconstructed.

p. 105 (6), l. 2: For 去 read 云.

p. 106 (8): 歸義軍節度押衙 is "aide-de-camp to the *chieh-tu-shih* (Governor) of the military district of Kuei-i (the new name bestowed on Tunhuang after its return to allegiance under Chang I-ch'ao)". Both Mr. Waley and Professor Pelliot are wrong here, the former with "member of the Bodyguard of the Military Controller, attached to the Kuei-i regiment", the latter with ". . . commandant l'armée Kouei-yi". Cf. pp. 187, 199, and 316.

pp. 115, 116: For 弟 (five times) read 第.

p. 120: For 綠 (twice) read 緣.

p. 126: "The landscape backgrounds have an astonishing dramatic force." This is a regrettable lapse into meaningless art jargon. But it must be admitted that Mr. Waley does not often sin in this way.

p. 129: 河岸 means "river bank", not "river bed".

p. 159 (2): [十] 一面寺, as the name of a temple, seems to M. Pelliot "assez surprenant". The characters, however, are almost obliterated and suggest to me rather 靈圖寺 the Ling-t'u Temple, which is mentioned many times in the Stein MSS. Two defective characters follow, but neither of them, I think, is 僧. (3): For 幸 "Hsing" read 辛 "Hsin", a much commoner surname. 主窟 is more likely to be a superintendent or person in charge of the cave-temples than "the cave-owner".

p. 165 (3), l. 1: For 却 read 劫.

p. 166: There is a difficulty about translating 此帝釋須頭取心 "this is Indra: his head must [also] be put in the centre-circle"; for below we have: 其四面蓮花及寶珠並須頭取心, which is translated: "These lotus flowers and treasure pearls on the four sides must all face the centre." What becomes of 頭 here? Fourth line from bottom: "Golden rope loosened way" is a poor attempt at translating 金繩解道. I would suggest "golden rope symbolical of the Way".

p. 167, sixth line from bottom: For "Garbhadātu" read "Garbhadhātu".

p. 169: After No. CLXXIV there is a gap, Nos. CLXXV and CLXXVI being omitted without explanation.

p. 170 (1), back. l. 2: The second character is probably 齒 "teeth". (2), front. l. 1: The missing character is 口 "mouth".

p. 171, above, l. 3, and p. 196, main inscription, l. 1: For 變 read 變. The third character is 却, not 卽. l. 4: After 害 insert 此. l. 5: For 又 read 又. Back, l. 1: For "Shih-chu-ning" read "Shih-chü-ning".

p. 172, last line but one: For "Ch'u" read "Chu". The same mistake occurs on pp. 173, 241.

pp. 173-5: Nos. CLXXX-CXCI are described in the order in which they were mounted, a proceeding which seems both unnecessary and awkward.

p. 174, No. CLXXXI: According to my reading, the missing characters are 寶 and 善.

p. 178, last line: No. XXVIII* is dated 892, not 891.

p. 182, No. CCVIII: For 耶 the text has 祢. It may, of course, be a mistake, but Maya does not seem a probable name for a *dēvarāja*.

p. 183, ll. 2 and 3: M. Pelliot has questioned the names Jambhika and Loka. 禪叱迦 looks all right, though the second character might be 比; but in the other name the first character is written 勤, not 勒. Below, it is exaggerating to say that the 無常經 *Wu ch'ang ching* was "exceedingly popular at Tun-huang". I can only find ten copies of it in the Stein Collection as opposed to hundreds of copies of the really popular *sūtras*. At this point there is another gap, Nos. CCIX-CCXI being omitted.

p. 184, l. 8: The third character should be 第. No. CCXIII (2) and p. 185 (10) and (15): For 譜 read 讚.

p. 185 (8): 司錄 does not mean "Controller of Salary" but "Registrar", i.e. the underworld official who keeps a record of men's deeds.

p. 186 (2): For 藏 read 嚴. (3): For 多 read 南无. Inscription (1), l. 3, and p. 199, l. 4: For 撿校 read 檢校. l. 5: After 朝 add 刺血 "pricked himself so as to draw blood"—which was doubtless to be mixed with the ink or paint. We find a parallel in the colophon to S. 5451: 八十三老人手自刺血寫之 "Copied by an old man of 83 who pricked his own hand so as to draw blood"; and again in S. 5669: 刺左手中指出血以香墨寫此金經 "... pricked the middle finger of his left hand so as to draw blood, which he mixed with fragrant ink to copy out this Diamond *Sūtra*."

p. 187, l. 7: The fourth character seems to be 叟. l. 8: For 溟

read 海. In the next line, the character transcribed as 原 is really 京. The sentence will then run: 次爲京中父母長報安康在此妻男同霑福祐. Mr. Waley translates: "Next, it is the object of this offering that his father and mother in the plain may long continue to announce themselves to be in health and security, and for them are desired the same blessings as for their son and his bride." I would suggest the following: "Next, I pray that my father and mother, living in the capital, may long retain their health and happiness, and that my wife and son, who are living here, may also share in the blessings (that may result from this donation)." M. Pelliot is right in making 報 = 保.

p. 188, Chinese text, l. 2: The second character is 宅. Mr. Waley translates 闔宅清吉 "May the whole house be clean and happy". The meaning is rather: "May the whole family enjoy unsullied good fortune."

p. 192, No. CCXXXI: This fragment of a treatise on divination is part of a long roll (S. 3326) in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS. The subject is not meteorology, as here stated, but the interpretation of vapours or emanations rising from the ground. Here is an example: "Whenever in a man's house or garden there is a vapour in the shape of a wolf or tiger, prancing or squatting on the ground, one of the sons will become a general, or be created a duke or marquis, in less than three years' time." Mr. Waley compares Taoist Canon, No. 283 (contained in vol. cxxxvi of the Shanghai 1923 edition), which Wieger calls "Traité de météorologie"; but the two treatises have nothing at all in common.

p. 195, l. 3: 先應禮敬 does not mean "and then submit and do obeisance", but "he must first make respectful obeisance". ll. 4 and 5: The three characters in brackets need not have been so treated, for they are all quite plainly written. 離染性 is rather "escape from his own tainted nature" than "put away all turbid emotions".

p. 196: For "a million times" read "ten million times" (一十萬遍). No. CCXXXIV, which has been omitted, is a duplicate of No. CCXXXIII, with the addition of a little colour.

p. 197, l. 11: For 略 read 略. (2): "To propagate and encourage interest, offering, acceptance, and faith" is a thoroughly bad translation of 普勸志心供養受持, and another version on p. 201 (where the last two characters are omitted and 至 takes the place of 志) is hardly better: "Dedicated in earnest desire for the propagation

and encouragement (of the Faith). 受持 (literally, to receive and hold) does not refer to the faith but to the donation, and 志心 (steadfast heart) does not go with 供養, but is the direct object of 勸. My translation, then, would be: "Dedicated as an enduring possession for the universal encouragement of steadfastness in the Faith." Main inscription, ll. 1-5: 天人相 surely means "the marks of a celestial being", not "the marks of a *deva* or man".

p. 198, l. 8: Delete "inhabiting".

p. 199: There is a muddle in the numbering here. No. CCXLI has been exchanged as a duplicate, being the same as Nos. CCXLII and CCXLIII, which are omitted altogether. No. CCXLIV, which also does not appear in the Catalogue, contains nine prints of Avalokiteśvara, with the following inscription: *Right*: 歸義軍節度使檢校太傅曹元忠造 "made to the order of Ts'ao Yüan-chung, Governor of the military district of Kuei-i and additional Grand Preceptor". *Left*: 大慈大悲救苦觀世音菩薩 "The Great Merciful Great Compassionate Rescuer from suffering, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara". Main inscription, l. 1: For 瓜 read 瓜. l. 2: 處置 . . . 使. left untranslated by Mr. Waley, was a kind of Legal Commissioner.

p. 200, l. 5: "The workman Lei Yen-mei" appears twice again in the printed documents of the Stein Collection: in P. 9, also dated 4th Aug., 947, he is called simply 匠人, as here; but in P. 11, dated 天福十五年己酉, which may be either 14th June, 949, or 3rd June, 950, he has been promoted to the rank of 彫板押衙 "Superintendent of Block-engraving". Note 1: The reference to the Sung History concerning Ts'ao Yüan-chung is wrongly given as ch. 49, fol. 96. It should be ch. 490, fol. 15 v° (in the British Museum edition). As to the date of his accession, we know that it must have been between 940 and 942, though he was not accorded the title of *chieh-tu-shih* until 955.

p. 201, main inscription, l. 7: For 齧 read 齡. l. 8: The second character should be 死.

p. 202, main inscription, l. 2: 楊洞芋 Yang Tung-ch'ien was the author of a history of Kua-chou and Sha-chou of which only a prefatory note and five columns at the beginning are preserved in S. 5693 (not S. 5193 as stated here in the footnote). M. Pelliot throws doubt on the character 芋, but it is clearly so written in both places, though there is just a possibility of its being *kan*. 芋 No. CCXLVII, l. 3: For 舍 read 舍. Note 3: The character in question is certainly

a shortened form of 葛, commonly used in archaic texts of the fifth century.

p. 203, l. 4: 並願同登眞常妙果 is not well translated "and desire all of them together to ascend to pure, firm, lovely effects". Bearing in mind the original meaning of 果, I would suggest rather: "and pray that all of them together may attain the truly permanent, wonderful fruit (of Arhatship)."

p. 204: The fourth of the Eight Emblems is not written 釗, as Mr. Waley has it, but 釗, which K'ang Hsi tells us is only another form of 刀. Donor: Before 知順 insert 李 (Li Chih-shun).

p. 205, Chinese text, l. 6: For 乎 read 平. l. 7: After 二十 insert 五. Main inscription: For "bring success" read "achieve success" (得勝).

p. 206: "Prosperity and virtues" is not quite the meaning of 福德. The phrase is nearly equivalent to 功德 "stock of merit"—to be acquired by the use of this dharani or spell. 太平興國五年六月二十五日雕板畢手記: This concluding note has been badly bungled by Mr. Waley. He omits the second 五 and translates: "T'ai Ping Hsing Kuo 5th year, 6th month, 10th day this hand-record was ready to be engraved on wood (July 24, 980)." It should be: "On the 25th day of the 6th moon of the 5th year of T'ai-p'ing Hsing-kuo [8th August, 980] the engraving of this block was completed. Personally recorded."

p. 210, l. 7: For "Wu-fên-lu" read "Wu-fên-lü". l. 14: For "pressed the palms of their hands together" (撫掌) read "clapped their hands". In the story as recounted here, the laugh appears to be against the poor nun; but in the sequel the Elder is severely reprimanded by Buddha for his disgraceful practical joke. See 大藏經, ed. Takakusu, vol. xxii, p. 48 *ad init.*

Part II, beginning on p. 213, describes the paintings which have been allotted to the Museum at Delhi. They are no longer in this country, and the transcriptions are therefore not always verifiable.

p. 214, note 1: The two characters are almost certainly 堅護 (literally "strong protection").

p. 218, l. 4: For "Vaiśravaṇa" read "Vaiśravaṇa's".

p. 237, third line from bottom: Allowing that *i-mao* is A.D. 955, the 20th day of the 10th moon would be not the 11th but the 6th December.

p. 245: The character 宅 is not *T'o* but *Chai*. But probably it is a misprint for 宅.

p. 248 : For "mohter" read "mother". Chinese text, ll. 3-4 : 法界羣生同霑斯福 "May all living things in the realms of Dharma be equally wetted with (the dew of) this good fortune". Such a rendering shows a misconception of the purpose of these temple offerings, namely to acquire merit and thus create a stock of happiness on which all may draw. The meaning then is : "May all sentient beings share in the blessings which will flow from the merit acquired by this pious donation." In Buddhism everything is strictly regulated by the law of causality : a pious act will automatically produce a certain quantity of "merit", which again will result in a certain stock of "happiness". There is no question of "good fortune" at all.

p. 261, Chinese text, l. 1 : The date is 11th March, 890. Last line : 同心勘校. For "joins in this act of piety" read "collated and revised (the MS.) in the same spirit of piety".

p. 262 (2) : For 顛 read 賴.

p. 268, Chinese text, l. 2 : 飭 should evidently be 飾. For 膽 read 瞻. In the next line, for "Maghada" read "Magadha". Note 2 : The second word should be Yü.

p. 277 : For "XXVII.004" read "Ch. xxvii.004".

p. 279 : For "Five-headed" read "Fire-headed" (火頭).

p. 286, note 1 : The seventh moon of the second year of Ch'ien-yu (949) began on the 28th July, not June.

p. 291 (1) : For "third" read "thick" (darkness).

p. 298 (5) : For "Mandgalyāyana" read "Māudgalyāyana". The same misprint is twice repeated on p. 301 and once on p. 307.

p. 315, l. 3 : 鄧 "Têng" is the surname of the camel-man and his wife which Mr. Waley was unable to decipher. And the name of the second daughter is not Ch'ang-chin but 長延 Ch'ang-yen. l. 7 : 近日尊身何似 means "How has your health been keeping lately?" Mr. Waley wrongly reads the second character 日 and translates : "We now say : How is your honourable health?" l. 8 : 遠城望也 does not mean "We look longingly towards the City", but "Such is our hope in this far-off city (i.e. Tunhuang)". After the first two paragraphs, the translation of the letter becomes almost purely conjectural, and was hardly worth attempting. l. 16 : For "confort" read "comfort".

p. 316, ll. 9 and 11 : For "Li Chē-li" read "Li Shē-li". The character before Hsing-tē is again 鄧 Têng. Text of LXXVII, l. 2 : The date is 31st May, 966. l. 8 : 避炎天宰煞之惡 is translated

by Mr. Waley "to avoid the pain of the Fiery Lord and of Heaven's importunities"—whatever he may mean by that. Literally the sentence runs: "In order to avoid the evil of the killing (quality) of the fiery sky," i.e. the discomforts of the hot weather. Note 1: For 撿按太帥 read 檢校太師.

p. 317, l. 16: For "delapidation" read "dilapidation". l. 18: "To the General Controller of the Clergy, to the Great Teachers (Ta-shih) . . ." These words cannot be divided up thus. As on p. 319, l. 8, they must represent the title of a single dignitary of the Buddhist Church, corresponding more or less to our "bishop".

p. 318, l. 12: For "Epidridum" read "Epidendrum". ll. 17-21: "In spring may the silkworms successfully mature; in summer may the fields (?) 麥 (?) be fertile that mounting to the Eastern Bank we may gather from far and wide an abundant harvest in a thousand baskets. On the southern plantations may we get increase from ten thousand ridges (?)." The Chinese text, as I should read and punctuate it, runs as follows: 春蠶善熟。夏麥豐登。東臯廣積於千箱。南畝倍收於萬百升。 The character tentatively written 麥 and translated "fields" by Mr. Waley is really 麥 "wheat". The stop should come after 登, otherwise the balance of the sentence is destroyed. 東臯 is a stock phrase for which see *P'ei wên yün fu*, xix, 48. 臯 here means flooded fields (水田), and 東 conveys the idea of spring. In 千箱 and 南畝 there is an evident reminiscence of Odes II, 6, vii, 4. The last character is an unrecognized form of 升 *shêng* "pint measure", or it may possibly denote a measure of 100 *shêng*. My translation would therefore be: "In spring, may the silkworms successfully mature; in summer, may the wheat spring up in abundance. May the produce of the eastern fields be heaped up into a thousand carts; may the south-lying acres yield a double harvest of ten thousand measures." l. 23: "May the wise and holy add to their secret power, and (since the sacred dragon cannot be kept) may they eventually fly away into the sky." This cannot be right. The Chinese is 賢聖加威龍神何護然後空飛. Perhaps 何 is a mistake for 可 or 合 or some other character; but the meaning in any case seems to be: "May our wise and holy Prince put forth his majestic power, and may his Dragon spirit lend us his protection before he flies up into heaven." Fourth line from bottom: For "months" read "month". Note 3: The "Palace of Divine Herbs" refers to the lady's earthly abode, not to any "Taoist paradise".

p. 319, l. 13: For "twenty-eight" read "twenty". The MS. referred to at the bottom of the page is S. 5973.

The index is not as full as it might be. Some important names, such as Śuddhodana, Lü Ling, and Māyā, do not appear at all, while others are only partially indexed. Ts'ao Yüan-chung is not missing altogether, as M. Pelliot says, but is slightly out of place.

LIONEL GILES.

THE GEORGE EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION CATALOGUE OF THE CHINESE AND COREAN BRONZES, SCULPTURE, JADES, JEWELLERY, AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS. By W. PERCEVAL YETTS. Vol. III. Buddhist Sculpture. 17 in. × 12½ in., pp. viii + 93, plates lxxv. London: Ernest Benn, 1932. £12 12s.

This magnificent work is produced in the same luxurious style as the earlier volumes in the same series with wonderful illustrations in colotype and colour reproduction. According to the Preface, it deals "with works in stone, bronze, iron, wood, lacquer, and stucco made during a period of more than a thousand years. Though only three bear inscriptions which give exact particulars, most of the others may be placed with little hesitation in their proper setting". The bulk of the material is formed by the stone sculptures; at the side of these, the others are of comparatively minor importance. The catalogue proper is, however, preceded by an Introduction devoted to "a historical sketch of early iconographic practice in China", and in order to make a solid foundation for this study the author gives a very substantial account of the beginnings of Buddhist religion in China. It is based on all the best sources available in European languages, and offers thus a mass of valuable information concerning this vast problem.

The sources concerning the vicissitudes of the Buddhist religion in China are as a matter of fact much more abundant than the records about the early sculptures which must have existed already in the third and fourth centuries. According to a text quoted by Omura from *Hou Han shu*, the Emperor Hsien Ti (190-220) ordered the construction of Buddhist temples and their decoration with gilded statues, and there are also said to have existed other Buddhist statues draped in garments of cloth or silk. All these have perished, and we have nowadays no Buddhist statues in China which can be dated with certainty before the beginning of the fifth century. The great

efflorescence of Buddhist art seems to have set in about the middle of the fifth century, right after the serious persecution of the foreign religion in 446-7, coinciding with the rapidly growing power of the Northern Wei dynasty in northern China. This dynasty has thus been credited with the greatest merit for the propagation of Buddhist sculpture but, as the author rightly points out, it should not make us forget that there were other centres of Buddhist art and religion, particularly in southern China. The sculptures made here have, however, perished with few exceptions, and if we want to form some idea about the style of the South in contradistinction to that of the North (usually named after the Northern Wei dynasty) we must have recourse to more or less plausible hypotheses, one of which I advanced in my book on Chinese Sculpture (p. xxxiv). It may be, however, that the style of the South did not differ so very much from that of the sculptures produced within the territory of the Northern Wei dynasty. The principles of style were always in China—even at periods when the country was divided between contending States—rather homogeneous; they prevailed as the general characteristics of the artistic products in spite of many local and individual differences. This is particularly noticeable in the sculptural works which were largely executed by craftsmen who kept strictly within the limits of the prevailing style, and it is one of the reasons why Chinese sculptures can be dated with comparative accuracy.

The historical account of Buddhism in China is not continued beyond the fifth century, which to me seems a matter of regret. The later vicissitudes of this religion in the Far East were of no less importance for the production of sculpture, and the collection contains many interesting specimens of later periods. The author found it, however, more important to devote the latter half of his Introduction to a discussion of Buddhist scriptures, which have been of some consequence for the production of sculpture, and to questions of iconography. He emphasizes with good reason the particular importance in this respect of the *Lotus sūtra* and the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*, the two scriptures which inspired the most frequent motives in Chinese sculpture of the fifth and sixth centuries. This is also verified by the inscription on one of the main monuments of the collection, the stele of 520, which illustrates most graphically certain motives borrowed from the above-mentioned *sūtras*. The great fondness of the Chinese for the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* the author explains by pointing out that it is "packed with trenchant argument,

enlivened with dramatic and imaginative episodes and free from those repetitions which render so many *sūtras* wearisome", but one may well wonder if there was not some other special reason for this predilection. Vimalakīrti became, as a matter of fact, one of the most popular motives of Buddhist art in China, represented not only in sculpture but also by the great painters of the T'ang and Sung periods, who regarded him as an ideal of purity and wisdom. To some of them he became almost like a patron saint.

The motives based on the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* have the advantage of being easily recognizable, there can be no hesitation as to their identity, which unfortunately cannot be said about some of the other frequently occurring Buddhist motives. Thus, for instance, the most common of all the Buddhas, represented in standing position with hands in *abhaya* and *vara mudrā*, may be either Śākyamuni, Maitreya, or (more rarely) Dīpaṅkara. When the sculpture has no inscription, it is often impossible to tell with certainty whether the figure is intended to represent Śākyamuni or Maitreya. Circumstantial evidence, the accompanying Bodhisattvas, and the like, may help us to decide in favour of the one or the other of these two Buddhas, but when the figure is isolated, there is no mark of distinction between the two. The same difficulty of definition applies to the representations of the "Meditating Bodhisattva", which may be either Maitreya or Prince Siddhārtha before his enlightenment as a Buddha. I pointed out this difficulty in my somewhat scanty iconographic remarks (*Chinese Sculpture*, p. cxiii): "If he is not Maitreya, he must be explained as the future Śākyamuni in the state of a Bodhisattva," and in spite of the special studies that have been devoted to this subject during the intervening years, the author is still obliged to admit practically the same thing. This, I think, may serve to show how little the Chinese cared about iconographic distinctions, how far removed they were from the Indian attitude towards the Buddhist motives, and how futile it is, in many cases, to argue about the name of their Buddhas. The men who made the majority of the Buddhist sculptures in China were evidently not very well versed in the scriptures; they were less concerned with the intellectual meaning of the figures than with their shapes and their conformity with certain principles of style. Iconographic considerations offer a very insufficient support for the historical classification and dating of the Chinese sculptures, a fact of which we are reminded several times in reading through the catalogue.

It would require too much space to dwell here on all the points of iconography brought up by the author in this very valuable and learned introduction; the subject is a vast and difficult one, or as the author says in regard to the Dvārapāla motive, it "is too large a theme to be investigated here". A few remarks about this important motive would, however, have been welcome; its origin in Indian art has been demonstrated by Foucher, and I have ventured some remarks about its development in China, which would require to be completed (*A History of Early Chinese Art*, vol. iii, p. 51). The introduction closes with a translation of the well-known list of the statues which Hsüan-tsang brought back from India and quotations from his *Life* in which these statues are further described.

Proceeding to a closer study of the Catalogue proper, it may not be necessary to dwell on the iconographic descriptions, which complete and illustrate the more general remarks in the Introduction. I will mainly consider the objects from a stylistic and historical point of view and add a few suggestions as to their dates, though my remarks must necessarily be very short. The two stelae which are provided with inscriptions indicating the years of their execution (520 and 535 respectively) and the places of their origin, need thus hardly detain us. They are both examples of the somewhat rustic type of Buddhist sculpture executed in southern Shansi at the beginning of the sixth century.

C 9-10 represents an attractive little Bodhisattva seated in the Maitreya posture with crossed ankles; the lions at the sides and the large halo, which formed a background, are partly broken. Similar figures among the early cave sculptures are not uncommon, and on the ground of this correspondence, the author dates the figure to "the latter half of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth". It should, however, be recalled that a figure in exactly the same posture and *mudrā* (though with the marks of a Buddha) is represented on a stele in the Prince Li Museum in Seoul, and dated 578: which tends to show that the iconographic considerations do not offer sufficient ground for establishing an exact date. More important in this respect is the peculiar mannerism in the treatment of the mantle folds which is the same in these two sculptures. The Corean piece gives us also an idea of the original shape of the broken halo, though the decoration has been different. I do not think that the two monuments are quite contemporary, but the above observations together with the facial type of the Bodhisattva make me believe that it

cannot have been executed before the middle of the sixth century, i.e. at the end of the Eastern Wei or the beginning of the Northern Ch'i dynasty.

C 21-23, a standing Bodhisattva of remarkable sculptural refinement, I have previously placed in the Northern Chou period (557-581) and expressed the supposition that the figure originally had a circular halo. The author dates it "not long before or after the beginning of the seventh century" and remarks that it shows no traces of a halo. It is probably difficult to ascertain to what extent such traces may have been obliterated; I am not able to express an opinion on this point without a renewed examination of the statue, but as all the corresponding statues have a circular halo, it seems unlikely that this did not have one, if it was not placed in a group of three figures against the background of a large nimbus (which seems less probable). In regard to the more important question as to its date of execution, I feel no hesitation: the general character of the figure, the way the garment is cut and the facial type (which is not very far removed from that of the above-mentioned seated Bodhisattva) point to the third quarter of the sixth century; the most probable date would be about 560-70. Whether it was executed in the territory of the Northern Chou or in that of the Northern Ch'i State, is more difficult to tell, because the stone material is in this instance not particularly characteristic; I placed it in the Shensi group because of similarities with other figures which come from that part of the country.

C 24-25, a standing Kuan-yin, is correctly placed in the Sui period. It belongs to the same group of statues as those reproduced on plates 312 and 314-316 in *Chinese Sculpture*, though the figure is of uncommonly clumsy proportions.

C 26-27, a seated Buddha accompanied by two Bodhisattvas, is reproduced on pl. 276a in *Chinese Sculpture*, and described among the later works of the Northern Chou dynasty, which would make its date about 570-80. The author prefers the K'ai-huang era of the Sui dynasty (581-601) and draws attention to two minute reproductions in Omura's work which are hardly sufficient for establishing the date. The divergence is, however, too slight to be discussed here, but it might have been worth while to point out that this unpretentious little group is made of the yellowish serpentinous limestone, which makes it possible to place it among the sculptures from Shensi.

C 28-33, a four-sided stele decorated with a number of Buddhas

and Bodhisattvas in deeply-hollowed niches, seems to have been the cause of some perplexity and hesitation. The author draws attention to points of iconographic and stylistic resemblance in works from many periods (ranging from the Northern Wei to the T'ang), but winds up with the statement: "The problem is to decide whether the piece actually dates from about the seventh century or is an archaistic work belonging to a later period." The answer is not very reassuring: "A tentative attribution to the latter part of the sixth or to the seventh century seems reasonable." According to my experience of Chinese sculpture, old and modern, there is not the slightest reason to throw any doubt on this monument or to express hesitation as to its date. It is a characteristic example of the Northern Ch'i period, executed about 575, the date inscribed on a stele in the University Museum in Philadelphia, with which it shows the closest stylistic correspondences (see *Eastern Art*, vol. iii), not to mention several minor works of the same period which exhibit the same elements of style and decoration.

C 34-36, a large standing Buddha, without head, hands, and feet, draped in a closely fitting mantle with ridged folds. The information supplied by Mr. Walter Weinberger, who acquired the figure at its place of discovery, that it was excavated at the Hsiu-tê pagoda in Ch'ü-yang, is perfectly correct. I have had occasion to investigate the spot, and we have good reason to presume that it originally stood in a temple at that place which is now destroyed. "This work of Chinese genius . . . proclaims the mason to have been also an artist—a combination rarely displayed in Chinese Buddhist sculpture." The first part of the statement may be accepted with some reserve, but the latter part would, no doubt, be denied by all who have had occasion to study the sculptural decorations of the numerous Buddhist cave temples in China, such as Yün-kang, Lung-mên, T'ien-lung-shan, Yün-mên, T'o-shan, and several others, which until some decade ago (when the wholesale destruction of these places took a new impetus) contained an abundance of religious sculpture of the very highest order. Illustrations or photographs, often taken under adverse circumstances, can never give an idea of the beauty and significance of this art which marked one of the summits of religious sculpture in the world.

The statue is placed by the author in a comparatively late period; he calls it "Sung or earlier", which reasonably may be interpreted as Sung or the preceding epoch of the Five Dynasties, leaving it to the

reader to date it more definitely within this range of some 300 years (c. 900–1200).

The author may have been led astray by circumstantial and iconographic considerations. If criteria of style are taken into account, it becomes evident, beyond doubt, that the great statue is at least 300 years earlier, i.e. a characteristic specimen of the K'ai-huang era of the Sui dynasty (581–601). As I have pointed out in my various writings on Chinese sculpture, the unfailing evidence for the dating is offered by the stylization of the mantle folds and hems, which here (as in most specimens of early sculpture) is carried out in strict accordance with the prevailing style of the period.

C 37–40, “a large balustrade in white marble,” or rather, the frontal of a platform for a Buddhist statue. It is assigned “to the latter part of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh”. If this somewhat inclusive dating is taken to indicate not only the Sui dynasty (581–619) but also the Northern Ch'i (550–581), it includes the correct date, which is about 560–570. This is proved by a comparison with the sculptured pedestals or platforms under the votive stelae in the Museum in Cologne and in the Hara collection at Sannotani, the latter being provided with a dated inscription of the year 569. The frontal as well as the two stelae and a number of similar minor sculptures are typical specimens of the workshops at Ting-chou, Ch'ü-yang, and neighbouring places in the Northern Ch'i period.

C 41–44, an octagonal piece decorated with four *yakṣas* (or *Lokapālas*) and four lions in niches, which has formed one of the lowest sections of a so-called *sūtra* pillar or *ch'uang*. Dated: “probably about the tenth century”. It is another characteristic specimen of the Ch'ü-yang workshops, though of a comparatively advanced period; in fact, it is one of the rare instances when the date proposed by the author seems to me too early. There are a number of similar pieces still standing or lying about in a more or less dilapidated condition in Ch'ü-yang and the neighbouring villages, though unfortunately without dates. Complete pillars of the type in question are to be seen at Fêng-ch'ung ssü in Hsing-t'ang and at Lung-hsing ssü in Chêng-ting-fu; the former is dated 1014 and the latter 1180, and they both contain lion bases similar to the above-mentioned piece. The fashion seems to have survived during a comparatively long period. The pillar of which the above-mentioned piece formed part was evidently not one of the earliest, but it may well have been executed in the eleventh century.

C 101-103 offer the reproductions of another section of such an octagonal "sūtra pillar", decorated with eight musicians seated in niches which are framed by banded pillars. It is dated "Sung or later". The style of the draperies and the architectural elements are here, however, considerably earlier. Pillars of this peculiar type are found on monuments of the Sui and T'ang periods (for instance, at Yü-han-shan, c. 585, and at Shên-t'ung-ssü, 657), and the drapery-like arches ending in volutes are still of T'ang design. The most probable date for this fragment would thus be, according to my knowledge, about the middle of the T'ang period. It is certainly earlier than the previously mentioned piece.

C 45-50 is the large lunette-shaped door lintel with a Buddhist Paradise executed in quite low relief and engraved design, which now is difficult to see, as it has been eaten away by the wear of weather and wind. The proposed date, "probably about the seventh century," appears to me too late. The author points out the resemblance between this lunette and two large reliefs in the Freer Gallery (one of them likewise representing a Paradise), and I think this correspondence, which includes essential features of style, is sufficient ground to consider the two monuments of approximately the same period. The reliefs in the Freer Gallery, which are executed in higher relief and less corroded, conform to the style of the Northern Ch'i dynasty: the lunette cannot be much later—it seems to have been executed at the end of this same period.

The following numbers in the Catalogue are allotted to several small bronze statuettes of slight importance, which hardly call for comment, and to two wooden statues to which we will return presently after we have studied the sculptures in stone and iron.

C 86-87, a Bodhisattva head in yellowish veined stone (called popularly *yü-shih* in China). The author says: "This interesting head may be archaistic, or the product of a poor craftsman: date doubtful," and leaves it to the reader to form a more definite idea about it. I have never examined the original, but venture to suggest, on the ground of the excellent reproduction, that it is a thing made in quite recent years.

C 88-89, a large Buddha head in cast iron with traces of colour and gilding. According to the author, "a definite date can hardly be assigned to it: the type is a late one which continued for many centuries." This sweeping statement seems rather surprising, since the author himself has observed the resemblance between this head

and those of some of the iron statues in the temple on Shih-pi-shan in Shansi, reproduced by Tokiwa and Sekino (Vol. III, 4). The Japanese authorities do not assign any definite date to these statues, but they inform us that the temple, according to an inscription on a tablet, was founded in 823. Those who have visited this most picturesquely situated temple at the bottom of a high mountain gorge, will have observed that the iron statues in the Ch'ien-fo hall are of various periods: the later ones are certainly not made before the Ming period, while the earlier may go back to the end of T'ang or the beginning of the Sung period. Their comparatively early date becomes evident in the noble shapes, the subtle treatment of the mantle folds and also in the facial types. They may still be of the ninth century, though it is difficult to ascertain, because dated specimens of this century are extremely rare. It may at least be said that their stylistic criteria do not contradict such a supposition. The head in the Eumorfopoulos collection belongs to the same early group; it may be from the end of the ninth century—it is certainly not later than early Sung.

The same head has caused a learned dissertation about the earlobes, the coiffure, and the *uṣṇīṣa* of Buddha. Without entering into the details of this discussion, I would venture to suggest that the bulbous *uṣṇīṣa* (here somewhat broken) has been formed after the traditional shape of the sacred jewel, *cintāmaṇi*, the symbol of spiritual enlightenment, which in earlier sculptures often was placed at the feet of Buddha, but here seems transferred to his head.

C 90-91, a Buddha head in more than life size, executed in white marble; said to be "probably Sung or later". The rather definite stylistic features of the head, the type, the treatment of the eyes, and particularly the ridged eyebrows, afford sufficient reason to date it three or four hundred years earlier. It is altogether a typical specimen of the Sui period, probably of the K'ai-huang era (581-601).

C 92-93, a monk's head, is correctly compared and coupled in date with a similar head in the National Museum in Stockholm. The author might safely also have followed my indication as to the provenience, i.e. the province of Honan. These heads belong to the class of T'ang sculpture which was made either at Lung-mên or in workshops radiating from this great centre of sculptural activity.

C 94-95, two Bodhisattva heads, made of compressed clay and mud (*ni*) coated with a kind of gesso and pigments. They "are said to come from beyond the frontiers of China proper" and catalogued as of "doubtful date". The legendary indication as to the origin

of these heads may have been the cause of the somewhat surprising observation that they "manifest Hellenistic tradition". Similar heads made in mud and clay have been exported in dozens from the province of Shansi, and there are still many figures of the same type and material in situ. The most important ensemble of such statues may be seen in Hsia Hua-yin-ssü in Ta-t'ung-fu, and they were most probably made in connection with the restoration of the temple in 1140 or shortly after. Reproductions of some of them are included in *Études d'Orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier* (1932), and I may particularly draw attention to the figure reproduced on plate lxiii which shows the same type as the head C 95. There can be little doubt as to their unity of date and origin.

C 96, a small representation of Buddha's *Parinirvāṇa*, said to be "probably of the eighteenth century". The sculpture is evidently of little consequence, but to judge by the reproduction, it can hardly be later than Sung.

C 97-98, a seated Buddha in dry-lacquer with traces of pigment, dated "Ming or earlier". The rather free naturalistic treatment of the mantle as well as the type point, in fact, to the Yüan dynasty.

C 99-100, a small seated Bodhisattva of rather unusual type, executed in grey sandy stone with traces of paint. When publishing this attractive figure nine years ago (*Chinese Sculpture*, pl. 566) I placed it in the Sung period, a dating which the author accepts, adding, of course: "or later." The scanty material of stone sculpture remaining from this period makes it difficult to arrive at a more definite date, but among the sculptures known to me, I would refer to the figures executed in relief on one of the small pagodas at the side of the so-called *Nan ta* or South Pagoda on Fan-shan in Chihli, which was erected in 1117 during the reign of the Liao dynasty. This is probably also the approximate date of the Bodhisattva statue.

C 114, a Bodhisattva head, is the last stone sculpture in the catalogue. It is dated "Ming or later", but the type and style of the head are quite characteristic of the Sung or Chin period. It may be compared with the clay heads mentioned above, and should be dated to about the same period, i.e. the middle of the twelfth century.

The collection includes also half a dozen wooden figures which might invite to a more detailed discussion than can find place here. The material of wooden statues from China has in late years grown very abundant; I made a beginning in the sifting of it in an article

in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1927, but only a minor part of the material could there be taken into consideration, and the treatment is thus quite incomplete. I may, however, refer to this article for the dating of two of the statues in the Eumorfopoulos collection; they are there placed in certain stylistic groups together with similar figures. C 82-85, a Kuanyin Bodhisattva in the *mahārājalīlā* posture, which in the catalogue is dated to the "thirteenth century or later", is, according to my chronology, a work of the latter part of the twelfth century, while C 77-78, a seated Bodhisattva, which is dated in the catalogue to the "fourteenth century or later", belongs to a series of figures which probably were executed in the early part of the thirteenth century, though the type survived later.

C 106-107, a standing Kuanyin, "perhaps an archaistic product; date doubtful." As this same expression is applied to several sculptures of widely diverging dates and merits, it is difficult to say just what it may imply. If it is intended to throw a doubt on the object, it is properly used in the present case, because the figure is obviously a quite modern work. C 108-109 is, I should think, correctly classified as a work of the Ming period, but the two smaller "Bodhisattvas" described under C 112-113 as "Ming or earlier", are fairly crude but powerful representatives of the kind of wood sculpture which was produced in northern China (particularly in Shansi) towards the end of the twelfth century. They belong to a series of four Bodhisattvas (two standing and two kneeling) which evidently were arranged at the sides of a larger central statue. The two corresponding figures of this group are preserved in the Museum in Boston, and if the information offered by the firm which imported these statues is correct, the central figure would have been the large Kuanyin in *mahārājalīlā* posture, now in the Art Institute in Chicago. The small figures would thus be acolytes of Kuanyin in the attire of Bodhisattvas, an interpretation which is quite possible.

Of the three clay reliefs included in the catalogue one (C 73) is evidently a fine work in early Tang style, though somewhat damaged, whereas the two others would require a closer study before I can express any opinion about them.

The volume as a whole is an admirable production, which nobody interested in Chinese sculpture should pass over without careful study. It contains, as said before, much valuable information, historical as well as iconographic, which cannot be affected or belittled by the comments that I have attached to the classification of some of

the items. I ventured to offer them in the interest of the very important material, and to further the study of Buddhist sculpture in China.

OSVALD SIRÉN.

CONFUCIUS AND CONFUCIANISM. By RICHARD WILHELM. Translated into English by G. F. and A. P. DANTON. pp. x + 181. Kegan Paul, 1931. 6s.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF CONFUCIANISM. By LEONARD SHIHLIEN HSÜ. pp. xxii + 257. Routledge, 1932. 12s. 6d.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE CULT OF CONFUCIUS. By JOHN K. SHRYOCK. pp. xiii + 298. The American Historical Association (The Century Co.). New York, London, 1932. 18s.

MENCIUS. Translated by L. A. LYALL. pp. xxviii + 277. Longmans, 1932. 12s. 6d.

The abandoning of the Confucian cult and the Confucian ideal by modern China appears to have resulted in a new and detached view of the sage and his teachings, and the present group of books, widely different as they are, have this in common.

The late Dr. Wilhelm, whose death at the time when he was in process of developing a School of Chinese Studies at the University of Frankfort-on-the-Main is a great loss to sinology, has given the student of the Confucian classics an excellent and concise guide to the life and teaching of the sage. The book includes a translation of the biography of Confucius in Ssü-ma Ch'ien's *Shih-chi* as well as a critical examination of the data on which the life was based, and should find a place among those constantly referred to by all students of the pre-Confucian books and those of the Confucian school itself.

Dr. Hsü's aim is to explain the social and political psychology of the Chinese people in relation to their social and political development and to furnish some new points of view in political philosophy. His discussion of the sources of Confucian political philosophy and their reliability forms a useful introduction to the student of textual criticism which, until recently, has been almost unknown in China. For the "average reader" referred to in the Foreword, Professor Hsü's constant use of the Chinese terms for words which have a generally accepted equivalent in English (*li* and *yüeh*, for example, might quite satisfactorily be translated "ceremonies" and "music", in many

if not all instances) is to be regretted. Some inaccuracies of phrase are surprising, as for instance the statement on p. 103 that *li* [*sic!*] "provides a foundation for crime and lawsuits". Dr. Hsü is, none the less, to be congratulated upon his interpretation of the social and political theories of Confucianism. Their influence on China for twenty-five centuries will be less surprising to the reader of his book than their wholesale rejection at the present juncture when China is seeking a democratic and virtuous government.

From the theories of the Confucian school, we turn to the Confucian cult as practised in China from the second century B.C. till modern times. The worship of the sage was not in the nature of an innovation. It was an outcome of the old ancestor-worship, and spread from the family of Confucius to the emperor and to the whole Chinese people. Only at certain periods was he regarded as a god, and since he himself refrained in his teachings from any discussion of spiritual beings, this phase can only be accounted for by the extending of the cult to the uninitiated. He was at other times rather the patron saint of scholars and officials, a great man and the ideal gentleman. Dr. Shryock's study, though it does not pretend to exhaust the material, carries us far beyond anything that has been done previously and opens the way for further investigation of the available sources.

Whether or not the reader will enjoy Mr. Lyall's new rendering of Mencius must depend upon his preference for things ancient or modern. The present writer confesses to visualizing a Chinese Henry Ford on reading of a "land of ten thousand cars", but for the general reader, Mr. Lyall is doubtless more readable than the rather stilted text of Legge. A new translation should make the old clearer, and it may be questioned whether the attempt to use a single English equivalent for a specific Chinese term conduces to this end. One great advantage of the present version of Mencius is that the form in which it is presented makes it attractive to a wider public than the earlier, annotated versions, intended primarily for students and sinologists.

E. EDWARDS.

EIN BEITRAG ZUR KENNTNIS DER CHINESISCHEN PHILOSOPHIE: T'ung-shū des Čeū-tsi mit Čū-hī's Commentar nach dem Sing-li Tsing-í. Chinesisch mit mandschuischer und deutscher Übersetzung und Anmerkungen. Herausgegeben von WILHELM GRUBE: Kap. 1-20: fortgeführt und beendet von WERNER EICHHORN: Kap. 21-40. 9½ x 6½. pp. xvi + 173. Leipzig, 1932.

We have in this volume the continuation and completion of a work published more than half a century ago. The *T'ung shu* is quite a short treatise, even with the commentary added, but it occupies an important position in the history of Chinese philosophy, for its aphorisms may almost be regarded as the foundation of the Sung school of Confucianism, culminating in the system of Chu Hsi. We have every reason, therefore, to be grateful to Herr Eichhorn for undertaking what usually proves to be rather a thankless task—the completion of another man's unfinished work. He has done it with great care and thoroughness, following the general lines laid down by his predecessor, but showing an even wider range of research if not of sinological knowledge. It was all the more unnecessary for him to make the following apology in his preface: "Trotz alledem, fürchte ich, werden sich für scharf eindringende Geister noch genügend Gelegenheiten finden, durch die strahlende Helligkeit ihrer überlegenen Sachkenntnis mein kleines Licht zu beschämen" (in spite of all this, I fear that plenty of opportunity will still be found for sharp and penetrating minds to put my little light to shame with the radiant splendour of their own superior knowledge). This sounds more sarcastic than sincere.

Herr Eichhorn tells us that his aim has been not to couch his translation in smooth-flowing language, but rather to give a faithful rendering, so far as in him lay, of the Chinese text. What he overlooks is that to a skilled translator a combination of the two ideals is, in some measure at least, by no means impossible. Fidelity need not necessarily mean cumbrousness: and much of the translation before us is distinctly cumbrous, besides being disfigured by the too frequent use of brackets. To take an example, 故孔子之教既不輕發又未嘗自言其道之蘊 is translated (p. 121): "Was daher die Lehre des Kung-tze angeht, so hat er, nachdem er (sie) schon (einmal) nicht in leichter Art und Weise offenbart hat, auch (anderseits) nicht einmal selbst die Tiefe seines Tao durch die Rede dargelegt." I think that "indem" should be substituted here for "nachdem", and that the sentence simply means: "Since Confucius' teaching was not lightly imparted, he did

not himself put into words the concentrated essence of his Tao." Another passage where the translator would have done well to imitate the terseness of the Chinese original runs as follows: 力而不競天也 "Having strength but striving not—such is the way of Heaven." Here he gives what is surely an indefensible rendering (p. 111): "Wenn man, nachdem man seine Kraft aufgewandt hat, doch nicht zum Erfolg gelangt, ist das (Schickung vom) Himmel" (if, after expending our strength, we still fail to attain success, that is the dispensation of Heaven).

It is a question whether the Manchu version, which is printed in romanized form in parallel columns with the German and takes up a good deal of space, need have been included at all. It may have proved of some use to the translators as a guide to the sense of difficult passages in the Chinese, but very few nowadays have even a bowing acquaintance with this moribund language.

An excellent Chinese index is supplied, but it takes one a little time to discover that it is arranged under the 214 radicals. Moreover, the references are to section and paragraph; as the sections are not marked so as to catch the eye very readily (except in Grube's portion of the book), page references would have been more convenient for the reader.

LIONEL GILES.

LES ORIGINES DE L'ASTRONOMIE CHINOISE. By LÉOPOLD DE SAUSSURE. 10 × 6½. pp. x + 598. Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1930. 150 francs.

Léopold de Saussure was born in 1866, and died in 1926. He came of a French Protestant family which had emigrated to Geneva prior to the repeal of the Edict of Nantes. Attracted to a life at sea, he regained the nationality of his forefathers and served in the French navy till he retired in 1899, with the rank of lieutenant. The last twenty years of his life were devoted mainly to the study of Chinese astronomy, when he turned to good account the knowledge of the stars and the Chinese language first gained during his naval service. His earliest article on this subject appeared in 1907, in the *Revue générale des Sciences*, under the title "L'Astronomie chinoise dans l'Antiquité", and this was followed by others in the same journal, the *Archives des Sciences physiques et naturelles*, *Journal asiatique*, *New*

China Review, and *T'oung Pao*. The majority, twelve in number, appeared in the last-named.

In this volume, all but one of the *T'oung Pao* articles are reproduced in photographic facsimile, only the pagination being changed so that the numbers run consecutively. It is a great convenience to have in handy form the most important of these scattered writings which have corrected many erroneous notions concerning Chinese astronomy. All sinological students must regret that the author did not live to fulfil his intention to revise and incorporate them in one work. M. Gabriel Ferrand contributes an illuminating preface in which he quotes a letter from de Saussure, written a month before he died, varying his earlier opinions on the problem of origin. Instead of the view that the Iranian system had been borrowed from China, he then stated belief in the converse at an early date—some 2,000 years B.C.

W. P. Y.

WIRTSCHAFT UND GESELLSCHAFT CHINAS. By K. A. WITTFOGEL.

Vol. I. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. pp. xxiv + 768 + map + 23 figs. Leipzig: Verlag von C. L. Hirschfeld, 1931.

This is the first of two volumes, and it deals with agricultural production and distribution. The second will treat these subjects in a more comprehensive manner and include a study of social and political institutions, a bibliography, and an index. The author states that he cannot claim to be a sinologist, nor does he appear to have had personal experience of conditions in China. Thus he is somewhat handicapped in having to form conclusions from second-hand evidence which is limited to writings in European languages. Many of these sources are not easily accessible, and the information is widely scattered. This systematic digest, collected with laborious thoroughness, provides a most useful compendium.

Herr Wittfogel, following the method of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, investigates the history of early agrarian communism, feudal life, and later social evolution in China. This involves a detailed study of natural conditions: geological, geographical, and climatic. At the time of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, Marx came to the conclusion that China, once drawn out of her isolation, would rapidly fall to pieces. He predicted, however, the strong resistance to change exerted by village pursuits, coupled with the system of small holdings,

even in face of modern industrial production. Powerful new factors in communication—by rail, motor, and air transport—have brought about fundamental changes which seem likely to upset many of his carefully reasoned arguments.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

THE GILDS OF CHINA. By H. B. MORSE. Second edition. Longmans Green and Co., 1932.

The first edition of this small volume was published so long ago as 1909. But though it has had to wait twenty-three years for its reprinting, that must be ascribed to the neglect of the public rather than to any other reason. It forms an admirable *résumé* of the customs regulating these private associations of Chinese merchants and artisans, and provides the reader with a clear conception of the methods governing their organization. We warmly welcome this new edition at the present time. We know of no other volume which illustrates better the basis of contemporary Chinese developments, which have been founded on the principles and methods of the secret society.

H. D.

LE SHINTŌ : RELIGION NATIONALE DU JAPON. Par GENCHI KATŌ. Publication de la Société Zaidan Hōjin Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai, traduite en français par la Maison Franco-Japonaise de Tōkyō. Annales du Musée Guimet : Bibliothèque de vulgarisation, Tome 50, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5, pp. 250, 5 pls. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1931. 36 francs.

The original of this book, *A Study of Shintō, the Religion of the Japanese Nation*, was published in 1926, and was briefly reviewed in vol. xxiv (1926 7) of the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*, London. To the same issue the author contributed an article entitled "An Outline Sketch of Shintō", which is practically a *résumé* of the present work.

With his wide and profound knowledge of world's religions, ancient and modern, Professor Katō has set forth "une étude sur l'origine et l'histoire du Shintōisme, d'un point de vue scientifique", the method employed being "strictement historique, en dehors de tout dogmatisme". Thus he finds in Shintō all conceivable forms of superstition and religious belief, such as Animatism, Animism,

Fetichism, Phallicism, Spiritism, Anthropolatry, Ancestor Worship, Totemism, Primitive Monotheism, and Polytheism.

However, it is a problem whether "les règles les plus strictes de la religion comparée", to use the author's expression, can be applied indiscriminately to all religions. In a country like Japan where various peoples immigrated, ultimately to build up the Japanese nation, diverse beliefs and religions, some primitive and others more advanced, would in all probability have been introduced and mingled before Shintō took its crudest shape, and hence it would seem unwise to conclude that "le Shintō s'est développé du polydémonisme au polythéisme dans le vrai sens du mot" (p. 75). All that is known to us is that both polydemonistic and polytheistic elements, as shown by the author with a wealth of citations, are found in the religious belief of the Japanese people of the eighth century A.D. The five reasons given by Professor Katō in support of his theory as to the existence of monotheistic element in primitive Shintō betray the partial diffusion alone, if not the entire absence, of such an element in Shintōism.

In a study of early Shintō, as in other problems concerning ancient Japan, the language offers considerable difficulty, affecting not a little the interpretation of the subject matter. Does the word *Hiruko* really mean "un jeune soleil, une étoile" and not "l'enfant sangsue"? Professor Katō adopts both interpretations to suit his argument (cf. pp. 22-3; 88). What is the real signification of *sagiri* in *Ame-no-sagiri* and *Kuni-no-sagiri*? Does it denote "boundary" as suggested by Motowori, or does it signify "brouillard" as translated by Professor Katō (p. 135)? Can we agree with the author in his opinion that "nous pouvons en toute sécurité conclure que l'ancienne conception japonaise de l'âme ou esprit est celle de souffle et que l'expression: mourir (*shimuru* pour *shi-inuru*) signifie: rendre son dernier souffle, l'âme quittant le corps" (p. 43)? If the ancient Japanese concept of the spirit or soul were that of breath, and if *tama* meant "spirit, soul" and *shi* (?) "breath", why were not these two words interchangeable in ancient Japanese? Besides, there is a greater possibility that the word *shimu* "to die" is not a compound, and that its fundamental meaning is "to become quiet", indicating the cessation of one's activity. Similar examples are too numerous to quote here, and it is plain that any theory based on such doubtful grounds can hardly meet with universal acceptance.

The above remarks go to show how difficult it is to draw out what

facts there may be hidden behind the myths that are recorded in a language not clearly understood, suggesting all the more the intrinsic merit of the present book. Indeed, Professor Katō's work is beyond all praise, particularly in his elucidation of the ethical aspect of Shintō. Parallel cases cited from other religions of the world make the book extremely interesting to the general reader. The five plates illustrating the Ise and Idzumo Shrines and the procession of the removal of the Divine Mirror representing Amaterasu-Ōmikami are excellent, while the exhaustive Bibliography and the Index offer a useful reference to all students of Shintō.

The French translation is somewhat abbreviated and augmented, without altering the general theme of the work. Several misprints found in the names of places, of persons, and deities, can be easily corrected by referring to the Index, where they are printed accurately. La Maison Franco-Japonaise of Tōkyō is to be congratulated on its undertaking of this translation work, an admirable effort to bring deeper understanding of the Japanese nation to the French-speaking people.

S. Y.

TRANSLATION OF "KO-JI-KI" OR "RECORDS OF ANCIENT MATTERS".

By BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN. Second edition, with Annotations by the late W. G. ASTON. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6. pp. lxxxv + 495. 1 map. Published with permission of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Kobe : J. L. Thompson ; London : Kegan Paul, 1932. 20 s.n.

Of all the translations of Japanese literature, those that have rendered the greatest service to the academic world are perhaps Prof. Chamberlain's *Kojiki* and Dr. Aston's *Nihongi*. Unfortunately they both have long since been rather inaccessible, often compelling a student to make a daily visit to a library in order to consult the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan and of the Japan Society in which respectively these translations appear. It is for these reasons that the second edition of the first-mentioned work is a welcome publication. It has been prepared from Dr. Aston's copy of the Supplement with his own annotations, which had been inserted before his translation of the *Nihongi* was issued. For the convenience of readers, however, reference to the latter publication is added in this new edition, and a list, prepared by Professor Tsugita, of Japanese

works published on the *Kojiki* since the first appearance of Professor Chamberlain's translation in 1882.

It is idle to speak of the value of the present book, for it is a monumental work of one of the greatest living authorities on the Japanese language. It stands uncontroverted not because we are in a position to assume the absolute accuracy of the translation throughout, but because we have not, even during the intervening years, attained sufficient further knowledge of the eighth century Japanese to add anything. And this inability is in spite of Professor Chamberlain's happy imagination that "the history of the Japanese language is too well known to us" (p. vii), which is by no means true. What do we know of the phonetic system of eighth-century Japanese? Does the specific usage of the *Man-yō-gana* indicate that there were more vowel sounds in the early part of that period than there are in modern Japanese? Or does it suggest the existence of palatalized consonants? Such points have not as yet received due consideration. The limitation of our knowledge of the *Kojiki* language is not confined to its phonetic system. Are not the meanings we attach to some of the words occurring in the eighth century literature sheer guess-work? Are we clear about the functions of all suffixes? Until we have acquired a sound knowledge of these seemingly trivial elements we cannot profess that we understand the language. It is true that since Professor Chamberlain published his translation of *Kojiki* attempts have been made to clarify various doubtful elements in ancient Japanese by Professors Andō, Hashimoto, Pierson, Yamada, Yoshizawa, and other researchers. Notwithstanding all these efforts we have not discovered anything important that would seriously affect Professor Chamberlain's translation.

From what has been said above it is clear that the present translation is on the whole accurate to the best of our knowledge of the language in which the original text is written. The only regrettable feature of the translation is that, while denouncing the explanations of early Japanese scholars regarding the structure of words as "etymological gymnastics" (p. 130, n. 16) the translator himself has fallen into the same error by trying to translate proper names. We may accept his contention that since it is so extremely difficult to draw a line between a proper name and a description of the personage (p. xx) one is tempted to translate the names where possible. But why the etymology of unmistakable place-names? We might almost ask, why the mention of etymology at all? The value of the

book would be infinitely greater if the translator had ignored the groundless etymological expositions advanced by the early commentators instead of following them. As an example of such errors may be cited the name *Oho-wata-tsu-mi*, translated "Great-Ocean-Possessor", where *-mi* is, according to Professor Chamberlain, equivalent to *mochi* "possessor" (p. 31, n. 8). If this derivation be correct, how are we to account for the presence of *-tsu-*, which he doubtless regards as a "genitive" particle? Is not *Oho-wata-mi* sufficient, or even more adequate, to convey that meaning, like *Oho-na-muji*, translated "Great-Name-Possessor" (p. 81)? There must be something at fault in the analysis of these names.

In his long Introduction the translator explains (1) the authenticity of the nature of the text, (2) the method he has adopted in his translation, and (3) the relation between the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*. Further, he proceeds to deduce from the text the manners and customs, the religious and political ideas of the early Japanese, and finally discusses the beginnings of the Japanese nation and the credibility of the national traditions. These inferences alone present a very interesting piece of literature, and add considerably to the usefulness of the volume.

There is, however, one point to be noted. Speaking of the Chinese influence on Japanese culture, Professor Chamberlain quotes *narikabura*, a humming attachment to the arrow, as an example of such influence (p. lxxix), telling us that "it was used in China in the time of the Han dynasty" (p. 87, n. 7). The earliest mention of *narikabura* seems to be found in the *Shih-chi* (史記) where it is described as having been used by the *Hsiung-nu* (匈奴). This at once shows that the object under consideration was not of Chinese origin, and hence the Japanese may not necessarily have learned its use from the Chinese.

Another and still more significant problem raised by Professor Chamberlain is the question of early Chinese loan-words. Important as it is, this problem is nevertheless a very difficult one to solve and some of the identifications given on p. lxxix cannot be accepted readily. If the word *fumi* "document" has really been derived from the Chinese 文 (Anc. Chin. *m̄iun*) as is believed by the translator (p. xlix, n. 56), then we must consider that the Chinese final *n* was replaced by *-m* in Japanese under the influence of the preceding labial syllable *fu*. There seems no other explanation for this sound substitution. But then, how about *kume* "army (?)" (p. 134, n. 7)

and *kuni* "land", which Professor Chamberlain is inclined to identify with the Chinese 軍 (Anc. Chin. *kjūən*) and 郡 (Anc. Chin. *g'jūən*) respectively? If *g'jūən* gives rise to *kuni* in Japanese, *kjūən* must also become *kuni*, not *kume*. Thus the etymology of one at least of these two words is incorrect, unless there is some other reason to account for this inconsistency.

The following suggestions as to details of translation may prove useful to the serious student of ancient Japanese.

p. 25, n. 5. *Ye-hime* should read *E-hime*, since *ye* and *e* were clearly distinguished at the time when the *Kojiki* was compiled. For the phonetic value of *h* see Professor Pierson's *The Manyōsū*, book i, pp. 38-43.

p. 29, n. 31. Motowori does not suggest that "nu may mean 'moor' and *de* (for *te*) 'clapper-bell'," but says that *nude* may mean 鐸 "a clapper-bell" (*Zenshū*, vol. i, p. 217).

p. 41, n. 6. The word "moreover" is Professor Chamberlain's rendering of 且, *shibaraku* "just", of the Shimpukujibon (the edition of 1371-2). Motowori's readings *madzu tsubara ni* (*Kojikiden*) and *ashita ni tsubara ni* (*Kokun Kojiki*) should be rejected.

p. 88, l. 16. "floor" should read "door" (for 戸).

p. 96, ll. 13-14. *Mushi-busuma* translated "warm coverlet" seems to mean "a hemp coverlet" as suggested by Mr. Matsuoka (*Kogo Daijiten*, p. 1234). The word *mushi* "hemp, linen (?)" is probably akin to *fusa* "hemp", and its cognates seem very widely distributed over the globe: Goldi *boso*, Oroche *boso*, *busu*, Manchu *boso*, Mongol *bös* "linen", and in many other languages, both ancient and modern. Compare, for example, *byssus*.

p. 112, n. 5. *Ari kerī*, translated "it is", is Motowori's careless emendation of the original *ari nari*. 有那理. The same is true of "it is" (p. 163, l. 13 and n. 11) for *ari nari*. 阿理那理, and "it was" (p. 297, l. 14) for *mashi nari*. 坐那理. This *nari*-form should be distinguished from the *keri*-form which occurs in *ari kerī*, 在那(?)理. "I have!" (p. 46, l. 7 and n. 1): *ari kerī*, 有那理 "no!". *mashi kerī*. 坐那(?)理. "no!" (p. 117, l. 9); *imashi kerī* 坐那理, "there is" (p. 251, l. 16 and n. 16).

p. 116, l. 10. "head-hanging" should read "head-inclining", for 傾 means "to incline".

p. 123, l. 27. The word *todaru*, here translated "rich and perfect", has been interpreted by Professor Andō as signifying "brilliant, shining" (*Gengo to Bungaku*, vols. i and vi). It occurs again in the

expression *todaru ama no nihisu no susu*, here translated "the soot on the heavenly new lattice of the gable" (p. 125. ll. 10-11).

p. 134. n. 10. The *tsuchi* in *kabu-tsuchi* and the *tsutsui* in *kubu-tsutsui*, *ishitsutsui* seem to mean "haft, hilt". They are probably derived from **tut-* "to hold, grasp, withhold, restrain, refrain", from which also come the words *tsutsumi* "captivity, hindrance, mishap", *tsutsushimu* "to refrain, be prudent", etc.

p. 150. l. 8. "head" should read "neck" (for 頸).

p. 178. l. 13. "the lovely [one]" is Professor Chamberlain's translation of 近 (in the *Shimpukujibon*) which Motowori took for 延, *ye*, and interpreted as 愛, *e*. "lovely". But since *ye* and *e* were carefully distinguished at the time of *Kojiki* it would be more appropriate to consider the character 延 as representing 吉 "good, fine, beautiful".

p. 193, l. 8. "eleven" should be "eight".

p. 210, n. 18. "the first two of these three characters" should read "the first and the last of these three characters".

p. 232, n. 7. The word *agitofu* is derived from *agi*, *agito* "jaw" and is best translated "to open and close the mouth, to babble". Motowori's rendering "to say 'agi' (my lord)" is far-fetched (*Zenshū*, vol. iii. p. 1295).

p. 244. n. 7. There is no such word as *me-guna* in Japanese. This is a result of Motowori's wrong etymology of *woguna* "boy" which assumes the meaning "male" in the first syllable *wo*.

pp. 248-9. The word *negi* (泥疑) is here used in two different senses "to entreat" and "to entertain". Thus, "Be thou the one to take the trouble to teach him [his duty]" (p. 248. ll. 15-16) means "Be thou the one to entreat and make him understand", and "I have been at that trouble" (p. 249. l. 5) signifies "I have already asked [him]", whereas "How didst thou take the trouble?" (p. 249. ll. 6-7) must denote "How didst thou entertain [him]?"

p. 290, l. 1. "firmly standing" should be followed by "[as] the Deity of Medicine" which is the usual interpretation of *kushi no kami*, 久志能加美.

p. 297, n. 2. According to Professor Andō *chidaru* (知陀流) is identical with *todaru* (登陀流), already mentioned under p. 123.

p. 362. l. 8. "Come" should be followed by some such word as "stealthily" which seems to be the meaning of *shitata ni mo* 志多多爾毛.

p. 375. l. 12. The sentence "At this time there came over people

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p. 375, l. 12. The sentence "At this time there came over people

from Kure" should follow "Again the Kahase Retainers were established" in l. 13.

p. 394. n. 4. In the Shimpukujibon the two words *asato* "morning" and *yufuto* "evening" appear in the forms *asako* (阿佐許) and *yufuke* (由布計) respectively. The *-to* in the former pair of words, like *-ke* and *-ko* (?) in the latter, is a locative suffix: it has no such signification as "doors", in which Professor Chamberlain has followed Motowori's interpretation (*Zenshū*, vol. iv, pp. 2098-9).

p. 399. l. 2. "Song" should be "Song-Hedge".

p. 400. n. 12. "so" after "the original being" should read "shi", as it is written 斯.

Lastly, the following misprints and omissions may be noted. The forms as printed are given first:—

I. *Chinese Characters*.—p. xxxviii, l. 11, 景: 影. p. xxxix, l. 39, 網: 綱. p. 30, n. 2, 士: 土. p. 36, n. 11, 桂: 柱. p. 64, n. 9, 項: 頂. 棟: 棟. p. 73, n. 9, 項: 頂. p. 102, n. 3, 蘿: 羅 or 羅. p. 114, n. 10, 羅: 良. p. 137, n. 6, 還: 還. p. 159, n. 26, 浪: 波. p. 162, n. 5, 力: 刀. p. 165, n. 2, 烏: 烏. p. 218, n. 17, 廂人: 其廂人. The more correct translation would therefore be "people of that side [-building]", meaning "you".

II. *Proper Names*.—p. 30, n. 3, *-zu-bime-*; *-su-hime-*. p. 42, n. 12, *Nara-*; *Naru-*. p. 49, n. 17, *-ne-*; *-no-*. p. 49, n. 18, *Nika-*; *Naka-*, *-komi*; *-kami*. p. 53, n. 12, *-fumi*; *Afumi*. p. 106, n. 2, *-musu-bi-*; *-subi-*. p. 120, n. 9, *Tori-*; *Ame-no-tori-*. p. 125, n. 37, *Kumu* . . . *-kami*; *Kami* . . . *-mikoto*. p. 128, n. 5, *-no-nigi*; *-no-ni-nigi*. p. 199, l. 7, *Mato*; *Maito*. p. 204, l. 4, *Mimi-*; *Miwi-*. p. 205, l. 12, *Oho-*; *Oto-*. p. 206, l. 4, *-be-*; *-ne-*. p. 213, l. 1, *Igaka-*; *Ikaga-*. p. 222, l. 11, *Otokuni*; *Ohokuni*. p. 257, l. 8, *Sugamu*; *Sagamu*. p. 293, n. 21, *Ayuchi*; *Aquchi*. p. 325, l. 1, daughter of the Duke of Muragata in Himuka: daughter of Ushimoro, the Duke of Muragata in Himuka. p. 348, l. 1, *-iratsume*; *-iratsume* (three Deities). p. 360, l. 7, Thereupon Anaho: Thereupon Prince Anaho. p. 375, l. 4, *Wake-*; *Waka-*. p. 376, n. 6, *Himokuma-*; *Hinokuma-*. p. 407, l. 27, *Hirataka*; *Hiroataka*. p. 408, l. 6, *-wake-*; *-waka-*. p. 408, l. 18, *Kara-*; *Kata-*. p. 410, l. 28, *-kura-tama-*; *-kura-futo-tama-*. p. 411, l. 6, *Inawe*; *Iname*. p. 411, l. 8, *Ihakumo*; *Ihakuma*.

III. *Songs*.—p. 418, l. 13, *yo*; *ya*. p. 418, l. 18, *ko-ra*; *ko*. p. 420, l. 5, *Shigekoki*; *Shikekoki*. p. 421, l. 17, *tatanamu yo*; *tachi ni keru*. p. 422, l. 3, *o*; *a*. p. 422, l. 6, *Tatanatsuku*; *Tatanadzuku*. p. 422, l. 17, *Wotomo*; *Wotome*. p. 422, l. 22, *-motorofu*;

-motohorofu. p. 423, l. 12, Isa ; Iza. p. 425, l. 10, wo : ha. p. 426, l. 20, watari no ; watari ni. p. 428, n. 19, *mikahoshi* ; *migahoshi*. p. 433. l. 13, hi ; ni.

S. Y.

THE PHONETICS OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE. With Reference to Japanese Script. By P. M. SUSKI. 7 × 5. pp. 123. Los Angeles : The Science Society ; London : Kegan Paul. 1931. 9s.

The author of this work seems unaware of the fact that since E. R. Edwards published *Étude phonétique de la langue japonaise*, nearly thirty years ago, many books have been written on Japanese phonetics, as, for example, A. Imagawa's *Tōkyōben* (1915), K. Jimbo's *Kokugo Onseigaku* (1925), G. Mori's *Pronunciation of Japanese* (1929), and H. E. Palmer's *The Principles of Romanization with special Reference to the Romanization of Japanese* (1930). Naturally the present book does not give us any further information on the subject than that with which we are already familiar.

The first half of the book is devoted to a study on the system of Japanese writing. This is because Mr. Suski felt it "a necessity to describe how Japanese sounds are outcome of Chinese sounds and ancient Japanese ; the language itself is based, not on spoken tongue but rather on written words, which allow varied sounds, circumstantial or personal" (p. 55). Here it must be pointed out that the author uses the word "sound" with three distinct meanings. When he tells us that "there are 101 single sounds in spoken Japanese, which may be written in Romaji" (p. 97), we should not wonder how these 101 different sounds can be adequately represented by 26 Roman letters, for the author means by "101 single sounds" as many syllabic sounds. But when he speaks of "Chinese sounds" (p. 55) and "304 Japanese sounds" (p. 8) he refers in both cases to the *On* of the Chinese characters. His third use of the term is normal.

Despite this wide application of the word "sound" the author's intention can be sufficiently gathered from his statement cited above, i.e. to explain the history of the sounds as heard in modern spoken Japanese. Most unfortunately, however, he has not made adequate use of the valuable materials we have before us for such a purpose. He should have taken into consideration all the known facts relating to the phonetic system of Japanese since the eighth century instead of giving the lists of "304 Japanese sounds of Kanji" (pp. 8-11) and

the *Man-yō-gana* with an antiquated Roman transcription (pp. 46-8). Not only do these serve no purpose in a book on phonetics, but they are also misleading, because the phonetic values of the *Man-yō-gana*, the *Kana* signs and the *On* of the Chinese characters have undergone a series of changes in the process of time.

Although the book under review cannot be called a serious work it may benefit the beginners of Japanese who wish to acquire a rudimentary knowledge of the modern system of Japanese writing and of the sounds as heard in careful speech of Tōkyō citizens. Space does not permit us to point out the errors, which are not infrequent in this volume.

S. YOSHITAKE.

DIE LEGENDÄRE MAGHĀZĪ-LITERATUR. By RUDI PARET. pp. viii + 251.
Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr, 1931.

In his earlier studies in the Arabic folk-literature Dr. Paret has shown what a fertile and little-explored field still awaits investigation outside the familiar range of the *Arabian Nights* and the 'Antar and Hilāl romances. In the present work he has developed more fully his own method in relation to an important but neglected section of this literature, which he first summarizes and then subjects to analytical examination, with results not only interesting in themselves but also of value for the study of the inner aspects of Islamic thought. The importance of the *Arabian Nights* for such a study has long been recognized ; that of the popular romances associated with the history of Muḥammad (the *Sīra*-romances) and his wars (the *Maghāzī*-romances)—the latter of which form the subject of this work—is no less great, though specialized within a narrower range, and to some extent coloured by the peculiar conditions of a particular period. Moreover, the fact that several of them have been printed and reprinted of recent years shows that they have not yet lost all their meaning for the present day.

These romances naturally concentrate upon the *jihād* and the relation of Muslims to non-Muslims of all kinds, and do not step far outside these limits. By the picture which they give of the popular attitude to these questions they furnish an interesting commentary upon and supplement to the theoretical expositions of the Muslim jurists and the data supplied by historical and literary works. In the second part of his book Dr. Paret methodically arranges the

information thus gleaned under separate heads, which often throw illuminating side-lights on the orientation of popular Muslim thought (e.g. its positivism and optimism, pp. 171-2; the magical value of ritual recitations, pp. 178-180; conversion and missionary activity, pp. 232-3). The period from which the principal redaction of the romances dates (the first half of the fourteenth century) has left its mark on their contents: on the one hand there was the stimulus of Islamic feeling caused by the reaction from the Crusades and the Mongol domination, on the other the close alliance between the new Šūfī fraternities and the trade guilds, which had just reached full development, and explains the strong 'Alid sympathies within their Sunnī framework. One may even be tempted to describe them as a kind of *Sīrat 'Alī*, but the manner in which the more definitely Shi'ite doctrines are whittled down to conformity with Sunnī views is very well illustrated by the author (p. 207). The romances show in general a somewhat monotonous lack of imaginative power, diversified only where they are based on incidents related in the genuine historical sources, the general reliability of which thus receives confirmation in an unexpected way. These reflections of the historical works are carefully noted by Dr. Paret: those of the Qur'ān are occasionally referred to, but not made the subject of a special investigation. Among the unhistorical materials too, however, there are some interesting details. It is a surprise to find a Muslim version of the mediaeval Christian legend of Muḥammad's coffin—here it is a heathen idol which is suspended between magnets (p. 215): and the story of Haddām's artificial Paradise (pp. 99, 221) might be taken for an echo of the familiar story of the "Old Man of the Mountain" were it not for the counterpart of an equally artificial Hell.

H. A. R. G.

VORISLAMISCHE ALTERTÜMER. By CARL RATHJENS and HERMANN v. WISSMANN. (Rathjens-v. Wissmannsche Südarabien-Reise. Band 2.—Hamburgische Universität. Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet des Auslandskunde. Band 38.) pp. xvi + 212. Hamburg, 1932.

The authors of this work were, by a fortunate chance, enabled to carry out in 1927 a short archæological tour in the vicinity of Ṣan'ā, and even to supervise the excavation of a South-Arabian temple at the village of Ḥugga. Hurriedly though it was done, and at a none

too promising spot, the results of their investigation have thus a certain historic importance as the firstfruits of excavation in the Yaman. Its tangible results were, indeed, rather meagre, and it is greatly to the credit of the authors that by a careful piecing together of their fragmentary materials with those of earlier explorers, they have induced them to yield such a respectable body of evidence and conclusions. Apart from the archæological finds, which provide confirmation of the remarkable architectural and constructional ability of the Sabæans, and their simple but effective decorative processes, some additional light has been thrown on the ancient culture of the Yaman, particularly as regards burials. Whether, however, the existence of two types of temple plan and two types of burial is sufficient to support the hypothesis of an old Hamitic culture, which fell about 1000 B.C. before the advance of the more familiar Semitic culture from the north, is still doubtful, as also is the suggestion (p. 72) that the South Arabian temple was the architectural forerunner of the Islamic mosque. But the gradual accumulation of evidence for some sort of relations between Arabia and the Hamites is becoming more and more impressive, and there will be general agreement with the authors' conclusion that the key to these oldest racial and cultural problems must be sought in the Yaman.

H. A. R. G.

HISTORICAL FACTS FOR THE ARABIAN MUSICAL INFLUENCE. By
H. G. FARMER. pp. xii + 376. London: William Reeves, n.d.
12s. 6d.

Readers who are not acquainted with Dr. Farmer's earlier writings on the musical contribution of the Arabs to medieval Europe would be well advised to read carefully his chapter on "Music" in *The Legacy of Islam* before attempting this book. This for two reasons: one, that the present work expressly excludes the subject of mensural music, which the author himself regards as the most important legacy of the Arabs: the other, that in order to grasp the bearing of many of the arguments, it is essential to have some idea of the process as a whole. The genesis of the book was a series of articles in the *Musical Standard*, replying to a criticism of Dr. Farmer's original pamphlet on the Arabian Influence: to these have been added a long introductory chapter and forty-eight Appendices dealing with individual points in detail. The greater part is taken up with the defence of medieval

Arabic musical science against the ill-informed depreciation of the critics, and Dr. Farmer has little difficulty in dislodging them from this singularly weak position and driving home his counter-attack. On the other hand, he admits that definite proof of Arabian influence in the Western systems of solmization and notation are still lacking. The difficulty with which he is faced is the same as that which confronts nearly all students of medieval culture. *Literary* evidences are late and not very satisfactory, and the kernel of the problem lies in the extent to which *viva-voce* transmission, both practical and theoretical, can be demonstrated on more or less indirect testimony. Of the probative value of the "clues" which Dr. Farmer brings forward it is hardly for a layman to judge, but there will be general agreement with his claim that they are entitled to serious consideration.

H. A. R. G.

THE MUSLIM CREED. By A. J. WENSINCK. pp. 304. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 15s.

"There is no God but God and Muhammad is the prophet of God." It is a shock to learn that Islam existed without this declaration. Both parts of it are contained in the Kuran but they were not at first united in a challenge to the unbelieving world. In Medina Muhammad was busy in persuading the tribes to acknowledge him and was so bothered by material cares that he was more concerned with the payment of the religious tax than with the form of words in which his headship was recognized. As the elements of the confession are found in the Kuran so are the beginnings of a creed, "Each one believes in God, his angels, his scripture, and his apostles." The spiritual history of Islam from the prophet's death till about A.D. 750 is contained in the traditions. Most of these are comparatively late or have been revised to agree with later fashions of thought or action. One can only admire the insight with which Professor Wensinck has sifted the mass of tradition and written a convincing history of Muslim thought. Even such an elementary creed as the "five pillars of Islam"—faith, prayer, the religious tax, fasting, and pilgrimage—was of slow growth. One form of this says that Islam has four commands and four prohibitions, the things forbidden being vessels for keeping wine. This is clearly early, but it has been revised by the insertion of the confession. Another defines the duties of a Muslim as the service of God, performance of prayer, payment of tax, and

keeping the bonds of relationship. Another says five daily prayers, the fast, and payment of tax. Islam has moved a long way from the first sermons of Muhammad : the great problem is no longer how to escape hell but how to distinguish a Muslim from other men. The same circumstances gave rise to traditions on the difference between faith and Islam ; the definition of faith is not philosophical but a statement of its content, belief in God, his books, and his prophets, following the example of the Kuran. When men flocked into Islam in crowds the old believers doubted the newcomers' sincerity. The words, " he who takes part in the holy war does so to his personal profit," reveal the doubts felt by some at the course Islam was taking. Opposition to the Khawārij produced the statement that the pronouncement of the confession was enough to make a man a Muslim. One variety of this tradition ends with the words, " even though Abū Dharr should turn up his nose " : such obstinate doctrinaires as he were forerunners of the Khawārij. Islam never got beyond the position of Ezekiel that the last moment's of a man's life decided his destiny.

Discussions about God did not begin till the making of traditions had almost ceased, though one, which denies the intercession of the prophet, agrees with the teaching of the Mu'tazila. If the canon of tradition had been closed a little later we should have had the opinions of the prophet on the attributes of God and the relations of substance and accident. With the Mu'tazila the book reaches a subject which is comparatively well known and loses the interest of novelty, for up to this point the matter has been quite fresh. There follows a sketch of their teaching, the reaction led by al Ash'ari, and later developments. Then come translations of several creed-like documents with a commentary clause by clause and elaborate cross-references. In the latest creed God is a deduction from the existence of the world ; there could not be a better proof of the change that Islam had undergone. This second half of the book is heavy going, upholding the epigram that religion is interesting till it becomes theological. Indeed, one is tempted to say that the first hundred pages must have been written by a Frenchman and the rest by a German. In the book as it stands many subjects are treated in three commentaries representing three stages in the history of dogma. It would probably have been easier reading if the texts had been given with the briefest notes possible and the history of each doctrine given connectedly in a joint commentary.

It is instructive to find that in the heat of controversy a practice (p. 158) is declared to be necessary, when passions had cooled somewhat it became commendable, and later still allowable. A change of terminology may be noted. Al Ash'ari uses *makān* for *substratum*, Shahrastāni uses *maḥall*.

A few details are open to question. The phrase, "pretend to remove *tanzīh*" (p. 90) is a slip. The advocates of allegorical interpretation claimed to distinguish the qualities of God from those of men while their opponents charged them with denying these qualities to Him. "*Maintain tanzīh*" is wanted. Ma'bad (p. 53) took his ideas from Sūsan. Maqrizi calls this man Sansōē. In Pehlevi one sign does duty for both *w* and *n*; is there any authority for preferring one form of the name to the other? "Beauty and ugliness, beautiful and ugly" (p. 63) should surely be "right and wrong". The problem is the origin of our ideas of right and wrong; some said that a thing was right because God willed it to be so while others held that right would be right though there were no God. 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'īd (p. 136) and Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'īd (p. 144) are probably the same man though there are two entries in the index (it is called Register, p. 204). There is some doubt about the name but everyone calls him ibn Kullāb or al Kullābi not al Kilābi. The author quotes (p. 44) the tradition, "Whoso commits fornication cannot be faithful at the same time, etc." The translation gives the meaning attributed to the words by the exegetes, but the words themselves are frankly antinomian. The sentence at the top of p. 213 scarcely makes sense.

To turn to bigger matters. It may be asked if enough weight has been allowed to the influence of Christianity. We may doubt if the religious ideas which al A'sha learnt at Hira had much effect on Muslim theology, but 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar had a friend in Syria who was unsound on predestination (quoted by Vlieger, p. 201). This would show that Basra was not the only place where new ideas fermented. John of Damascus is quoted (p. 71), "The divine light and workings, though one and simple and indivisible, shine in various ways in the individual beings, according to their goodness," which is like the theory of Abu 'l Hudhail that the attributes of God differ according to the variations of what is known and done (*Maqālāt*, p. 486). His views on heaven, too, recall the Christian idea of rest from labour; this or Neo-Platonism is the more likely source, not elaborate speculations on the nature of finitude. Islam made the same distinction between the will of God and his good pleasure as did Christianity

(p. 145); and an attempt is made to separate *kalām* from *qawl* as *λόγια* are distinct from *ρήματα*. A problem of interest is the origin of *istatā'a*, "faculty" as it is translated. Muslims argued whether it existed before or with the act or both before and with; whether the faculty for faith was also the faculty for unbelief or not. It may be that the word comes from the Kuran, like *kasb* and *khadhlan*, for the Kuran and the comments of popular religion on it had more influence on religious thought than is usually recognized. Thus the Mu'tazilite interest in scorpions was due to those as big as camels which public fancy put in hell to torment sinners. But it is noteworthy that Theodore Abu Qurra uses this word, faculty. "In the body is the existence, equipment, and faculty for all the movements of man's nature." He also speaks of "the faculty of powers" and "power of faculty". By going outside the limits which Professor Wensinek has set himself we could find other points of contact. The innovations of early Islam were not true heresies but symptoms of growing pains. Those, whom the historians of dogma condemned as non-Muslims, were sincere in calling themselves Muslims.

It is tempting to suggest that the power of intercession given to the prophet (p. 181) is a survival of the Arab spirit. The Kuran shows that the Arabs regarded the minor Gods as intercessors; history tells that mediators were employed in every branch of life, and this custom has not died out. The intercession of the prophet is this habit carried into religion.

A turning point in the history of Islam is connected with al Ash'ari. The author inclines to the view that the doctrine usually called his really belongs to his school. There is no doubt that al Ash'ari went over to the right wing of Islam, Shahrastāni called him a disciple of Ibn Kullāb. Would the conversion of a prominent Mu'tazilite have caused such a stir? Could anyone give up the habits of thought of a lifetime? The words put into his mouth, "I do not begin a discussion on theology, but when others go deeply into what is not fitting, I call them back to God's decrees," do not exclude reasoned discussion of religion, though revelation not reason is the foundation.

The footnotes need revision: the references to the *maqālāt* do not agree with the copy in the School library.

Professor Wensinek has paid us a compliment by writing this book in English and we appreciate it. The first five chapters can be recommended to all who want to know something about early Islam and students cannot do without the whole book. There is something

in it for all. language, history, and law, besides theology. Only those who have worked through a collection of traditions can appreciate the immense labour that has gone to the making of this book. The professor has never let his material get out of hand: his facts are carefully arranged and point to his conclusions without ever obscuring them. It is a human book and a wise.

A. S. T.

LE PÈLERINAGE DE LA MECQUE. Par Dr. Duguet. pp. 337. Paris :
Les Éditions Rieder. 1932. Fr. 30.

The true subject of this book is not named in the title, yet two-thirds of the whole are given up to cholera. To introduce his subject the author gives a description of the pilgrimage which is so readable that it is almost ungracious to say that one or two points are open to criticism. The world-wide appeal of Islam is made clear by tables showing the lands from which the pilgrims come. The problem is the poor pilgrim; two of them walked across the Lybian desert where the space of 300 kilometres produces nothing but stones. A chapter is given to the sacred towns in Irak and the traffic in corpses from Persia. In the body of the book the author describes the epidemics at Mecca, the hospitals (!), the development of preventive measures outside the Hedjaz, and his hopes for the future. The policies of the Turks, King Husain, and Ibn Sa'ūd, the change in defence from long quarantine to inoculation and disinfection, and the growth of the International Sanitary Conference are explained. He records inhuman wickedness and magnificent courage and generosity. A squeamish layman should not read some of the pages just before dinner or bed. In former days the deserts formed a sufficient shield for the health of Europe: a caravan rotten with cholera was clean before it was out of the desert. The steamship and motor have changed that. The great danger has always been secrecy and the contraband traffic. The conclusion is that all pilgrims should be protected by inoculation against cholera, plague, and smallpox before leaving their homes: then the Hedjaz will not be in danger itself nor a danger to others. There are a few misprints, one of which makes the name of Dr. Olschanietzki even less pronounceable than it is by nature. A very useful book.

A. S. T.

TA'RĪKH-I JAHĀN-GUSHĀY OF JUWAYNĪ. Vol. iii, being a facsimile of a MS. dated A.H. 690. with an introduction by Sir E. D. Ross. pp. 108. London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1931.

The first volume of Juwaynī's *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān-gushā* was published in 1912, and was followed by the second volume in 1916. Of vol. iii. pp. 1-184 (covering 69 out of 108 pages of the present edition) had long been printed, but other urgent work delayed the completion of this most important enterprise by Mirzā Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī. Persons interested in Persian history will be glad to hear that the learned editor is now actively passing the volume through the Press, and before long the critical edition of the whole of Juwaynī's text will be in every orientalist library.

This good news does not in the least impair the value of Sir D. Ross's initiative in bringing out a facsimile of this very good manuscript of vol. iii, dated 690/1291. This new copy will be welcome for the preparation of the printed text, and even when the latter is ready, this photographic reproduction will keep its utility both on account of the documentary value which every ancient and consistent manuscript possesses, and for scholastic purposes. There is no better philological exercise for scholars and students than the study of a manuscript which has always some personal problem about it.

In the English table of contents a slip must be corrected: on p. 93 of the MS. it is Jalāl al-dīn, master of Alamūt who is in question and not the homonymous Khwārizmshāh.

V. M.

THE DAMASCUS CHRONICLE OF THE CRUSADES. Extracted from the Chronicle of Ibn al Qalānisī. By H. A. R. GIBB. pp. 368. Luzac, 15s. 1932.

The editing and translation of this volume must have been a troublesome and difficult task. Professor Gibb is therefore the more to be congratulated on its accomplishment. It is a great thing for the student of the early crusades to be provided with a text which shows them how those expeditions appeared in the eyes of a pious Muslim gentleman. In a number of details the latter differs materially from the narratives of the Christian chroniclers. Many of these differences are matters of chronology, on which, at least so far as appears at first sight, nothing very much depends. More interesting is a detail of the crusaders' siege of Damascus. According to William of Tyre, the crusaders

abandoned a good camp for a bad one owing to the treachery of some among them who took a bribe from the Muslims for so doing, and, the chronicler adds, were paid, as they deserved, in leaden coins gilt over to deceive them. Ibn al Qalanisi says nothing of this, but points out that the crusaders moved from their original camp because the Muslims had diverted the course of the canal by which they had been supplied with water, and adds that their second camp was more comfortably placed than their first. In this matter the Muslim writer is more likely to be right than the Christian. He was probably an eye-witness of the siege, and records that when the crusaders abandoned the siege their corpses stank so as to sicken the very birds.

It is, however, as presenting the other point of view that this Muslim chronicle is specially valuable. No one, of course, would be likely even without his aid, to forget that another side existed. But it is well to be reminded of the delight with which the people of Damascus watched the heads of their enemies being carried on spears through their streets, and that this pious public servant regarded the Latins as idolaters and polytheists. Another very interesting point emerges from his narrative. Readers of the Western chronicles certainly are led to regard the Muslim dominion in Syria as a united thing. But, in fact, it was far otherwise. Damascus for example passed from the hands of a Berber garrison holding it in the name of the khalif of Egypt into those of a Turkoman garrison holding it in the name of Saljuk Alp Arslan. Syria was divided out among a host of warring princelets, whom Sultan Nur-ud-din and later on Saladin, had a world of difficulty in uniting against the common enemy.

H. D.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER, 1890-1908: With a Survey of Policy since 1849. By C. COLLIN DAVIES, Ph.D. (Cantab.). pp. xii + 220. 3 maps. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 12s. 6d.

This is an admirable and clearly written study of what the author rightly describes as one of the most difficult, but at the same time one of the most interesting, frontier problems in the world. The book gives an excellent survey of the intricate history of the North-West Frontier of India since 1848, together with a more detailed discussion of various defence schemes that have been adopted or

suggested since 1890. Dr. Davies, who is a thorough master of his subject, has based his account upon official documents and other original sources, and has presented the results of his careful research work in a lucid, impartial, and well-balanced form. The interest of the book is greatly enhanced by the fact that the author has a considerable personal knowledge of the border country and has made a first-hand study of the racial characteristics, customs, and religious beliefs of the tribesmen.

The book opens with a detailed discussion of the relative merits of the four possible lines of defence—the line of the Indus, so warmly advocated by Lord Lawrence despite all the lessons of history, the old Sikh line which Lord Roberts declared to be an impossible frontier, the line which was demarcated in 1893 as a result of the negotiations conducted by Sir Mortimer Durand and which possesses no strategic merits, and the so-called scientific frontier commanding the passes between Kandahar and Kabul. From the military as well as from the political point of view not one of these frontiers is entirely satisfactory, but the force of circumstances, the restless and marauding activities of the tribesmen and the Russian advance in central Asia, has compelled us, often against our will, to move forward almost continuously towards the scientific line. British policy regarding the North-West Frontier has fluctuated incessantly and has not infrequently suffered as a result of conflicting political opinions at home. Even a Viceroy as pacific in his intentions as Lord Ripon, however, who came to India with strict injunctions to reverse the forward policy of his predecessor, Lord Lytton, and who had made up his mind to withdraw from the recently acquired positions in Baluchistan, when confronted by the steady advance of the Cossacks upon Merve was forced to admit that a policy of retirement was impossible. Not only was Baluchistan retained by the Liberal Viceroy and the railway reconstructed at considerable expense, but an extension of the line to Chanak was also undertaken.

Dr. Davies's intimate knowledge of the character of the native population and his detailed description of British relations with individual tribes bring home to the reader the great political difficulties of the frontier problem. We never have had, and probably never can have, a single uniform policy for the whole frontier zone. The system employed by Sir Robert Sandeman of granting allowances to friendly tribes was eminently successful in Baluchistan, a region in which the tribal chiefs were powerful enough to control their followers:

but it proved an utter failure when tried by Mr. R. I. Bruce in Waziristan among the lawless, undisciplined hordes of the Mahsuds.

The formation of the North-West Frontier Province during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon was, in the opinion of Dr. Davies, a necessary part of the reconstruction following the rising of 1897—a rising that was due primarily to the forward movement of the early 'nineties, but was stimulated by an outburst of fanaticism among the Afridi tribes and by the sinister influence of Afghan intrigues. Lord Curzon's frontier policy of "withdrawal and concentration" undoubtedly led to a sounder system of border administration and "gave to India a longer period of rest from border warfare than had been experienced for many weary years".

A separate chapter is devoted to the study of Anglo-Afghan relations. The establishment of a strong, independent, and friendly Afghan State does not, as Dr. Davies points out, in itself solve the problem of Indian defence. Russia is still a potential danger to our Indian empire, nor can the Government shirk the responsibility of protecting the friendly tribesmen of the Frontier Province against the incursions of robber bands from across the border. The vulnerable portion of the Frontier lies between Peshawar and Quetta and military strategists are almost unanimously of the opinion that to protect this area it is necessary to hold both the eastern and the western extremities of the five main mountain passes. In normal times the defence of the Frontier, in Dr. Davies's opinion, can be entrusted to native troops, but he emphasizes the importance of greater mobility in cases of emergency which can only be ensured by the construction of a more efficient road and railway system to enable British troops to be rapidly concentrated at any point of danger.

The final pacification of the Frontier, if such a thing is indeed possible, must necessarily be a slow process. Waziristan, it should be remembered, is not a self-supporting country and from time immemorial economic necessity has compelled the tribesmen to eke out their precarious existence by means of robbery and plunder. Dr. Davies, however, produces convincing evidence to show that from 1890 onwards political propaganda, instigated directly or indirectly by the Afghan Government, has been a potent cause of unrest among the tribesmen. Until the blockade of the Persian Gulf, too, in 1910 warfare on the Frontier was certainly augmented by the alarming increase of gun-running that was going on. It is essential for the security of India and the maintenance of peace on the Frontier that

British predominance in the Persian Gulf should be maintained and that any recrudescence of this illicit traffic in arms should be instantly suppressed.

Politicians of all schools of thought who are interested in the well-being of India, should most certainly read Dr. Davies's book and should bear in mind his warning that "any Great Power which fails adequately to protect its frontier ceases to be great; any empire that neglects this important duty of self-preservation is eventually overthrown".

The book contains three excellent maps prepared by the author, and a most useful bibliography.

CUTHBERT HEADLAM.

THE JESUITS AND THE GREAT MOGUL. By Sir EDWARD MACLAGAN. pp. xxi + 434, 12 plates, 2 maps. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1932. 17s. 6d.

This well-written and well-arranged work provides the student of Indian history with the first comprehensive account of Jesuit activities in Mughal India from Aquaviva's mission in the reign of Akbar to the death at Lucknow in 1803 of Father Wendel, the ex-Jesuit. Although Sir Edward Maclagan offers an apology to his readers for the frequency with which they are introduced to the authorities on which his narrative is based, no such apology is necessary, for much of the value of this book lies in the excellent arrangement whereby future investigators may readily find references to information scattered throughout numerous publications. Useful work on this subject has already been done by Father Hosten, a list of whose articles will be found in Appendix ii, and by Mr. C. J. Payne whose *Akbar and the Jesuits* and *Jahangir and the Jesuits* were published in 1926 and 1930 respectively. It is interesting to note that manuscript copies of several works in Persian written by the Jesuit missionaries form part of the Marsden collection in the School of Oriental Studies. These are described in considerable detail in Chapter xiv.

When it is remembered that the Persian sources for the last ten years of Akbar's reign are of little historical value, some idea will be obtained of the importance of the Jesuit reports for any reconstruction of the history of this period. The *Tabakāt-i-Akbari* does not extend beyond the year 1593; Badaoni's work ends in 1595; and the

Akbarnāma, which is historically unimportant in its later chapters, comes to an abrupt conclusion with the murder of Abul Fazl in 1602. More than this, the testimony of the Jesuits, like the general body of European evidence, serves as a useful corrective to the official historians so prone to eulogistic descriptions of the activities of contemporary monarchs. Badaoni, a stern and orthodox Sunni, is of course violently opposed to Akbar's eclecticism. Again, the Jesuit Fathers, unlike Hawkins and other rough sailors of the period, were cultured men and skilled observers. At the same time, in order to arrive at the truth, it is always necessary to take their religious and political views into consideration, for not only did they represent the forces of the Counter-Reformation but they were also leaders of deputations from the Portuguese settlement at Goa. It must always be borne in mind that they were not casual travellers but men who came into the closest contact with Akbar and Jahangir. Residing at the Mughal court, they had, in the early days of the mission, unrivalled opportunities for observation, and, if it were for this alone, their opinions must carry great weight.

At first the Jesuits turned their attention to the conversion of Akbar, but the attempt ended in failure. There were many reasons for this. The Jesuits attributed their lack of success to the fact that Akbar was a bad listener; that he was quite unable to give up the pleasures of the harem and confine himself to one wife; and that he was seeking a sign, such as the fire ordeal, but no sign was forthcoming. Akbar himself stated quite frankly that he found the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation to be the chief obstacle. Bohlen in his *Alte Indien* and Noer in his *Kaiser Akbar* suggested that Akbar was influenced by reports which had reached him of the cruelties of the Inquisition at Goa, but Sir Edward points out that there is nothing in the records to show that Akbar had heard of the Inquisition.

The chapter on Shah Jahan contains an excellent and detailed examination of all the available evidence relating to the attack upon Hugli and the fate of the Christian prisoners. Opinions will always be divided as to whether this can be cited as an example of religious or political intolerance. It is now generally recognized that the orthodoxy of Aurangzeb was not so abrupt as has sometimes been imagined, for there was a gradual growth of intolerance after the death of Akbar. Nevertheless, as the author points out, the Fathers had hopes that in the person of Dara Shikoh they would once more be able to establish their influence in high places. The victory of Aurangzeb,

however, sealed the fate of the Jesuit missions. But, even under the greatest Puritan monarch of Muslim India, certain Fathers were exempted by a *parwana* in 1693 from paying the *jizya*. This privilege was continued by Bahadur Shah. Similar exceptions were granted by Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah. In analysing the failure of the Jesuits it should not be forgotten that the decline of Portuguese political power also adversely affected their interests, for the Portuguese alliance was no longer regarded as important.

Other interesting and important subjects dealt with in this valuable work are the Indian Bourbons, Akbar's Christian wife, the influence of the missions on Mughal painting, and Jesuit enterprise in Tibet. Readers who have forgotten Cicero's advice in *De Senectute* will be interested in the chapter on cemeteries.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF CASTE IN INDIA. Vol. I. By NRIPENDRA KUMAR DUTT. pp. xi + 310. Kegan Paul, 1931. 12s. 6d.

CASTE AND RACE IN INDIA. By G. S. GHURYE. pp. vii + 309. Kegan Paul, 1932. 10s. 6d.

THE CASTE SYSTEM OF NORTHERN INDIA. By E. A. H. BLUNT. pp. ix + 374. Oxford University Press, 1931. 15s.

INDIAN CASTE CUSTOMS. By L. S. S. O'MALLEY. pp. ix + 190. Cambridge University Press, 1932. 6s.

This diversified group of volumes approaches the problems of caste from very different angles. Both Mr. Blunt and Mr. O'Malley deal with the caste system as it exists now. Mr. Blunt is concerned almost exclusively with the United Provinces, and has aimed at gathering together into one volume the various information scattered through census reports and the works such as those of the late Mr. Crooke. Mr. O'Malley's purpose is much more general. He seeks to draw a general picture of caste as it exists to-day in India as a whole, and to estimate the extent of the changes which have been introduced into it by modern conditions. Both volumes are well done, and succeed in their purpose. Mr. Dutt's volume forms the first of a work intended to survey the history of caste throughout the whole period of Indian history. At present he has reached the year B.C. 300. He is mainly concerned with expounding the traditional theories of caste contained in the classical texts, and, so far as the present volume goes, does not seem to have anything very new to say. Mr. Ghurye's work is perhaps

the most original of the four, and contains much matter of interest. He, too, has much to say that will be familiar to many of his readers ; and on the whole he must be adjudged to have exaggerated the position of the Sudra even under the early Hindu régime. But he devotes part of his volume to a criticism of the theories of the late Sir Herbert Risley, especially the theory that the nasal index corresponds closely with the social precedence of the caste-men concerned. Mr. Ghurye concludes that while this theory is true in a broad sense for northern India, and especially for the United Provinces it cannot be applied at all to the other provinces, such as Bombay or Madras. He is therefore inclined to think that whereas in northern India the population is as a whole homogeneous, elsewhere Brahmanism was carried by a small number of men who found themselves obliged to take women of the country as wives and so introduce new complications into the problem of the relations of caste and race.

H. D.

COLONIAL POLICY. By A. D. A. DE KAT ANGELINO. 2 Vols, pp. viii + 530 ; vii + 674. The Hague : Martinus Nijhoff, 1931.

These volumes are an abridged translation of Dr. De Kat Angelino's massive work on the development of colonial policy. Such translations are most welcome. The work itself is concerned not with colonial policy as a whole, but with the development of Dutch colonial policy—that is to say, with the development of the Dutch possessions in the East. Very little has been published in English on this most interesting topic, in which every Englishman concerned in any way with Anglo-Eastern interests ought to be well-read. For the problems of the Dutch, and the goal of their policy, are much the same as our own. Both nations are seeking to deal with their responsibilities as trustees for others ; and if in some respects the Dutch task has ever been easier than ours, that does not rob their proposed solutions of value. The present work is divided into two parts. The first is concerned with matters of principle : and those who are acquainted only with the older history of Dutch colonial administration will be surprised at the liberality which pervades the expression of Dr. De Kat Angelino's views. His subject of discussion is the difficult and evasive problem of the relations of East and West. He discusses such questions as the modernization of Eastern States and more particularly the methods by which the cultures of Europe and Asia can best be synthesized. He then proceeds to supplement his

theory of the relations of Holland and its Eastern dependencies by an analysis of the actual facts of those relations. Here his work bears most closely on such topics as the relations with the protected states of India or with the Federated States of Malaya. The Dutch were always peculiarly careful to preserve as far as possible the older forms of government and with them the families of the rulers. They consciously sought to perpetuate the indirect mode of government which in large parts of India the English were too impatient to preserve, although elsewhere and in more recent times we seem to have changed our attitude. Here, specially, the present work should provide English readers with food for thought. We hope that they will take advantage of the opportunity provided for them by the publication of these volumes.

H. D.

THE LIFE OF THE ICELANDER JAN OLAFSSON. Vol. II. Edited by the late Sir RICHARD TEMPLE and L. M. ANSTEY. Hakluyt Society (Bernard Quaritch), 1932.

The value of this volume lies in the interesting and minute detail which the writer, a gunner in the service of the Danish East India Company, gives us of life aboard ship and life in garrison at Tranquebar, in the early years of the seventeenth century. Olafsson wrote many years after the events which he describes; his memory plays him false regarding names and dates: his love of the supernatural invests his dreams with a portentous significance; his love of the marvellous creates a sea-serpent off the Indo-Danish settlement; his self-importance evidently exaggerates the affection and respect shown to him by the rest of the ship's company. But despite these limitations of his accuracy, his narrative forms just the sort of story which hundreds of returned mariners, Dutch and Danish, English and Portuguese, must have related to their friends and families after their return from the remote East Indies, amid a hushed and not over-credulous silence. Every now and then he records a detail which reminds us pointedly of the difference between his generation and ours. Such is the remark that when he was undergoing a surgical operation on his hand, he had six men to hold him fast. He shows us the garrison at Tranquebar mounting guard, and closing its gates at service-time and dinner-time. He notes (to the present writer's great surprise) that the garrison bathed daily. He illustrates the early practice of

casting lots to determine which of a body of condemned prisoners should actually be put to death. On the technical side perhaps the most interesting detail which he has preserved is the method of loading the ship's guns at a time before it was the custom to allow the guns to be carried inboard by the recoil of their firing and when, therefore, it was necessary to load them from a platform outside the ship itself.

H. D.

ACROSS THE GOBI DESERT. By SVEN HEDIN. Translated from the German by H. J. CANT. pp. xxi + 402, 3 maps. Routledge, 1931. 25s.

The interest of Dr. Sven Hedin's account of his latest expedition into Central Asia lies even more, perhaps, in what he promises to tell us than in this preliminary record. The story of the journey, interestingly as it is told, is yet unimportant when compared with the scientific work of the Mission, of which we hear just enough to wish that the account had been published in full.

The discovery of the bed of the ancient Lop Sea, of which the mysterious Lop-nor is but a shrunken remnant, and the fulfilling of the predictions which he made thirty years ago regarding what he believed to be an inevitable change in the position of the lake, must have given Dr. Hedin great satisfaction. If, as he himself says, the expedition had done no more than solve the Lop-nor problem which has so long intrigued geographers, it would have justified itself. But it did much more; and we hope that it will not be long before the record of the scientific side of the expedition becomes available.

Already both European and Chinese members of the party have published in part their discoveries in geology, archæology, topography, etc., but the relation in English of the scientific results of the expedition would greatly increase our knowledge of Central Asia, and enhance the author's reputation as an explorer.

Dr. Hedin has been fortunate in his translator.

E. EDWARDS.

MYAMMA MIN OKCHOKPON SADAN. Compiled by U. TIN. 2 parts. Rangoon: Government Press, 1931-2.

As its title indicates, this is a book on the public administration of Burma in Burmese times. It covers a period of over five centuries, from the reign of the Shan King of Ava, Min Kyiswa Sawke (1368-1401),

to that of King Thibaw, who was deposed by the British in 1886. Besides historical information, it contains much that is of great interest to the research student regarding old customs and beliefs of the Burmese.

For the information given, the compiler, U. Tin, has had recourse not only to royal orders, vernacular histories of Burma and Arakan, records of the Hlutdaw, or supreme court, stone epigraphs, and inscriptions on pagoda and monastery bells, but also to private documents which heretofore do not appear to have been made public, and the subjects range from coronation rituals and the duties of kings to the duties of slaves to their masters. There are also sumptuary laws which include rules prescribing the kind and texture of cloth to be worn by persons of each class of society.

Some of the depositions of *thugyis*, or village headmen, that were recorded when the *Sittan*, or Revenue Inquest of King Bodawpaya, was made in 1784 contain curious details. For example, every villager who grew *hinnunwè* (spinach) had to give the headman a bundle, and those who grew gourds, two gourds: each householder was bound to give him a bundle of firewood a month, and when a buffalo or ox died, the *thugyi* was entitled to receive two ribs of beef, a privilege which must have been appreciated when the slaughter of cattle was strictly forbidden on religious grounds. When the headman died he was buried, or burnt, in a specially ornamented coffin. Some of the depositions show that gynæocracy existed in certain villages where the *thugyi* was always a woman.

The population of Burma, according to this inquest, was about two millions. It is now well over thirteen millions, but the hill-tribes could not have found a place in the census of 1784. Bodawpaya's *Sittan* is regarded as forming an epoch in the rural annals of Burma. It was based on the sworn statements of village headmen and forms a complete record of the population and resources of the Empire, and as the boundaries of headmen's jurisdictions were recorded it is referred to even at the present time. Like the English Domesday Book of 1086, it was popularly regarded as an instrument of fresh exactions.

It has been said that Empalement has never been a legal penalty in Burma, but on p. 5, vol. 2, it is mentioned as being one of the thirty-two kinds of punishments which kings may inflict on their subjects. Of the remaining thirty-one, nearly all are abominably cruel according to our notions.

At the end of the book is an account, which evidently has been

taken from private sources, of how Thibaw, the last of the Burmese kings, came to succeed his father instead of one of the elder princes, of whom there were many, and it is stated that during the first year of his reign, the young king had resolved to visit London, and actually had begun to select the members of his suite, when he abandoned the project owing to the opposition of Queen Supvalat and a favourite Minister, the Taingda *Mingyi*, who feared, doubtless with good reason, for distrust and treachery between brothers has been the inveterate canker in the royal families of Burma, that one of the senior princes might seize the throne during the King's absence. Had Thibaw made this visit, the subsequent history of Burma might have been written differently, the wholesale massacre of princes and their families, a massacre which greatly exceeded in the number of persons executed all previous massacres, might not have taken place, and Thibaw would not have gone down to posterity as Madayat pa Min, the king who was taken to Madras.

W. A. HERTZ.

A HISTORY OF URDU LITERATURE. By T. GRAHAME BAILEY. Heritage of India Series. pp. xii + 120. Calcutta: Association Press, 1932. 3s.

It is hardly creditable to British scholarship that no history of Urdu literature by a British author has hitherto appeared, and that Garcin de Tassy's *Histoire de la littérature hindouie et hindoustanie*, of which the first volume was published over ninety years ago, still remains a standard work. It is only quite recently that anything comprehensive was again attempted, this time by an Indian scholar, Ram Babu Saksena's *History of Urdu Literature* being published in 1927. This is on the whole an admirable book, but it lacks references and, being intended rather for the general reader than the specialist, it tends to avoid minutiae. In the circumstances the limitations imposed by the small scale of the "Heritage of India" series must have been galling to Dr. Grahame Bailey: but perhaps he will be able to expand the present work into something more substantial on the lines, though not necessarily of the proportions, of Professor Browne's volumes on Persian literature, with illustrative extracts. No one is better qualified for such a task, and Urdu, if only for the reason that it is almost certain to have a distinguished future, deserves detailed historical treatment.

For the present, Dr. Grahame Bailey has given us a useful sketch history of the language from its beginnings down to 1928. Writers

who were alive in that year have been excluded, with the exception of Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl, while not much is said about the Press and the various literary journals, in which, as a matter of fact, some of the best contemporary writing is to be found. Most of the book is taken up with a list of some 250 writers of poetry and prose, with notes on their lives and works. Some of the notices are naturally very brief, but those on the chief personalities and movements are sometimes models of felicitous compression, hardly anything of first rate interest being omitted.

Two special features of the book are the importance attached to the influence of the Panjab and Panjabi on the early development of the language, and the lucid account of the growth and influence of Dakhnī Urdu—the latter a remarkable phenomenon to which insufficient attention has hitherto been given, and on which the author furnishes some fresh details, the fruit of recent research.

As regards the influence of the Panjab, Dr. Grahame Bailey makes an original point in observing (page 6) that "Urdu is always said to have arisen in Delhi, but we must remember that Persian-speaking soldiers entered the Panjab and began to live there nearly 200 years before the first Sultan sat on the throne of Delhi", and that what is supposed to have happened in Delhi must, in fact, have taken place in Lahore centuries earlier. On the other hand it is easy to overrate the importance of this. No doubt some kind of mixed Urdu or camp-language existed in the Panjab before Delhi became the main capital, but Panjabi left little or no trace on the literary or spoken idiom that survived, the grammatical structure deriving from Western Hindi.

There is no space here to discuss Dr. Grahame Bailey's appraisal of the leading figures in Urdu literature. Mir, Anīs, and Ghālib, he says, are probably now regarded as the three greatest poets in the language, while he implies that Saudā's reputation has declined. It is interesting to compare this judgment with Blumhardt's remark that Saudā "is universally considered to be the greatest of Hindustani poets", and with that of Ram Babu Saksenā, that he is "generally considered to be the greatest and most powerful of Urdu poets."

The definition (page 3) of *dīvān* as "a collection of poems, chiefly gazals", might be amplified. Though the word *dīvān* is sometimes loosely used, it usually implies in Urdu as in Persian an alphabetical arrangement. Juvainī's *Jahān-kushāī* (page 11) was completed in A.D. 1260, not in 1150.

VELI KRISAN RUKMAṆĪ RĪ. By PRITHĪRĀJ. Translated by the late JAGMĀL SĪH. Revised (in translation) and edited by ṬHĀKUR RĀM SĪH and SŪRAJ KARAṆ PĀRIK. 9 × 6. pp. 9 + 914. The Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1931. Price 6 rupees.

Prithīrāj was a gallant sixteenth-century prince as mighty with his pen as with his sword, upheld by an equally brave wife. His famous letter to Pratāp Sīh may be adduced as characteristic of his warrior spirit. But while his bravery in the field has been recognized, his merits as a poet have not. The editors of this book hold that he ranks with the great souls of Hindī literature and can commune on equal terms with Tulsī, Sūr. Cand, and Hariścandr. Not much of his work is extant, but what exists, both in Piṅgal and in Ḍiṅgal, particularly in Ḍiṅgal, is of excellent quality; indeed in the latter he excelled all other poets. He must, of course, be distinguished from Prithīrāj Cauhan, Cand Bardāi's hero.

A long introduction by Sūraj KaraṆ Pārik mentions the four principal dialects of Rājputānā, and gives useful information about the literature. Mevātī, which resembles Bāgaṛū, is very "rough and ear-piercing", and has no literature. Another dialect of no literary importance is Mālvī. At the present day all Rājputānī prose is written in Dhūḍhārī, known also as Jaipurī, which is spoken in Jaipur, Alvar, and Hārōtī. The most important dialect is Mārvārī, in which the authors include Mevārī, Thalī, and Jodhpurī. Its poetical literature is both extensive and inspiring. The old literary form of Rājputānī is called Ḍiṅgal. In the sixteenth century when Prithīrāj wrote, it was already different from the language of prose, and now even educated Mārvārīs find it difficult to understand.

Rājputānā has always been the home of bards, and the time of Prithīrāj was specially prolific in poems of martial prowess, narrating great deeds, human or superhuman. Foremost among these, not unworthy companions to *Krisan Rukmaṇī rī Velī*, are *Rukmiṇī Maṅgal* by Padm Bhakt and *Narasī ro Mahero*, the author of which was a humble woodman.

The Introduction contains a few pages on Ḍiṅgal grammar by Nārottam Sīh, who compiled also the vocabulary (2,500 words). The text of Prithīrāj's poem, 610 lines in length, is printed along with a commentary, followed by over fifty pages of "various readings" and 300 pages of Notes. The commentary is founded on four others, the best of which, written in Dhūḍhārī and contemporary with the poem itself, is printed in extenso as an appendix; another in Mārvārī

is by a Jain paṇḍit. Two others are in Sanskrit, and one of these is given in a second appendix.

The date of the poem is 1580. This appears from a somewhat obscure statement in the last couplet, where we read :—

*varasi acal guṇ ang sasi sāvati
tariyau jas kari śrī bhartār.*

i.e. in the Vikramī year of the (seven) mountains, the (three) qualities, the (six) Ved-subjects, and the (one) moon I have sung the praise of Rukmiṇī and her husband.

The figures give us 7361, which read backwards yields 1637, corresponding to A.D. 1580.

Altogether the volume before us is a valuable work, reflecting the greatest credit on the editors and those who have helped them. The only suggestion I permit myself to make is that in all similar works which the Hindustani Academy may publish, it should be an instruction to authors and editors to broaden the basis of their literary criticism, so that, while all that is best in the older and more conventional Sanskrit and Hindi methods is preserved, the writings of more modern schools of thought may be laid under contribution and new light thrown on the treasures of the past.

T. G. B.

YŪRAP MĒ DAKHNĪ MAKHTŪTĀT. By NAṢĪR UD DĪN HĀSHIMĪ.
9½ × 6¼. pp. 11 + 714. Hyderabad, 1932.

During the last few years there has been great activity in connection with the Osmaniya University and allied institutions. Young men who are all Dakhnīs, and older men who often come from the north, have vied with each other in the production of literary works. Among the former it is sufficient to mention the names of Abd ul Qādir Sarvarī, Muḥiuddīn Qādrī, Sayyad Muḥammad and the author of the volume before us. Much of their work is good, but their Ūrdū style frequently leaves something to be desired, for they feel it incumbent on them to prove that their mastery of Ūrdū has not been impaired by their living at a distance from Delhi and Lucknow, the great centres of the language, and this unfortunately they do by employing unnecessary Arabic and Persian words. If only they would realize that simplicity is one of the ornaments of style and would prefer simple, indigenous words to little-known foreign ones, their books

would gain much and their readers still more. Having said this, I must add that among the younger men the writer of the work under review is perhaps the least addicted to exotic words.

Mr. Hāshimī is already known as the author of *Dakan mē Urdū*, in which he traced briefly the history of Urdū literature in his native land. He has followed up his theme in a very interesting fashion. Taking advantage of a travelling scholarship he came to this country and made a study of the Dakhnī MSS. mentioned in the catalogues of our libraries and in that of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. In addition to translating part of the material in the catalogue, he here describes the MSS. and their writers, but does not attempt to discuss Dakhnī literature as a whole or divide the MSS. into periods; he takes them in approximately chronological order without relating them to one another. The work is thus a kind of supplement to his former labours. It is useful for scholars here who may wish to learn what is known about the Dakhnī MSS. which are available in Great Britain.

How important they are will be realized when we remember that practically all Urdū literature before 1732 is Dakhnī. A study of the dates shows us how many unpublished works written before then are now in our libraries. The list is :—

- India Office, 24.
- British Museum, 11.
- Royal Asiatic Society, 3.
- Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1.
- Bodleian, 1.
- Edinburgh University, 1.
- (Paris, 3.)

They come to forty-one, excluding Paris, but some are found in two libraries. If we omit these, we have thirty-one, and three in Paris. The oldest is *Qu'b Mushtarī*, 1609. But actually there are two, passed over by Mr. Hāshimī, older than any of them, viz. *Khūb Tarang*, 1578 (India Office) and *Nūr Nāma*, late sixteenth century (British Museum). So thirty-three distinct unpublished Dakhnī works, older than all but two or three of those in north India, can be studied in our country.

Mr. Hāshimī gives his opinion on some points which I left uncertain in my *History of Urdū Literature*. Thus he states that the two Afzals (p. 42 in my book) were different men. I suggested that possibly they were one and the same.

Again, I mentioned only one poem, *Lailā Majnūn*, by Aḥmad Daknī (p. 22), but Mr. Hāshimī attributes to him a fragment of 1,200 lines from an unnamed poem which he calls *Muṣibat i Ahl i Bait* (India Office, Cat. 73, 6). This name is, of course, a description of the contents.

The kings of the Quṭb Shāhī and ‘Ādil Shāhī dynasties are not represented in Europe. This is regrettable, particularly in the case of M. Qulī Quṭb Shāh, who was the first writer of literary Urdū, a man of wide sympathies and considerable poetic power.

The transliteration of English and French names is not always good. “Edinburgh” is given in three different forms, “Paris” in two. “Bibliothèque Nationale” appears as *bibliātak dī naiṣhanal* instead of *bīblīotaiḱ nāṣyonāl*; “de Tassy” is written *dī ṭāsī* instead of *datāsī*, the form used by ‘Abdul Qādir Sarvarī (the *da* being separate in Urdu). The phrase “Agrééz. Monsieur. l’assurance de ma considération la meilleure” is understood as a promise on the part of the librarian to give his best consideration to the author’s suggestions.

Finally, Mr. Hāshimī deserves our cordial thanks for having brought to a successful conclusion a big bit of work. The book is both useful and interesting.

T. G. B.

HINDĪ ŚĀBD SANGRAH. Compiled by MUKUNDĪ LĀL and RĀJ VALLABH SAHĀY. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7. pp. 600. Benares, 1930. Rs. 4-8.

The two compilers of this dictionary deserve our gratitude for the labour which they have put into it. In their search for words they were successful in discovering 600–700 which had escaped the editors of so large a work as the *Śabd Sāgar*. Of these, 250 were unknown, and their meanings could not be given. In 1928, when the Supplement to the *Śabd Sāgar* was in preparation, they sent 125 for incorporation in it, and they regretfully mention that only seventy or eighty of these were accepted.

These facts draw attention to a matter of some moment which can be illustrated by a recent experience of my own. It has been my lot to work through one of Tod’s Rājputānī MSS. with a student for a Higher Degree, and we discovered a number of words which we failed to recognize and which are not given in any dictionary. It ought to be possible to produce a supplement (say to the *Śabd Sāgar* or *Śabd Sangrah*) which would give every word used in published

literary works, and even in a limited number of important MSS., but not found in our present dictionaries. This might be succinct, only a few pages in length. It would be unnecessary to insert words which could be found in every Sanskrit dictionary. The chief desideratum would be a list of words found in works written in Hindi languages other than Khari. The volume before us contains, it is claimed, those in existing lexicons and vocabularies including pure Sanskrit ones used by the earlier Hindi writers. The total number is 36,259.

A feature, notable in a work of this size, is the inclusion of quotations from old authors ; over 7,000 words are illustrated in this way.

Many scholars and students will be glad to have a dictionary as small as this and yet so full, at such a low price, and will join me in thanking the two men who have prepared it.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

SYRISCHE GRAMMATIK. VON A. UNGNAD. 2. Auflage. pp. 123 + 100*.
Muenchen : Beck, 1932. RM. 7.

The aim of the series to which this grammar belongs, the *Clavis Linguarum Semiticarum*, is to enable a beginner to read a strange language without the help of a teacher. This book gives all that is needful and not a word more. The grammar is concise and clear, the forms of the verb and noun are set out in tables in full, and an elaborate system of cross-references shows where the necessary explanations are. Syriac exercises, beginning with forms and rising to simple sentences, numbered according to the paragraph of the grammar illustrated, lead up to the chrestomathy which is well chosen. The notes to the texts and the vocabulary are given in both German and English. The English is correct. The use of some technical terms presupposes a knowledge of Hebrew grammar. This, the second edition, is a photographic reproduction of the first. Some of the Syriac words are smudged and hard to recognize, especially in the vocabulary. A few vowels and other diacritics are misplaced and the first two lines of paragraph 1*b* are in sad disorder. It might be argued that in North Semitic verbs first "n" are weak ; but there are arguments on both sides.

A. S. T.

A COPTIC DICTIONARY. Compiled by W. E. CRUM. (Parts II and III, ⲉⲓⲛⲉ-ⲛⲟⲩⲉ and ⲛⲟⲩⲉ-ⲧⲟⲕ) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930, 1932. 42s. net each. (To be completed in five parts: subscription price for the whole, £7 7s.)

The first part of this magistral undertaking was noticed in the *Bulletin*, Vol. V, p. 611 sqq., when an attempt was made to give some account of Crum's lexicographical principles and to indicate the manner in which this work was compiled. It is satisfactory to know that it is now more than half printed, and though the end is not yet in sight, Coptic scholars have already a very substantial and indispensable aid to their work.

Crum's skill in arrangement, which was mentioned before, may be judged by reading through some of the longer articles, such as ⲕⲟ, ⲙⲁ, ⲙⲟⲓⲛⲉ, ⲛⲁⲩ, ⲛⲟⲩⲉ, ⲣⲟ, ⲕⲁ, ⲕⲣⲁⲓ, †: his modesty (and the amount of elucidatory work still to be done in Coptic) by the number of entries "meaning unknown" or "uncertain". In the third part he draws upon the important new Manichæan papyri found in the Fayyûm, which will provide a plentiful crop of addenda for the earlier letters in the final indices, for he has been able to incorporate them in his text only from ⲛ onwards. I am told that to the reference given (or rather anticipated) by Crum for these in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte* we may add Lüders in *D.L.Z.*, 1932, col. 1772, and Carl Schmidt in *Forschungen u. Fortschritte*, 1041, 1932, pp. 354-5.

A certain austerity in etymologies sometimes provokes our curiosity without satisfying it. If ⲕⲣⲓⲙⲉ is derived from ⲕⲁ (*man*) + ⲛⲓⲙⲉ, why is the initial ⲕ dropped in the plural ⲛⲓⲙⲉ? And Peyron's erroneous derivation of ⲕⲁⲣⲁⲕⲟⲩⲧⲉ (*venditor Alexandriae*) is not even mentioned. But it is an interesting suggestion that a misreading of this word may have produced the enigmatic *Sarabaita*.

S. GASELEE.

GUÈBRÈ SELLIASSIÉ: CHRONIQUE DU RÈGNE DE MÉNÉLIK II. Traduite de l'amharique par TÈSFA SELLIASSIÉ, publiée et annotée par MAURICE DE COPPET. Two vols., with portfolio of maps and plans. Paris: Maisonneuve Frères. 500 francs.

The first volume of this work was reviewed in Vol. VI of the *Bulletin* (p. 816): the second begins in the middle of the Italian war,

and, after a general description of the organization of Menelik's expeditionary forces (which applies to all his campaigns as well as to this), we reach the junction of Menelik's and Walda Giorgis's armies and their victory at Adowa. There is no new material to enable us to decide whether, as is sometimes stated, the Abyssinians were so short of supplies that the Italians came within an ace of turning the fortunes of the day: but there are some interesting details as to the part played by the women of the Royal family (especially the Empress Taitu) in encouraging the Abyssinian troops to advance when they seemed in danger of wavering and breaking their line.

The chronicle then proceeds to describe the rest of Menelik's reign—the conclusion of peace with Italy, the consolidation of the Ethiopian empire by the defeat of Ras Mangasha and the conquest of Tigre, and the advance of civilization as shown by the institution of a mint, a telephone, and the restoration of churches both in Abyssinia and in the Abyssinian properties in Jerusalem. It concludes with the appeal of Menelik on his death-bed to all the princes to recognize Lij Iyasu as his successor.

The final instalment of the chronicle occupies rather less than half of the present volume: it is followed by a series of appendices, all useful, but of varying value, on subjects connected with the Church of Abyssinia, the languages spoken in the country, the calendar, slavery, coinage, and finally a concise sketch of Abyssinian history from 1909 to 1916. Then follows a really excellent bibliography—the most complete¹ I have yet seen, which will be of immense value to students, and a full alphabetical index, too often absent from French learned publications.

This second volume is as richly illustrated as the first, with representations of seals, photographs of places of importance mentioned in the text, and portraits of notabilities (Menelik himself at various ages, Hapta Giorgis, the Empress Zauditu, Gugsu-Walie, the Empress Taitu, Ras Tessamma, Lij Iyasu, the dejach Balcha, and the present Emperor). A coloured frontispiece represents the battle of Adowa by a contemporary Abyssinian artist in which it is interesting to note the continuance of a very ancient convention of Abyssinian art: the good (i.e. the Abyssinians) are all represented in full or three-quarter face; the bad (i.e. the Italians) all in profile.

S. GASELEE.

¹ But add Simpson, *An Artist's Jottings in Abyssinia*, 1868.

CINQ ANNÉES DE RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES EN ÉTHIOPIE. Par le R. P. AZAÏS et R. CHAMBARD. One vol. text, with album of illustrations. Paris : Geuthner, 1931. 350 francs.

Father Azaïs returned to Paris from Thrace at the end of the Allied occupation in 1920, with the results of his diggings there, and General Charpy, who had been his chief, proposed to take him with him to Asia Minor on similar work : but M. Pottier, the Keeper of the Louvre, recollecting that he had been fifteen years in Abyssinia prior to 1914, thought that he was especially well equipped for work in that country, and thither he went, supported by grants from the French Ministry of Public Instruction, the Quai d'Orsay, and the French Geographical and Photographical Societies : the École des Langues Orientales supplied him with a young student and helper, M. Roger Chambard (trained under Marcel Cohen), whose name appears on the title-page as joint author. The last and longest of their five excursions, lasting seven months, was at the expense of the enlightened Regent Taffari, now the Emperor Haile Sellassie I.

The results of the work of these five years are well summed up in M. Pottier's preface :—

(1) In the province of Harar, a series of sepulchral dolmens, not unlike those already known in certain parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and similarly inexplicable—or at least as yet unexplained.

(2) In the Gurage country, south of Addis Ababa, sepulchral tumuli surrounded by blocks of stone flat on one side and rounded on the other, reminiscent of certain early stone circles in France.

(3) Menhirs, consisting of flat slabs rounded to shoulders towards the top : surmounted by a coarsely executed head, while the slabs are covered with ornament apparently representing richly embroidered dress. A few of the heads are bearded and masculine—most feminine.

(4) Further south, near Lake Margherita, at Soddo in the Wallamo country, sepulchral slabs inscribed with a more or less geometrical representation of the human form.

(5) East of the great lakes, a large number of phallic columns : such are already known at Axum, but the new discoveries are larger, more numerous, and in some ways more realistic. They bear markings which appear connected with a cult of the sun and stars.

Father Azaïs has, fortunately, not contented himself with the investigation of archæological material alone : he records folk-lore and semi-historical legends in valuable detail. Thus we find a parallel (p. 36) to the Shakespearean "Till Birnam Wood do come to

Dunsinane " and (p. 56) to the whisper into the ground that Midas had ass's ears, and its subsequent divulgation : and constant indications in legend of the folk-memory of the horrors of Muhammad Grañ's invasion of Abyssinia from Harar in the middle of the sixteenth century (see *Bulletin*, Vol. VI, 3, p. 818), together with a reason for his savagery against all things Abyssinian and especially against the Abyssinian churches : he is said to have been the fruit of the rape or seduction of a Ghirri woman by an Amharic priest in the church of St. Michael at Chenassen, and Grañ began his campaign by burning this church to the ground.

Valuable appendices contain (1) Arabic burial inscriptions of the Harar district (text and translation by Paul Ravaisse), thirteenth century [of our era] and onwards : (2) an anthropological survey (skull measurements, etc.) by P. Lester, and (3) a list and description of the palæontological objects brought home by the expedition, by Jean Cottreau.

The reproductions in the album of photographs are beyond all praise, and Father Azaïs and M. Chambard are to be congratulated on their acquisition and publication of really first-class material for the study of the history and pre-history of Harar and the part of Ethiopia that lies south of Addis Ababa down to the Lakes.

S. GASELEE.

INTRODUCTION TO THE PHONOLOGY OF THE BANTU LANGUAGES. By CARL MEINHOF. Translated, revised, and enlarged in collaboration with the author and Dr. ALICE WERNER, by N. J. v. WARMELO. pp. 248, 1 map. Berlin : Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen). London : Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1932.

At last a translation of Meinhof's standard work has come out, that has, as the Preface tells us, been begun by Professor A. Werner, but according to several reasons was not brought to an end. The new collaborator at the work, Dr. v. Warmelo, is the author of a thesis on "Die Gliederung der südafrikanischen Bantusprachen" in the *Zeitschrift f. Eingeb. Sprachen*, 1927, and of several other publications concerning South African languages.

The new edition of the book, as compared with the second German edition (1910), exhibits a good many changes, in that some languages dealt with in the second German edition have been replaced by others,

viz. Duala, Herero. and Sango by Zulu and Kongo, both of which have been treated before in the *Zeitschr. f. Eingeb. Spr.* The rest of the book has also been revised, the main alterations being, as far as I see, the insertion of a chapter entitled "The Classification of the Bantu languages" (pp. 176-184), which gives a review of the principal phonological phenomena occurring in different parts of the Bantu area, such as the "Palatalization" (by which only influences of a preceding *i* are understood), the assimilation of nasals in successive syllables ("Nasalattraktion"), and the laws of dissimilation. In the beginning of Chapter II (Ur-Bantu) (pp. 18-21) a digression about the methods of comparative linguistics has been added, starting from the classical example of Indo-European comparative study. The text has been altered wherever recent studies have enlarged our knowledge on phonological facts, e.g. on p. 25, where Kulia, Ilamba, and Gikuyu have been added as languages still showing differences between the "Open" and "Close" vowels of Ur-Bantu (following the observations of Dempwolff and Barlow, comp. p. 26), but the views on the problems of Bantu phonology such as the nature of close vowels and the "primary fricatives" seem to have remained the same. The contrary views on these subjects, as e.g. expressed by M. Heepe in his article on "Probleme der Bantusprachforschung in geschichtlichem Überblick", *Zeitschr. d. Dtsch. Morgen. Ges.*, 1920, pp. 1-60, ought, however, to have been mentioned. Interesting is the more concrete translation of the terms "schwere Vokale" by "close vowels" and "Mischvokale" by "palatalized vowels" as well as the omission of the adjectives "alt" and "jung" as regards the *ni*- and *mu*- compounds. Also the denomination of Ful as a pre-hamitic language seems to have been given up.

The new edition has gained by the use made of fat print and headlines, a clearer aspect than the German edition. Also the old map of Bantu languages has been replaced by a new, fuller one.

It is to be hoped that by means of this translation Meinhof's method, that has for such a long time proved to be an efficient system, as well to deepen our knowledge of single languages by elucidating facts unexplainable in the set of the single language as also as a means to acquire a survey of the common features of this interesting language group, will find some more adepts in English-speaking countries.

HANS J. MELZIAN.

A VOCABULARY OF THE DIALECTS OF MASHONALAND IN THE NEW ORTHOGRAPHY. By The Rev. BERTRAM H. BARNES, C.R. pp. ix + 214. Sheldon Press. 2s. 6d.

This is a most valuable book, and both the compiler and the Language Committee on the Unification of Shona Dialects are to be congratulated on bringing it out so quickly after Dr. Doke's Report. It is likely to do great service in spreading the new orthography and in facilitating its use. The compiler sets out his aims in the preface, viz. to collate "the commoner words from the four or five chief dialects so as to help the speakers and students of one dialect to understand the words of the other dialects where they differ". He hopes that the book will form the basis of a bigger and more complete vocabulary, and to this end invites the co-operation of all students of the dialects. Tables of Grammatical Forms are included for reference, and an appendix on relationship terms in Mashonaland is added. The book is very well printed and got up, and its low price has been made possible by a generous grant from the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

I. C. W.

MODERN SWAHILI. By B. J. RATCLIFFE and Sir HOWARD ELPHINSTONE. pp. xviii + 310. London: The Sheldon Press, 1932. 10s. 6d.

The joint authors of Modern Swahili are to be congratulated on their production of a new grammar, designed to meet the needs of the present times.

To have done the work so satisfactorily is no mean achievement, especially when it is an attempt to find the G.C.M. of the various dialects of Swahili and to embody the result in the form of a grammar.

For those who, through compulsion or choice, sit for Government higher examinations this book should prove of practical value.

For the greater part of the book there is nothing to be said but words of praise. Part II gives a good deal of useful information not found in other grammars, and the chapters in Part I on verbs and formation of nouns should prove helpful to students wishful of acquiring facility in expression.

But the earlier chapters are marred by little inaccuracies in Swahili idiom, lack of punctuation in the Swahili sentences, and verbose

explanations in the text, and confusion in the use of grammatical terms.

Also, some few difficulties, which constitute the essence of Swahili idiom, are passed over too lightly, and the exercises on these points display either a poverty of examples, or examples in such poor English idiom, as to afford the student but little help in grasping the point at issue.

For instance: In illustrating the use of the "me" tense, the example given is: "The chief's house has fallen down"; and in the exercise on the "me" tense the sentence given is: "The clothes of the porter's wife have become torn." To use "have become torn", instead of "are torn", may help the student to translate that particular sentence, but affords him little help in understanding the use of the "me" tense in verbs expressing state—a first step in Swahili idiom.

On p. 118 we read: "The applied passive is likely to cause some confusion," yet this form, so truly characteristic of Swahili idiom, is dismissed in four sentences in the exercises, and the whole point lost by giving the English as a *literal* translation of the Swahili: "He was run away from."

On p. 36 a list is given of the reduplicated demonstratives in all their variety, but the exercises afford the student no help in using these demonstratives.

Often sentences illustrate grammatical points, but at some sacrifice to Swahili idiom. It is doubtful whether one hears such a wealth of demonstratives, adjectives, and particles as given in the sentence on p. 37: "*Mwivi huyo ameshika maguu manene yale ya waimbaji hao.*"

The confusion of terms, already referred to, may be seen in reference to adjectives and pronouns:—

- p. 31: Possessive Pronoun.
- p. 36: Demonstrative Adjectives.
- p. 37: Locative Demonstrative.
- p. 37: The Demonstrative.
- p. 38: Possessive Adjectives.
- p. 38: Possessive Particles.
- p. 38: Possessive Prefix.

This is all the more confusing because of the omission of a table of concords.

We read: "The authors recognize the advantages of tables of concord, but conceive it to be of far greater service to show each

separate class in its relation to sentence construction. The method adopted enables sentence building to commence immediately upon engaging in study."

But in *what way* is the use of a table of concords incompatible with sentence building immediately upon engaging in study? Should it not rather be a necessary complement to the explanations set forth, and thus show the relation of one set of concords to the others?

In conclusion, a few words seem necessary about the arrangement of the classes.

In a grammar entitled *Modern Swahili*, it is somewhat surprising to find that the arrangement of the classes follows that of the late Rev. W. E. Taylor in his *Groundwork of the Swahili Language*—a work representative of Mombasa Swahili.

And it is still more surprising that no comment is made calling attention to points where this arrangement differs from that of Zanzibar Swahili, which more closely approximates to what is termed Modern Swahili.

It must be confusing to a student who has studied Zanzibar Swahili to be confronted with a plural locative form without any note explaining its common use in Kimvita.

Also the "Ku" of the infinitive: "A going on in point of time," to be put with the "Ku" of the locative: "A going on in space," needs some comment as this arrangement differs from the classification given in the Zanzibar Swahili grammar books, hitherto accepted as standard Swahili.

Such notes would be especially useful, as these forms are more logical and need to be brought into notice.

E. O. ASHTON.

A MODERN IBO GRAMMAR. By R. F. G. ADAMS. pp. 200. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1932. 6s.

Mr. Adam's *Modern Ibo Grammar*, dealing with the Owerri dialect of this language, represents another outcome of the recent efforts towards the investigation of West African languages, which are linked up with the name of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. In fact, the author's phonetical chapter (chapter i) is based on an article on "The Arochuku dialect of Ibo" by Miss I. C. Ward and the author that has appeared in *Africa*, the journal of the

Institute, and he uses the orthography officially adopted for literary Ibo since Professor Westermann's visit to Nigeria in 1929. His aim is to give a first practical introduction to the Ibo language for the use of the European, and I think he has succeeded in reaching it. Besides the grammatical part, which he illustrates copiously by examples and patterns, he gives in his chapter on "Idioms" a series of highly valuable examples of Ibo everyday talk (conversations between market women, farmers, and hunters) and stories, thereby illustrating native life, as far as it is possible in the limited scope of his book. Having carefully worked through this part of the book, which supplements the exercises that are to be found in the grammatical chapters, with the help of the Ibo-English vocabulary (pp. 170-200), containing all the Ibo words used in the book, the student of Ibo will, it seems, possess a sufficient knowledge of both the grammar and the vocabulary of the language as to enable him to converse with Ibo people without the help of an interpreter or an intermediate language. But in the Ibo area there is one great obstacle to practical language study, viz. the extraordinary dialectical diversity of this language. To meet this difficulty (at least to a certain extent), the author has added an appendix showing the main features of the important Onitsha dialect.

Intonation has been treated in a special chapter (ii), but as the author says, the tone-marking "only aims at being suggestive". Nevertheless, a good deal of useful advice is contained in this chapter, e.g. about the tonal changes in questions, about negative verbs, imperative and subjunctive. The author gives also (p. 12) a tonal pattern of a high- and low-tone verb with an indication of the occurring mid-tones (which are not marked in the rest of the book). The most important thing would be to know, whether the tonal system of the language is based on the contrast of low and high, as would be suggested by the absence of mid-tone verbal stems, or whether one or two ¹ mid-tones are as essential and as original as low and high tone. The author seems, however, to ascribe too much of the tonal changes to psychological causes, e.g. when he says that the pitch of the syllable "is liable to modification according to the special mental picture which the speaker wishes to paint" (p. 8), or, when ascribing the low tone of the past tense (of high and low-tone verbs) to the definiteness of the statement (p. 9). It is, at least, not certain that a psychological reason is behind such a fact as the latter. The existence of a passive

¹ Cf. p. 8: "While every syllable has its own pitch, which may be high, half-high, or low, half-low" . . .

distinguished from an active form by tone is very interesting and recalls the same fact in Nilotic languages, e.g. in Shilluk. Very practical is the hint on tonal changes connected with the elision of vowels, as the beginner may often be puzzled by words shortened in this way in everyday speech. The use of a tone-mark on the letter *gh* (which is, by the way, a relic of the previous spelling of Ibo, retained in the new orthography) seems to be very unpractical, and it is highly probable that there is a short vowel following the consonant which bears the tone. A list of words distinguished by tone only (pp. 15-18) will prove to be useful.

The reviewer wishes the book a wide distribution among the European residents in the Ibo country, both for their own profit and that of the Ibo language, one of the most important languages of Nigeria, and one presenting as yet so many difficulties as to the development of a literary *κοινη*.

H. J. M.

THE AMA-XOSA: LIFE AND CUSTOMS. By JOHN HENDERSON SOGA.
Lovedale Press. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.,
Ltd. 21s.

Rarely do we come across a document written by an African in which he attempts to describe and explain the customs of his own people. Rev. Soga's book is therefore particularly interesting as it comes from the pen of an educated man of native descent and gives us his outlook upon the life of his own tribe of which he is proud indeed.

It is not untimely that we should have this point of view, for though the Xosas, a Bantu tribe of South-East Africa, have been under European administration for nearly a century the Europeans who have written about them have not delved very deeply into their mode of life, with the result that they have not succeeded in giving us a clear insight into the most important aspects of Xosa life.

The book is divided into two parts: Part I—Historical; Part II—Sociological.

He starts with an outline of the history of this South-East African tribe, in which he makes much of the not very significant points of similarity between Bantu and Jewish customs.

The best section of Part I is the next chapter—an excellent chapter in which the writer deals very ably with the clan system and the institution of chieftainship. He next discusses Xosa Law and gives a detailed description of their methods of warfare. These chapters are interesting, illuminating, and very well treated.

The chapter on Physical and other Characteristics would have been better placed in Part II. Here in a note on the Xosas' sense of humour Rev. Soga remarks that Europeans who have not mastered the inflection and tones of the Xosa language provide a never-failing source of amusement to the native (surely a suggestion for the linguist and phonetician to set to work in this field!).

Part I closes with a chapter on Kreli, last great chief of the Ama-Xosa. This splendid character study arouses sympathy for the chief.

Part II is a veritable patchwork of clumsily arranged chapters. A chapter on the Life and Customs of the tribe is followed by others on Sacrifice and Religion. In this last he includes a useful section on the various grades of diviners, but Ancestor Worship—so important in the lives of the Bantu—is surprisingly lightly touched on.

Next come chapters on Beliefs and Omens : Charms ; then a peculiar arrangement—one on Marriage Customs is separated from a chapter on Lobola by one on Circumcision.

He treats the custom of Lobola in a defensive way, and grants the womenfolk no disabilities because of it. This point of view is surely debatable.

Then, Mother and Infant : Children's Games ; Old Age, Death, and Burial. In his chapter on Proverbs and Metaphors Rev. Soga, by his choice of examples, illustrates the surprising vitality and aptness of the language and discloses an imagination with which the native is not usually credited.

The section on Taboos is divided into Women's, Girls', Men's, Boys', and General Taboos.

In a chapter on Sport the Xosa pastime of Ox Racing is delightfully described. Then comes an all too short account of the Economic Life, which nevertheless includes some intelligent remarks on the effect produced on Xosa life by European contact.

An insignificant chapter, Seasons, brings the book to a close. Several good photographs are included as illustrations.

Though early in the book Rev. Soga points out that "mis-interpretation of Bantu customs by European writers and failures by missionaries, who have had in the past the primary part to play

in the education and civilizing of the Bantu, to value aright the customs of this people are duly responsible for the failure both of education and civilization among them. No attempt has seriously been made to find the true inward meaning of, and retain what is best in, the customs and social institutions of the Bantu, and to bring them into line with what is best in European civilization. Had this been done progress would have been speeded up. To regard all Bantu customs as anathema deserving of utter damnation is pure ignorance and folly. The Bantu can never more live wholly under the laws and customs of his forebears, but he should be encouraged to retain what was good and useful in the past, and along with it accept what is best for his uplift from his new environment", in spite of this, he himself has left some serious gaps. Although he is idealistic, and sometimes weakly attempts to defend what Europeans criticize adversely by vaguely saying that these things are all for the purpose of maintaining the balance of the tribe, yet there is much of importance in Rev. Soga's book. It is a definite contribution to our knowledge of the Bantu, which no serious student of anthropology can afford to ignore.

B. HONIKMAN.

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AT HOME WITH THE SAVAGE. By J. H. DRIBERG. pp. x + 267.
London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 1932. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Driberg's new book is a pleasant book, a book that arouses interest and sympathy. It gives a survey of and an introduction to anthropology "for the general reader", as the author says in his preface, based on facts taken from all parts of the world, but showing clearly enough that the author has been "at home" in the field, and has retained a view of anthropology as a science of man and life. Everywhere we meet with this concept of anthropology, whether he stresses the need of seeing the individual in the primitive group, which means, finally, the living man, or whether he pleads for his science as a practical science, which is not to be understood as narrow utilitarianism, as the field of practice in this case. "native policy" in all its branches, covers all the burning problems of cultural contact of to-day, that will be the history of to-morrow. Therefore also he restricts himself to the discussion of the facts, limiting the number of anthropological termini as much as possible, cuts down nearly all literary quotations, and handles things as generally as possible in order to avoid giving long lists of specified examples. This generality may have

disadvantages, but the author warns his reader against it, and speaks (p. 256) of the variety of detail which may differentiate cultures governed by the same general principles. Another result of the author's basic attitude is his organic view of cultural life: "Anthropology, therefore, is the science which relates man to his activities, which studies him as a living organism and equally studies groups of men as living organisms seeking to discover how they work and why they work" (p. 135). (Therefore the comparison of culture to merely "a very complicated piece of machinery" seems to be not quite suitable, as machinery, in any case, lacks the "vis vitalis" proper to everything organic).

To resume the statement made in the beginning: this book, written "to interest him (viz. the 'general reader') in the science of social anthropology and to enable him to see that it is an extremely interesting science" (Preface) serves its purposes extremely well, and will help the reading public to find "a possible line of approach to the problems of contact, which now loom so insistently on the cultural horizon" (Preface), and, perhaps, even entice new adepts to the science of anthropology, desiring to meet these problems.

H. J. M.

NOTES AND QUERIES

HINDUSTAN AND HINDOSTAN

On pp. 1104 ff. of Vol. VI, Part 4 of the *Bulletin*, Dr. Grahame Bailey has given us a valuable article on "The Word Hindūstān". He begins it by remarking "It has sometimes been said that the only correct spelling of the word is *Hindostān*, and that this is proved by its being made to rhyme with *bostān*." He then gives a number of authorities to show that the word is usually pronounced "Hindūstān", although "Hindōstān" is not wrong. His conclusion is that, "This form Hindūstān, so well supported by the evidence of literature, almost invariably heard in speech, adopted by the Hindūstānī Academies, is surely the form which we should employ in English." So far as English is concerned, I do not think that many will be found to differ from Dr. Bailey, for the Oxford English Dictionary has "Hindustan" as one of two allowable spellings, the other being "Hindoostan".

As a technical term for philological purposes, I would, however, suggest further consideration of the subject. The questions are: first, what is the quality of the second vowel of the word? Is it *u* or *o*? Secondly—whichever of these two vowels is adopted, is it long or short?

Dr. Bailey's allusion to the rhyme with *bōstān* is apparently a reference to what was said by the late Sir Charles Lyall on p. 1 of his *Sketch of the Hindustani Language* (quoted in *LSI.*, ix, i, 42). Sir Charles called the language "Hindustani", and then went on to state that the word is "correctly Hindostānī", and to explain its origin. There is here no reference whatever to the quantity of the second vowel. What he wished to be understood was that "correctly" that vowel, in quality of *timbre*, was an *o*-vowel and not a *u*-vowel.

I entirely agree with Dr. Bailey that, at the present day, the word is very commonly pronounced "Hindūstān" or (as I, personally, should prefer to write it) "Hindōstān", in which latter the *ō* is intended to represent the sound of the first, short, *o* in the word "promote", and not the *ō* in "hot". At the same time, I would draw attention to the fact that, as quoted by Dr. Bailey, Professor 'Abd us Sattār Šiddīqī while preferring "Hindūstān", says that "Hindōstān" is not wrong. While, therefore, I fully admit the

currency of "Hindūstān" (or "Hindōstān"). I think that we may all agree that from the point of view of etymology, the spelling (not necessarily the pronunciation) "Hindōstān" deserves consideration. It is unnecessary to waste space here with the old Eranian history of the word. That was sufficiently given by Sir Charles Lyall. Suffice it to say that, in Persian, the word "Hindōstān" (with *ō*) was firmly established at the time of Sa'dī and that that was the form under which it was introduced into India. Under the influence of the *istē'māl-i-Hind*¹ it has, in that country, remained unchanged and current, with its *majhūl* *ō*, ever since, while in modern Persian, not subject to that influence, *majhūl* has become *ma'rūf*.

That this *ō* was in regular use in India must be inferred not only from the analogy of other words, but also from the fact that nearly all the o'd travellers from Europe used such words as "Hindustan", "Indostan", and so on. I do not give particulars of these, as they can easily be found in *Hobson-Jobson*, but here are some references to works by people who made a professed study of Hindōstānī :—

A.D. 1704. Franciscus M. Turonensis wrote a *Lexicon Linguae Indostanicæ*.

1744. B. Schultze published his *Grammatica Hindostanica*.

1772. First edition of G. Hadley's *Grammatical Remarks on the Indostan Language*. But in the fifth edition (1804) the language is called "the jargon of Hindoostan".

1773. Fergusson's *Dictionary of the Hindostan Language*.

1778. Anon. *Grammatica indostana a mais vulgar, que se practica no Imperio do gram Mogol* (in Portuguese, printed in Rome).

From the above it is plain that up to the end of the eighteenth century the word was pronounced with *ō*.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the foundation of the Bengal Asiatic Society encouraged the study of Persian among Europeans in Calcutta, and, in quoting words borrowed from that language, and used in Urdū, the later Persian pronunciation then current rose into favour among Englishmen. We thus find, both in the fifth edition of Hadley's grammar, as shown above, and in the long series of Gilchrist's works (1787-1825) the spelling "Hindoostanee", and this became the current English form of the word (though now and then the *o*-form reappears), and is the origin of the two forms sanctioned by the OED. for modern English.

¹ See, e.g., Blochmann in *J.A.S.B.* xxxvii, i, p. 35.

So much for the question as to whether the second vowel was originally *u* or *o*. Let us now consider the question of its quantity. Dr. Bailey is undoubtedly right in his contention that at the present day it is generally pronounced short. That the word is often written with the original long *ō*, as in *هندوستان*, does not contradict this. The word is a foreign one, borrowed from Persian, and in writing such words in Urdū in the Persian character, *majhūl* vowels are used, not only to represent the sounds of long *ē* and long *ō*, but also to represent the short sounds of the same letters (for which there is no direct alphabetical provision). Thus, to take as an example the Hindustānī Academy referred to by Dr. Bailey, the borrowed English word "Acadēmy" is spelt *اکیڈمی*, with the short *ē* represented by *majhūl ē*. It thus follows that *هندستان* and *هندستان* are nowadays merely variant spellings in the Persian character of the same word written by Dr. Bailey "Hindūstān" in English letters.

As to whether, when transliterating, we should write the second vowel of the word *ū* or *ō*, that is a matter of small importance. We all know that *pēsh* may, and often does, represent *ō* as well as *ū*, though usually transliterated by the latter English letter. If we stress the etymological history of the word, it would be better to write "Hindōstān" than "Hindūstān".

The origin of the short vowel requires hardly any explanation. It is a universal rule in Indo-Aryan languages that a long vowel immediately following an accented syllable tends to become short, so that "Hindōstān" is naturally pronounced "Hindōstān". As to whether, in actual speaking, the second vowel is pronounced (as distinct from being spelt) *ū* or *ō*, is, I think, largely a matter of personal equation. The actual vowel is obscure, and its *timbre* varies in different mouths. I discussed this very question some twenty-five years ago with several educated Indian gentlemen who then happened to be in London. Opinions differed—indeed, in some cases, the speaker had to repeat the word to himself several times before he could make up his mind one way or the other—but the opinion of the majority was that the sound was nearer that of *ō*¹ than that of *ū*. The late Colonel Phillott talked the matter over with me at the time, and

¹ Let me repeat that by *ō* I here indicate the short sound of *ō*, approximating the sound of the first *o* in "promote". It does not here indicate the sound of the *ō* in "hot".

we agreed that the ideal spelling of the word in English characters would be "Hind^ostān", the small superior ^o indicating at the same time both quantity and quality. Of course, such a spelling would be unsuitable for general use.

To sum up, I would suggest that for lay use, in writing English for English people who are not expert orientalists, our business is to accept the authority of the OED., and not to be didactic to the poor unlearned. If we wish to transliterate, we must transliterate, and put down letter for letter what is in the original. If in the original the word has *majhāl wāo*, we must transliterate that by *o* or *ō* according to our system. If it has *pēsh*, then we must transliterate it by *u*, or, if our system allows it, by *ö*. In technical work for fellow-students I would suggest that the form "Hindostān" should be adopted. I prefer it to "Hindustān" not only for historical reasons, but also because it is in accord with the *istē'māl-i-Hind*, while "Hindustān" is not.¹ It is, of course, unnecessary, in most systems of transliteration, to put the mark of shortness over the vowel. As elsewhere, the absence of the long mark should be a sufficient indication of its quantity.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

URDU *AI, AU*.

May I be permitted to offer a few supplementary remarks on Dr. Grahame Bailey's interesting "Phonetic Notes on Urdū Records" on pp. 933 ff. of Vol. VI, Part 4 of the *Bulletin*. In that paper he is dealing with the Urdū of Delhi, which is, I believe, nowadays accepted as possessing the standard pronunciation. On the other hand my experience has been almost entirely confined to that spoken further east, and in one particular that shows a marked divergence from the Delhi norm. I allude to the pronunciation of the diphthong *ai*. Dr. Bailey states that in the Delhi record *ai* is sounded as *æ*. I am familiar with this sound in other Indian languages, and would suggest that it is peculiar to western and north-western India, and that it is heard not only in Delhi Urdū but also, to my experience, in Rājasthānī,

¹ If we are to abandon the *istē'māl* in this word, we must also abandon it in such words as *gōsh*t, flesh, and *shēr*, a tiger. The former would then become the Persian *gūsh*t, and the latter would not only become the Persian *shīr*, but would also mean "a lion", and not "a tiger". In discussing Indian languages, I think we may fairly quote Horace, and say, "Persicos odi apparatus" and "simplici myrto nihil adlabores sedulus, cura".

Gujarātī, Lahndā, and even further west in the Eranian Pashtō. It is also probably heard in Panjābī and Sindhī, but I cannot state this from personal experience. Different grammarians have represented the local variants of this sound by various signs, of which *è* and *ā* are perhaps the most usual.

The sound is recognized by Indian grammarians. Thus Paṇḍit Rāma Karṇa, of Jōdhpur, on p. 7 of his Mār-wārī Vyākaraṇa says that in Sanskrit the pronunciation of *ai* and *au* is *vyakta*, but that in Mār-wārī it is usually *avyakta*. In 1814 I asked the late Signor Tessitori, who was then studying in Jōdhpur, what the Paṇḍit actually meant by the term *avyakta*. His reply was:—

“In the pronunciation of *ṛ* it [i.e. the *avyakta* pronunciation] sounds to me something like *e* in ‘step’, ‘let’, ‘get’, ‘complexion’, etc. Certainly, it has the same sound as Italian *è*, is. Taking the Sanskrit *ṛ* to have the sound of *é* (acute accent), the Mār-wārī *ṛ* might be represented by having the sound of *è* (grave accent).”

In Dr. Bailey’s paper, the Delhi pronunciation of Urdū is quite properly taken as the standard, but it is queer how standards change. About the year 1912, I arranged to have a Hindōstānī gramophone record made by an educated Indian friend, a native of Rājputāna. He pronounced his *ai*’s in the Delhi fashion, and not like the *ai* in “aisle”. At a meeting of language teachers held at the office of the Civil Service Commissioners in 1913, which was attended by several eminent Urdū scholars, this record was unanimously condemned as unsuitable for teaching purposes, solely on account of this pronunciation of *ai*, although I contended, and it was admitted, that it was that used in Delhi.

I was interested in the matter, and wrote to India to inquire how widely, in the Gangetic valley, this pronunciation was diffused. I here give one reply, written to me by a first-rate Urdū scholar, whose name I must omit, as I have not had an opportunity of obtaining his permission for its publication on this occasion. He said:—

“... If I had answered it [i.e. your inquiry] on my own impressions, I should have said that the vowel of *maī* was always pronounced like the German *ā*, or the sound of a sheep bleating. . . . But I think I was wrong. I learnt Hindustani first from my father, who spent his time in India in Lahore, and he certainly pronounced the vowel of *maī* in this way, while he pronounced

that of *hai* to rhyme with 'high', and I have continued to do the same. I have just been talking to a Musalman gentleman of Sitapur (50 miles north of Lucknow) who talks, I believe, excellent Lucknow Urdu, and he tells me that the *ā* pronunciation is that of Delhi Urdu, in use as far east as Aligarh. and that the other is the Lucknow pronunciation. I think this is correct."

Here we have it definitely stated that, in 1913. the Delhi pronunciation did not prevail farther east than Aligarh. My own experience, based on what I heard still farther east, in the country round Patna, was that the *ā*-sound was occasionally heard, but indicated a certain want of education. Thus, in the well-known nursery rhyme, one heard servants call the jujube *bār* instead of *bair*. On the other hand, in common conversation. I noted, among educated Hindūs, two distinct sounds, each, of both *ai* and *au*. One sound was long, as in Sanskrit, and was used only in Tatsama words, such as *bair*, enmity. Here the *ai* was distinctly long, as befitted its origin from *ā + i*. On the other hand, in Tadbhava words it was derived from *a + i* or *aya*, and it was distinctly short, as in *bāir*, the jujube (< *badara-*, *bayara-*). The sounds of the respective words for "enmity" and for "jujube" were quite different. It would be interesting to know if there is any such distinction in the Delhi pronunciation.

In the above I have said nothing about the Delhi pronunciation of *au*, as that of *au* in the English word "maul", to which attention is also drawn by Dr. Bailey. I think, however, that all that I have said regarding *ai* will apply, *mutatis mutandis*, also to *au*, although my materials are not so full. I, however, clearly remember that, in Bihār, the *au* in the Tatsama *auras*, a legitimate son, or in the Arabic '*aurat*, a woman, was long, while, in the Tadbhava *aur*, and (< *apara-*, *avara-*), it was always short.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

REFERENCES TO ALCHEMY IN BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

Indologists have to be obliged to Mr. A. Waley for calling their attention to passages on alchemy in Chinese translations of Mahāyāna texts (*BSOS*, vi. 4, 1932, p. 1102 f). The most interesting from a literary point of view seems to be the reference in Hsüan-tsang's translation of the *Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā* to the gold-making by "Śāṅka and the minister Huai-yüeh (moon-lover)¹". There is little

¹ *Huai* means here probably "conceal, embrace" for protection.

doubt that the latter name represents an Indian Candragupta, Śānaka being the well-known Cāṇakya. That their relation is inverted must not surprise, as Śānaka is called a disciple of Ānanda also.

The name Śānaka is nearly the same as in Arabic works where Šānāq is met as a master of medicine, a master of poisons, and as a wise man.¹ That he is represented as a pupil of Ānanda is perhaps a confusion with Śānaka- or Śānakavāsin, who is brought into connection with Gupta and to whom Ānanda commits the care of the Law.²

The *Chih Tu Lun*, attributed to a *Nāgārjuna*, can hardly be earlier than the eighth century, if this author of the *Rasaratnākara* is not to be identified with his namesake of the tenth century, mentioned by Albīrūnī.³

O. STEIN.

A correspondent writes: The following extract from the *Madras Mail* (Overseas edition) of 13th August, 1931, may possibly be of interest with reference to Professor J. Ph. Vogel's article "The Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture" (*BSOS.* vi, p. 539 et seq.). Though the "victim" was a Christian, and there is no evidence of any vow, this unusual method of ending one's financial troubles may owe something to the folk memory of a practice which at one time was quite fashionable in South India. B. Lewis Rice cites quite a number of instances of head-givings in his *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (pp. 186-7).

CHOPPING HIS OWN HEAD OFF!

.. Bangalore.

.. August 4.

.. Joseph, said to be a clerk in the Indian Institute of Science and residing in Blackpally, is in the Bowring Hospital with chopper wounds in his head.

.. It is alleged that he was heavily involved in debt and was served with a summons to appear in Court on July 31. He is reported not to have obeyed the summons, but that on the night of August 1, in the

¹ Cf. Zachariae, *WZKM.* 28, 1914, p. 182 ff.

² See *Divyavad.* xxvi, p. 348 ff.; Przyłuski, *La Légende de l'empereur Açoka* (*Annales du Musée Guimet* 32) pp. 337 ff., 342 ff.

³ Jolly, *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, p. 99, Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Litt.*, iii, p. 552 f.

presence of his mother and wife, he took up a chopper and began chopping at his head. Several neighbours endeavoured to stop him but failed.

“ After gashing his head in about fifteen places he attempted to sever his head, but when the wound was about 3 inches in length he fell exhausted and was removed to hospital.”

THE NIHĀYAT AL-IQDĀM FĪ ‘ILM AL-KALĀM OF
AL-SHAHRĀSTĀNĪ

Readers of the *Bulletin* (and not least myself) have reason to be grateful for Dr. Tritton's helpful review of vol. i of my edition of al-Shahraštānī's *Summa Philosophiæ* (vol. vi, p. 1019 et seq.). Nevertheless I must reject the emendation احلتم which he proposes in place of أحلتم. The verb is حال, not حل, and the idiom على أحال is a favourite of Shahraštānī's, cf. his *Milal*, p. ٣٠, line ٥ :

وإحالة الاحوال كلها على القدر المحتوم

“ the referring of all states to the divine decree.” So here (٣١, ٩) he says, “ We do not admit that temporal relations are predicable of the deity, yet you have attributed (احلتم) to us (the terms) ‘before’, ‘after’, etc., with reference to the creator.”

In ٢٥٤, ١٥, Dr. Tritton is undoubtedly right in saying that the text may stand ; but wrong, I think, in rendering “ It is excluded by the fundamental principle. Their argument from knowledge is admissible.” The text ويخرج على هذه القاعدة واسترواحكم الى العلم فانه المعلوم ويجوز ان يامر بخلاف المعلوم shows that “ admissible”, if this stands for يجوز, must be construed with the following, not the preceding, clause, and consequently the passage reads: “ On this principle your argument ¹ as to the (divine) knowledge is excluded, for it is possible that God may order what he knows will not be performed.”

ALFRED GUILLAUME.

¹ The و must be omitted.

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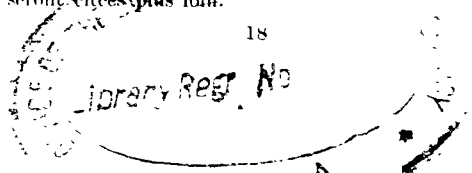
L'Ērān-vēž et l'origine légendaire des Iraniens

PAR M. DARMESTERER

The Governing Body of the School of Oriental Studies much regret that owing to the heavy cost of production they have been obliged to increase the price of the Bulletin with this number to ten shillings.

ia qu il sachie aux lieux (II V, 104; IX, 14, 20; XVII, 45), et que la tentation l'a assailli (Vd. XIX, 4, 11). Tous les hommes s'y fussent concentrés si Ahura Mazda n'avait rendu habitables même les lieux ingrats (Vd. I, 1). Dans cette contrée l'hiver règne dix mois de l'année et les serpents pullulent : ainsi l'a voulu Ahra Manyu, pour contrarier l'œuvre d'Ahura Mazda (Vd. I, 2-3).—A ces souvenirs légendaires et confus se réduisent les données mazdéennes sur l'Ērān-vēž. Une tradition de haute antiquité, mais depuis longtemps obscurcie, plaçait dans l'Ērān-vēž le berceau des Iraniens et les premiers commencements de la foi zoroastrienne. On comprendra que l'importance du problème ait suscité un long débat,¹ mais aussi que la nature de la documentation ne permette pas de le considérer comme clos. En fait l'incertitude

¹ Pour la bibliographie ancienne, cf. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, II, p. 5; n: 4, et Bartholomae, *Wb.*, 1314. Les études récentes seront citées plus loin.



subsiste et l'on ne sait toujours ni le sens de l'expression (*airyanam vaējō*), ni où localiser cette contrée, et moins encore le crédit que mérite le témoignage de l'Avesta sur l'origine des Iraniens. Il semble cependant que, sur chacun de ces points, l'étude interne des textes en présence fournisse les éléments d'une solution.

I

Des explications proposées pour le mot *vaijah-* dans l'expression *aryanam vaijah-* "vaijah- aryen (iranien)",¹ nous ne retiendrons que la dernière en date, qui est en voie de s'imposer partout. Andreas a restauré *vaijah-* en **vyačah-* pour le faire correspondre à véd. *vyacas-* "espace, région".² Adoptée par MM. Christensen, Lommel, et, d'une manière plus réservée par M. Herzfeld, cette interprétation, aux yeux de M. Hertel, "trifft zweifellos das Richtige."³ Il est temps d'en faire justice. L'étymologie d'Andreas ne se soutient qu'en imposant une forte déviation à la graphie avestique : modifier *vaijah-* en **vyačah-*, c'est imputer à la tradition deux fautes distinctes, inconnues l'une et l'autre de la Vulgate, et qu'il serait singulièrement audacieux de supposer réunies dans chaque exemple du mot. Il arrive que *aē* (= *ai*) et *ī* soient écrits l'un pour l'autre,⁴ du fait que la notation *y* de l'archétype admettait les deux vocalisations. Mais il serait sans précédent, à ma connaissance, que *aē* provînt d'une corruption de *ya*. Il y a autant d'arbitraire à admettre un flottement entre *-č-* et *-j-* : rien n'autorise à transporter dans l'Avesta ce phénomène dont les manifestations n'apparaissent que dans la graphie du moyen-perse ; en avestique les semi-occlusives sourdes et sonores gardent constamment leur valeur respective et sont toujours exactement notées. Cette objection paléographique dût-elle même être surmontée que la forme postulée par Andreas achopperait sur une impossibilité phonétique. On connaît à présent le sort de **vya-* initial en pehlevi : il aboutit à *ja-*. Ainsi *vyāna-* "souffle vital" > **vyān* > *jān* ; **vyāka-* (correspondant précisément à véd. *vyacas-*) "endroit" > *vyāk* > *jāh*. Donc le prétendu **vyačah-* aurait donné **vyač*, puis **jač*. On est loin de notre *vēž*.

¹ Dans la suite de cette étude, l'expression sera toujours citée dans son orthographe restaurée, qui ne diffère d'ailleurs de la forme écrite que par des détails insignifiants. Cf. la n. suivante et Doegen, *Unter fremden Völkern*, p. 381.

² Herrmann, *Alt. Geogr. des Orus-Geb.*, p. 43 ; Christensen, *Act. Orient.*, iv, 1926, p. 81, n. 2 ; Lommel, *ZH.*, v, 1927, p. 7, n. 4 ; Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, i, p. 104, n. 2 ; Hertel, *Mithra und Avesta*, 1931, p. 56, n.

⁴ Cf. Wackernagel, *Etymologie W. Geiger*, p. 227.

En définitive on se trouve ramené à la forme traditionnelle *vaijah-* et à l'obligation de l'interpréter telle quelle. Or, au point de vue morphologique, *vaijah* se tire immédiatement de *vaig-*. Si personne n'a proposé cette dérivation évidente, c'est apparemment qu'elle ne fournit pas à première vue de sens adéquat, ce qui tient à une limitation illégitime du sens de la racine. La traduction de *vaig-* par "brandir, lancer (une arme)", la seule qu'on reconnaisse, convient en effet à plusieurs formes : *vaēγam vaējō* "brandissant l'arme" (*Yt* xix, 92); — *vaēγα-* "action de lancer (un trait)" (*Yt* x, 69, 98); — *hunivixta-* "bien lancé", cf. pers. *angērtan* "pousser", oss. *veγun* "ébranler, agiter", bal. *gējag* "brandir, frapper". Mais *vaig-* possède aussi la valeur moyenne de "s'élaner" que montre ind. *vej-* et qui se confirme dans plusieurs emplois avestiques : *vazrəm fravaēγam* "la massue qui vole droit" (*Yt* x, 96); — *hvaraūya smaiθiš* "l'arme qui s'élançe (et frappe) bien" (*Y.* lvii, 31), et surtout *vōiγnā-* "élançement, fait de se répandre", en parlant des eaux qui débordent, et, métaphoriquement, d'une armée ennemie (Bartholomae, *Wb.*, 1428). La comparaison avec skr. *vega-* "mouvement véhément, irruption, flot" montre que le sens originel de i. ir. *vaig-* réside dans l'idée de "(se) déplacer par un mouvement rapide, (se) projeter, (s')épandre" et que l'application au jet d'une arme n'en forme qu'une acception.

Ce point acquis, on gagne une confirmation et un terme nouveau dans phl. T. *vēhm* "large, étendu", *vēhmdar* "plus large", *vēhmīh* "extension, étendue".¹ L'adjectif *vēhm* remonte à **vaig-ma-*, parallèle à *vaig-nā-* (av. *vōiγnā-*). Pour le passage de *-gm-* à *-hm-*, comparer : **spragma-* (sogd. *sprym'k* "fleur") > phl. *sprahm*, arm. *spram*, pers. *isparam* "basilic"; — v.p. *Hagmatāna-* > arm. *Ahmatan*, aram. ܫܗܡܬܢܐ, syr. ܫܗܡܬܢܐ, pers. *Hamadān*. On voit ainsi corroboré par un dérivé signifiant "étendu", le sens de "se répandre, s'étendre" qu'on a reconnu à *vaig-*, surtout en parlant des eaux.

Dès lors, *vaijah-* se dénonce comme un abstrait désignant le fait de se répandre et plus généralement l'étendue ou l'extension. Et *aryanam vaijah-* signifie l'"étendue iranienne". La valeur exacte de ce terme appliqué à une région se détermine par le complexe descriptif dont elle est en réalité une abréviation. On ne semble pas avoir observé que la locution authentique, celle qui réunit tous les éléments nécessaires à l'interprétation, est *airyanam vaējō vanhuγā*

¹ Formes attestées chez Andreas-Henning, *Mithran. Manich.*, i, p. 38a (SBZW., 1932, p. 210a); Henning, *Gott. Nachr.*, 1933, p. 311 et n. 5.

dāityayā “ le vaijah- iranien de la bonne Dātyā ” (*Vd.* i, 2 ; ii, 20 ; *Yt* v, 17, 104 ; xv, 2). Régissant le nom de fleuve Dātyā, le neutre *vaijah-* comme ci-dessus le féminin *vaijnā-*, contient bien l'idée des eaux en mouvement. En conséquence l'expression qualifie l' “ étendue iranienne de la bonne Dātyā ”, c'est à dire la portion iranienne du territoire que le fleuve baigne. De là, plus brièvement, *aryanam vaijah-*, *Ērān-vēž* “ étendue, région iranienne ”.

II

Il s'agit maintenant d'identifier la région ainsi dénommée. Personne n'ajoute plus foi à l'illusoire équation *aryanam (vaijah-) = Arrān* dont Justi et Darmesteter s'autorisaient jadis pour placer l'Ērān-vēž au Nord-Ouest de l'Iran. De par ses données, le problème ne comporte qu'un nombre restreint de possibilités : l'Ērān-vēž étant le premier pays mentionné dans le catalogue des provinces orientales qui ouvre le chapitre initial du Vidēvdāt, il faut nécessairement le chercher au Nord-Est de l'Iran. Aussi, depuis Markwart, a-t-on pensé à plusieurs reprises à la contrée la plus septentrionale de l'Est iranien, la Chorasmie,¹ mais pour des raisons extérieures à l'Avesta. En fait la preuve peut en être acquise par une comparaison de deux textes avestiques.

Le premier chapitre du Vidēvdāt énumère dans l'ordre suivant les provinces de l'Est : *aryanam vaijō — gava-* (Sogdiane) — *margu-* (Margiane) — *bāxδi-*² (Bactriane) — *haraiiva-* (Herat), etc. Plusieurs de ces noms figurent aussi, disposés autrement, dans *Yt* x, 13-14 : (*miθrō*) *yō paoiryō zaranyō . pisō srīra baršnava gərəwnāiti adāt vīspəm ādidati airyō . śayunəm savištō . . . yuhmya āpō nāvayā pərəθwīš xsaudənta θvaršante ā iskatəm pourutəmca mourum harōyum gaomca surdəmca x'āirizəmca*. Passage métrique et ancien, dont les vers ont été inexactement séparés dans l'éd. Geldner. Nous le restituons ainsi :

<i>yō pərcyō zaranya.pisō</i>	“ (Miθra) qui le premier atteint
<i>srīra baršnava gəbnāiti</i>	les belles cimes décorées d'or ;
<i>adāt vīspəm ādidati</i>	de là il contemple tout entière
<i>arya.śayunam savištō</i>	l'aire des Aryens, lui très fort,
.
<i>yuhmya āpō nāvīgāh</i>	où les fleuves navigables
<i>pərəθwīš xsaudənta θvaršantai</i>	larges, se précipitent torrentueux

¹ Markwart, *Ērānsāh.* pp. 118, 155 ; Andreas ap. Doegen, l.c. ; Christensen, l.c., p. 82 et n. 1 ; Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, ii, p. 5 ; Bailey, *BSOS.*, 1932, VI, p. 952.

² Je néglige *Nisāya*, dont il est dit (*Vd.* i, 7) qu'il se trouve entre Margu et Bāxδi et qui ne marque pas une étape nouvelle dans la description.

<i>ā iškataṃ paratamēa</i>	vers Iskata et Paruta,
<i>marγum haraivam garamēa</i>	Margu, Haraiva et Gava,
<i>suxδamēa xʷāirizamēa</i>	Sugda et Xʷārizam.

Les noms géographiques de la fin du passage demandent quelques mots d'éclaircissement : Bartholomae a considéré à tort *iškata* comme un substantif "Fels(?)" dans ce passage, tout en le prenant pour un nom propre dans *Y.* x. ii, et *Yt* xix. 3; ces deux derniers exemples associent *iškata* (plur.) à la chaîne Uparisaina, c'est à dire à la portion de l'Hindukuš entre Balx et Kabul; mais le nom n'est pas autrement connu.—Celui qui est écrit *pouruta* et qui se lira *paruta* ou *parvata*, doit probablement correspondre à l'appellation des Ἰππαρύται (Herod. iii. 91), Παρυρηταί (Ptol. vi. 7)¹ et se rapporter à la région montagneuse qui se trouve à l'Ouest de la précédente.—A partir d'ici, la liste monte vers le Nord : *mouru-* est la forme qui alterne avec v.p. *Margu-* dans les mêmes conditions dialectales qui opposent par exemple phl. N.O. *mury* "oiseau" à S.O. *murr*.—Une vocalisation fautive a produit *harōyūm* d'après une graphie 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 avec épenthèse de *-v-* dans la seconde syllabe, au lieu de *haraivam*, v.p. *haraiva-*, gr. Ἰππα. Comparer av. *ōyūm* = *aivam* ou *vīdōyūm* = *vidaivam*.—*Gava-* désigne la Sogdiane et survit chez les géographes arabes dans le nom de 𐌒, à lire *γay*; chin. *Ho*.²

Jusque là le mètre correct garantit l'exactitude du texte transmis. Mais avec les deux derniers noms, *suxδamēa xʷāirizamēa*, on voit apparaître un membre de sept syllabes que d'autres raisons invitent à tenir pour interpolé. Bartholomae a déjà rejeté *suxδamēa*, simple glose de *gavam*. A plus forte raison *xʷāirizamēa*, réduit à lui-même, se dénonce-t-il comme une addition au morceau primitif. Une nouvelle preuve en est donnée par la forme de l'un et de l'autre nom. La graphie *suxδam* (var. *suxδam*, *suxrδam*, *sudam*), trahit une prononciation moyen-iranienne de type *suγd*, où le vocalisateur a essayé de rendre par *-r-* l'articulation spirante de *-γ-*. Par suite, le désaccord inexpliqué entre *xʷāirizam* et v.p. *(h)urārazmīs* se dénoue de la manière la plus simple. Il est clair que seul v.p. *(h)urārazmīs*, corroboré par les transcriptions étrangères (arm. *Xorozm*, *xolozmik*.³ gr. *Χόρασμος*, aram.

¹ Ainsi déjà Geiger, *Ost. Kult.*, p. 9, n. 1.

² Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 29, n. 2 et Andreas, *Gott. Nachr.*, 1931, p. 12.

³ Marquart, l.c., p. 155, n'a pu identifier la gemme appelée *xolozmik* en arménien (< phl. **xʷārazmīk*). Nous savons maintenant par la Charte du palais de Suse, que Darius faisait venir de Chorasmie la pierre *arsaina* (lazulite) : *kāsaka hya arsaina hauu kaša (h)urārazmīyā abarīy*. Suivant toute apparence, c'est la pierre *arsaina* qu'on appelait *xolozmik*.

Eleph. 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢),¹ peut prétendre à l'authenticité : *x^oāirizəm* n'est rien d'autre que la notation pseudo-avestique de m. ir. *x^oārizm*. Le *-i-* intérieur se trouve déjà à l'époque achéménide dans la transcription accad. *hu-ma-ri-iz-mu* (Bisutūn) et provient sans doute de la forme locale ; mais la finale anomale *-zəm* recouvre phl. *-zm*. De même que av. *Bāxdi-* reflète en réalité *Bāhli-* (cf. skr. *Bahlīka*, arm. *Bahl*, syr. ܒܗܠܝܐ), de même on a tenté de vieillir, en les revêtant du déguisement avestique *suxdəm* et *x^oāirizəm*, les appellations moyen-iraniennes *Suyd* et *X^oārizm*. Dans cette conclusion, métrique et dialectologie se conjuguent. Nous ne suivrons donc ni Andreas, qui posait en face de v.p. *(H)uzārazmiš*, une prétendue forme avestique “*Huvōrizo*”² ; ni M. Herzfeld,³ qui use d'artifices pour conserver *x^oāirizəm* : selon lui, la notation *x^oāirizəm* représente la simplification d'une ancienne finale à *-m* redoublé, indiquant *x^oārazmim*, ce qui ne laisse pas d'être arbitraire. Il sauve le mètre en lisant : *ā cikātam* [sic] *parvatamča | ā margumča haraivamča | ā gavamča x^oārazmimča*, c'est à dire en ajoutant deux fois *ā*, deux fois *-ča* et en rétablissant la forme perse *x^oārazmim*.

C'est précisément à titre d'interpolation que vaut la mention de la Chorasmie. Le transcripteur, voyant les noms de provinces se succéder du Sud au Nord, a prolongé la série, qui s'arrêtait à Gava (Sogdiane), d'un terme qui marque la limite septentrionale de l'Iran, la Chorasmie. Or, si l'on confronte à l'énumération de *Yt x* celle de *Vd. i*, on observe qu'elles s'ordonnent en sens inverse : *Vd. i* du Nord au Sud, *Yt x* du Sud au Nord. Il suffit donc de retourner la liste de *Vd. i* pour obtenir avec celle de *Yt x* les correspondances suivantes :

<i>Vd. i</i>	<i>Yt x, 14</i>
<i>haraivam</i>	<i>haraivam</i>
<i>bāxdim</i>	. . .
<i>margum</i>	<i>margum</i>
<i>gavam</i>	<i>gavam</i> (gl. <i>suxdəm</i>)
<i>aryanam vaijō</i>	<i>x^oāirizəm</i>

Le transcripteur s'est ainsi chargé à son insu de démontrer que l'Ērān-vēž est la Chorasmie, et de convertir en certitude ce qui était depuis Markwart conjecture, probable, mais non encore établie par une preuve directe. Markwart se fondait sur le fait que d'après l'Avesta, l'Ērān-vēž souffre d'un hiver de dix mois ; les géographes arabes

¹ Cf. Schaefer, *Iran. Beitr.*, i, p. 68 et Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 186b.

² Ap. Doegen, op. cit., p. 381.

³ *Arch. Mitteil. aus Iran*, ii, p. 5.

décrivent en effet la Chorasmie comme la région la plus froide de l'Oxus et une des plus froides de l'Iran entier. Il faut bien dire que cet argument à lui seul ne prouverait rien, d'abord parce que les hivers sont tout aussi rigoureux à l'extrême Nord-Ouest de l'Iran, ce dont Darmesteter pouvait s'autoriser pour localiser l'Ērān-vēž au Karabagh ; ensuite, parce que, comme l'a discerné M. Herzfeld,¹ la description de l'hiver qui désole l'Ērān-vēž constitue dans *Vd.* i, 3 une interpolation de date arsacide. Comment l'Ērān-vēž serait-il " le premier, le meilleur des séjours et des pays " (*paōiṛīm asanhamēa sōiθranamēa vahīstam*) si l'été n'y dure que deux mois, et encore " trop froids pour les eaux, pour la terre, pour les plantes ", et si à la fin de l'hiver de nombreuses inondations se produisent ? De toute évidence celui qui a interpolé cette notice ne s'est pas soucié du contexte. Néanmoins, une fois l'équivalence de l'Ērān-vēž et de la Chorasmie fondée par ailleurs, l'interpolation reste instructive en ce qu'elle montre qu'on reconnaissait à l'Ērān-vēž le climat qui caractérise la Chorasmie.

L'induction établie sur une comparaison de textes se fortifie en outre de deux indices géographiques :

(a) Mr. H. W. Bailey² a montré que l'ancienne désignation de la Sogdiane *Gava*, survit dans le nom fameux de *Gōpatsāh* : ce héros, transformé par la légende en un être fabuleux, mi-homme mi-taureau, porte étymologiquement le nom de " roi de Gava ". Pour la localisation du personnage, Mr. Bailey a mis en valeur la notice du *Dād. 7 Dēn.* 89 : *Gōpatsāh s'atāyāh apar Gōpat būm hamvīmand ī ō Ērān-vēž pat būr ī āp ī Dāityā* " la royauté de Gōpatsāh (s'exerce) sur le pays de Gōpat, qui est limitrophe de l'Ērān-vēž sur la rive du fleuve Dāityā ". En effet la région de Gōpat, la Sogdiane, avoisine immédiatement la Chorasmie.

(b) La mention dans ce même passage du fleuve Dāityā (= Oxus), d'accord avec la définition avestique *airyanəm vaējō vanhuyā dāityayā*, se fonde sur une tradition véridique que l'on peut vérifier grâce à cette indication du *Gr. Bd.* 87. *dāityā rōt haē Ērān-vēž bē āyēt pat *Suβdastān*³ *bē šarēt* " le fleuve Dāityā vient de l'Ērān-vēž et va dans le Suβdastān (Sogdiane) ". L'Oxus traverse bien la Sogdiane et la Chorasmie, quoique dans le sens contraire, vers la mer d'Aral. D'ailleurs la

¹ Op. cit., i, p. 104, n. 2, et déjà Darmesteter, *ZA.*, ii, p. 7, n. 7 : " Tout ce passage a les allures d'une citation interpolée. "

² *BSON.*, VI, 1932, p. 951 sq.

³ A lire ainsi, au lieu de Gōpostān, Gurjstān, Panjstān, etc. Pour la forme *Suβdastān*, cf. Bailey, *l.c.*, p. 948 sq.

proximité de la Sogdiane et de l'Ērān-vēž se trouve ici affirmée dans des conditions telles que, toute autre région orientale étant exclue par le catalogue de *Vd. i.* seule la Chorasmie peut venir en question. L'auteur du *Bundahišn* a recueilli, sans peut-être le comprendre, un renseignement dont la valeur n'est pas amoindrie par l'indication contradictoire du même traité : *Ērān-vēž pat kustak ī Āturpātākān* "l'Ērān-vēž est dans la région de l'Adharbaijān". Quand le centre de l'Empire s'est déplacé vers l'Ouest, il s'est produit parallèlement, à l'époque sassanide, un transfert dans la nomenclature géographique : on a reporté dans l'Iran occidental une grande partie du répertoire des noms orientaux conservés par l'Avesta.

III

Il est admis que le catalogue géographique de *Vd. i.* reflète la division territoriale de l'Empire à l'époque où il a été rédigé, vraisemblablement sous Mithridate I^{er} (174-136 av. J.-C.). A cette date la Chorasmie passait donc pour le berceau des Iraniens. On ne saurait douter que l'auteur de *Vd. i.* ait reproduit ici une donnée ancienne quand on voit, même dans les portions anciennes de l'Avesta, l'Aryanam vaijō nommé avec la Dātyā, qui est l'Oxus. D'autre part, la littérature pehlevie garde le souvenir encore net d'un Ērān-vēž localisé primitivement en Chorasmie. Le I^{er} chapitre du *Vidēvdāt* forme donc le lien entre l'Avesta ancien et les témoignages sassanides. Une pareille chaîne de concordances invite à reconnaître l'existence et la fidélité d'une tradition dont les débuts, antérieurs aux premiers Yašt, remontent pour le moins au commencement de l'époque achéménide et dont la teneur n'a pas varié jusqu'à la période sassanide. De là ressort un premier fait : si la tradition mazdéenne s'est attachée avec autant de constance à ce souvenir, c'est que le fonds historique et légendaire de l'Avesta se relie à l'Iran oriental. Contre ce fait, que maint autre indice appuie, aucune combinaison ne saurait prévaloir.

Pour déterminer, dans la mesure du possible, ce que l'histoire peut tenir pour valable dans cette tradition — et l'on sait à quoi se réduisent nos connaissances sur les antiquités préislamiques de la Chorasmie — il convient de définir la portée des termes. Écartons comme incontrôlable tout ce qui concerne la naissance et l'activité de Zarathuštra dans cette région, pour nous limiter à l'origine des Iraniens. Par Iraniens, on doit sans doute entendre non l'ensemble des tribus aryennes qui ont peuplé le plateau iranien, mais plus simplement celles que l'on trouve établies dans l'Est. Quand le texte

avestique parle de leur origine, on comprendra qu'il s'agit du plus ancien peuplement dont les tribus de l'Est aient gardé la mémoire. Sous cette réserve, rien n'empêche de croire à l'historicité de la tradition. Selon une version que Bērūnī a recueillie, les Chorasmiens faisaient remonter l'occupation de leur pays par les Iraniens à l'an 980 avant Alexandre (= 1292 av. J.-C.), et l'installation de Syāvuš, début d'une nouvelle ère, 92 ans plus tard, soit en 1200 av. J.-C.¹ Sachau a bien marqué le caractère artificiel et savant de ce comput.² Mais sans adopter des dates que leur précision même rend suspectes, on est en droit de retenir l'affirmation d'un peuplement de la Chorasmie à date très reculée. En outre, bien que les indications données par Bērūnī sur l'arrivée de Syāvuš (av. Syāvāršan) en Chorasmie ne s'accordent pas avec l'Avesta, le Šāhnāma ni avec les historiens arabes, il semble qu'on ne doive pas écarter toute idée d'un rapport entre la légende de Syāvāršan et la Chorasmie. Les témoignages de l'épopée et des chroniqueurs veulent que Syāvuš se soit enfui en pays " turanien " ; les Chorasmiens, qu'il ait cherché refuge dans leur contrée. Il n'y a pas là contradiction si l'on admet que le nom de " turanien " s'appliquait aux tribus nomades du Nord-Est, des steppes limitrophes de la Chorasmie. D'autre part, Yaqut déclare avoir lu dans l'ouvrage perdu de Bērūnī sur le Xvārizm que le nom ancien du pays était *Fīl*.³ De fait on connaît une citadelle chorasmienne du nom de *Fīr* (*Fīl*), et ce nom a pu être donné à la fois à la ville et à la province entière, tout comme Xvārizm ou aujourd'hui Xiva. Ce *Fīr* doit représenter la prononciation arabe de *Pīr*. Or le haut dignitaire turanien, de la famille des Vēsak (cf. av. Vaēsakay-), dont Syāvuš a épousé la fille (Jārīra, selon Firdousī), s'appelait *Pīrān*.⁴ Si *Pīrān* est dérivé de *Pīr* (pour la formation, cf. *Pahlavān*, *Xūzān*, tirés d'un nom de pays), on saisit une relation concrète entre la Chorasmie et la légende de Syāvāršan, relation de même nature que celle qui unit la légende de Rōstahm (Rustam) au Sīstān.

Que la Chorasmie ait bien été un centre de dispersion aux hautes époques, c'est ce que font supposer les invasions iraniennes dans l'Ouest iranien et dans l'Europe orientale. La langue des Scythes, à en juger par l'onomastique et par l'ossète actuel, forme un groupe dialectal

¹ Bērūnī *Chronology*, trad. Sachau, pp. 40-1.

² Sachau, *Zur Gesch. und Chronol. von Khwārizm* (SB. Wien. Akad., 1873, t. Lxxvii), p. 486 sq.

³ Sachau, op. cit., p. 476.

⁴ Sur Syāvuš, cf. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, p. 195 sq.

avec le sogdien et le chorasmien, ce dernier mal connu, mais en tout cas proche du sogdien. C'est de Chorasmie que, pour ne rien dire des Cimmériens, les Scythes, les Sarmates, les Alains sont venus en vagues successives. Et l'on sait par les annales de Sargon que dès 714 av. J.-C. les Scythes avaient subjugué les Urartéens.¹ Si le peuplement iranien de la Chorasmie est ainsi indirectement assuré pour la fin du viii^e siècle av. J.-C., il n'était pas excessif de faire remonter au-delà des Achéménides la tradition avestique sur l'établissement des Iraniens dans cette région.

Rappelons enfin que plusieurs témoignages classiques affirment la parenté des Scythes et des Parthes : Parthi Scythia profecti (Q. Curt. iv, 12, ii) ; Scythæ, qui Parthos condidere (id. vi, 2, 12) ; Parthi Scytharum exules fuere (Justin xli, 1, i) ; Sermo his (sc. Parthis) inter Scythicum Medicumque medius et utrimque mixtus (id. lxi, 2, 3) ; Παρθυαῖοι ἔθνος πάλαι . . . Σκυθικόν (St. Byz.) ; — Τὸν δὲ Πάρθους καὶ Παρθυαίους καλοῦσι τινας καὶ φύλον εἶναι φασὶ Σκυθικόν (Eust. in Dionys. Perieget. 304).² On ne tiendra plus alors pour fortuit que le catalogue des régions rédigé sous les Parthes ait conservé sa prééminence à la région d'où les Parthes avec les Scythes étaient censés venir.

Le problème de l'Ērān-vēž comporte donc, limité à ses données principales, une solution positive. Ce nom se prête à une étymologie et à une localisation définies. Des découvertes ultérieures nous laisseront peut-être préciser davantage la part de la fiction et de la réalité qui se mêlent dans la tradition mazdéenne sur l'origine des Iraniens. Il suffira pour l'instant d'avoir pu reconnaître à cette tradition une âme de vérité.

¹ Thureau-Dangin, *Relation de la 8^e campagne de Sargon*, pp. xiv-xv ; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, i, p. cccclxxi sq. ; Julius Lewy, *Forsch zur alten Gesch. Kleinasiens*, 1925, p. 1 sq.

² Cf. Vasmer, *Die Iraner in Sudrussland*, p. 10.

Iranian Studies III

By H. W. BAILEY

I. *fšah* (*fšēh*)

IN a comment on *Vid.*, 15, 42, the Pahlavi translator quotes a legal enactment as follows :—

ōh paiḍākēnd ku patiyārak-zi> av bar rasēt, av graβakāndār mat būt ān<i> av bun rasēt av 𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬀.

‘ It is so published that injury that comes upon the fruits lies upon the holder of the pledge, that which comes upon the stock, lies upon the farmer.’

For the interpretation of *graβakāndār*, *bar* and *bun*, one may refer to Bartholomae, *MM.*, 1, 14.

In *DkM.*, 723, 11, we have :—

apar aratēštār i atōšak kē pat raβišn apar vāstr ut yōrtāk ut gōspand frāc rasēnd kē 𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬀 *haciš bēkānak.*

‘ Concerning horsemen without provisions who on their journey plunder the pastures, crops or cattle from which the farmer is absent.’

This word is frequent, as *DkM.*, 725, 12 *bis*, 13, 16, 17 : 727, 6, 8, 9 *bis*, 10, 16, 17, 20 *bis*; cf. also the references of West, *SBE.*, 37, 78, note 1. It is written 𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬀 and 𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬀, and, with the abstract suffix *-īh*, 𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬀 occurs in *DkM.*, 865, 18. The meaning is certain from the context : ‘ farmer,’ whether keeper of cattle or grower of crops. The Sanskrit version renders it by *viśphāyitā* (with incorrect variants), with which is to be compared the use of *sphītayitum* to render *fšuyō* in *Yasna*, 48, 5, and the *vyddhikartā* rendering *fšuyantaēca*, *Y.*, 29, 6.

The reading of the word as *fšah* (or *fšēh*) is assured by its use in rendering Av. *fšēnghya-* (which occurs with unimportant variants). It is then a learned word with *fš-* preserved, in contrast to *šupān* ‘ herdsman ’ with *š*, surviving in NPers. *šabān*, Bal. (W) *šipānk*, (E) *šafānk*. It is curious that West (loc. cit.) approached the meaning, though his reading was impossible, but missed the explanation, and Bartholomae in *AIW.*, col. 1029, could make nothing of it.

The frequency of the word *fšah* gives confidence that the tradition is well-founded. From it the meaning of Av. *fšēnghya-* can also be determined.

Yasna, 31, 10a-b :—

*at hī ayā fravarētā vāstrīm ahyāi fšuyantəm
ahurəm ašavanəm vanhəuš fšənghīm mananhō*

The Pahl. Comm. renders the second line by :—

*xvatāy ahrav kē 𐬯𐬀𐬯 pat vahman
ku sardārīh i gōspandān pat frārōnīh kunēh.*

Yasna, 49, 9a :—

sraotū sāsna fšənghyō suyē taštō

Pahl. Comm. :—

*ka nigō(k)šēt āmōcišn ān i 𐬯𐬀𐬯 sūt tāštār
ku frašōštr i dēnīk nigō(k)šēt*

(Here the Sanskrit has gone astray with *paścūt* for 𐬯𐬀𐬯.) The abstract 𐬯𐬀𐬯 *fšahīh* is used in an epitome of this passage of the Yasna in *DkM.*, 865, 18 :—

apar stāyišn i frašōštr . . . pat fšahīh gēhān varzītārīh sūt tāštārīh.

Attempts to interpret Av. *fšənghya-* have been frequent. References to earlier literature are given in *AIW*. More recently Andreas-Wackernagel proposed *fšohiya-* related to *spas-*; cf. on this and Hertel's use of it, the remark of Charpentier, *Brahman*, 47, note 1.

The Commentator understood *fšənghya-* to be *fšah* 'farmer', a word familiar to him,¹ as we have seen. This suits both passages well. Therewith the etymology is given at a glance. Just as in Greek τὸ πέκος 'fleece, wool', and in Latin *pecus, pecoris*, that is **pek-* with *-os/-es*, see Brugmann, *Vergl. Gram.*², 2, 1, 518, beside the well-attested **peku-*. Skt. *paśu-*, Av. *pasu-*, Goth. *faihu*, so here **pek-* with *-jo-* gives **pekjo-*. Iran. **fšahya-*. Av. *fšənghya-*, correctly read *fšah* (*fšēh*) in Pahlavi.² It is accordingly a designation of the *fšuyant-*. Then **fšahya-* beside the synonymous *fšuyant-* in Y., 31, 10, recalls the use of the almost synonymous *vāstrya-* with *fšuyant-*.

II. **spanta-*

1. *nīrang.*

The *nīrang* (Pahl. *nīrang* 𐬢𐬀𐬯), Pāz. *nīrang*, Skt. transcription *nīrangā-*, NPers. *nīrang*. Arab. *nairanǰ*) occupies an essential place

¹ For learned words in Pahlavi, cf. the remark : *drōγ kē pat ēvāč i dēnīk xvānīhēt mīōxt. Dd.*, 36, 41.

² Cf. Turfan Mid. Iran. (S), *mhy* **mahyah-*.

in Zoroastrian books. It is the 'formula', the results of which may prove either good or bad. In the course of theological speculation the *nīrang* then attained a more significant place. We have accordingly three aspects.

(1) *nīrang* 'injurious spell'.

The *nīrang* of Dahāk are alluded to in *Dd Purs.*, 64. 5 (*SBE.*, 18, 201). Similarly in the *Šāhnāma* (Vullers, 58, 464) *nīrang i zaḥḥāk*. It has here the same meaning as *yātūkīh*.

(2) *nīrang* in religious use.

The *Nīrangastān* of the Avesta has partially survived. It is described in *DkM.* 735, 6: *brīnak-ē nīrangastān: mātiyān apar nīrang i īzišn i yazdān*. Similarly the *yazišn* and *ātaxš-sōcīšnīh* are classed with *apārīk dēnīk nīrangīk pāspānīh* (*Dd Purs.*, 27, 5). Cf. also *Dd.*, 38, 23, *dēnīk nīrangīhā* and *Dd.*, 38, 32, *frārōn nīrangīhā*. The *asrōn* (priest) possesses good *nīrang*, he is *xūb-nīrang* (*Pāz. Texts*, p. 335). *DkM.*, 645, 1, *nīrang i var* (translated by Bartholomae, *SR.*, 2, 10, note 3, with 'Zauber des Var') 'the *nīrang* of the ordeal'. *GrBd.*, 227, 10, *Ganāk Mēnūk* and *Āz* are struck down *pat ān i gāsānīk nīrang* (translated by Nyberg, *MO.*, 23, 346, as 'die magische Wirkung der Gathas').

Similarly *GrBd.*, 177, 6, *nīrang ut aβsōn i dātīk gāsān*.

In the epitome of the Vidēvdāt. *DkM.*, 784, 11 fol. :—

apar ān i nīrang ī-š pat bundahišn stahmakīh i druž patiš bē kāst ut vazurk nērōkīh i airman xvādišnīh ut ahumavar ut han gāsānīk apastāk pat apāc dāstan i dēvān hač družēnītan i gēhān i ahrājīh.

In the same epitome the supernatural power of plants is noted. *DkM.*, 784, 5 fol. :—

*ut apar vazurk nērōkīh i *bēšaz-dār urvar pat nīrangīk apāc-dāstārīh i vas pitijarak dāt i ohrmazd pur srastak urvar av bēšazēnītan i dāmān hač hiyandakīh.*

The *nīrangēnūtār* is mentioned in *DkM.* 920, 20.

The Commentators also understood *nīrang* to be the study intended in the Avesta: *mat. paūti. frasa-* is explained by *apāk apāc pursišnīh i nīrang*.

In this sense of 'good supernatural power' the *nīrang* is frequent. The same meaning survived in later Persian. So in the *Šāhnāma*, Vullers, 32, 180, when the physicians seek to cure *Zaḥḥāk* :—

*biziškān i farzāna gird āmadand
hama yak ba yak dāstānhā zadand
zi har gūna nīranghā sāxtand
mar ān dard rā čāra na šnāxtand.*

In the Avesta the same view is attested by *Vid.*, 7, 44, in the specific case of healing :—

karətō.baēšazēsca urvarō.baēšazēsca maθrō.baēšazēsca

To the third method of healing the Commentator remarks :—

kē pat mansr spand bēšazēnēt ku aβsōn kunēh

In the same text *yaṭ maθrəm.spəntəm.baēšazyō* is glossed :—

kē mansr spand bēšazēnētār vēh nē kunand vattar-ic nē kunand.

This is *nīrang* or *aβsōn*. Hence the epitomizer in *DkM.*, 784, quoted above, rightly recognized the Avestan *maθra-* to be *nīrang*.

In the Avesta the injurious type of *nīrang* is represented by the *aya maθra* :—

Yašt, 10, 20 : *frēna ayanam maθranam yā vərəzyeiti ari.miθriš.*

Al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, viii, 3) speaks of a *kitāb nairanĵāt*, and of the *nairanĵāt al-ašĵār*, *wa 'l-θimār*, *wa 'l-adhān wa 'l-ḥasā' is.*

(3) The cosmic *nīrang* is expounded in a passage of the Dēnkart (*DkM.*, 399, 7–400. 21), which is of such importance that a transcription and translation is here attempted, although certain phrases remain obscure.

apar nīrang. hač nikēž i vēh-dēn.

ēt : nīrang hast rādēnišnān raβākīh

čēgōn gētēyīk rādēnišn kārēnūt nīrang-ē hast patiš raβākīh

ān rādēnišn kār hast-ic mēnōk rādēnišn ut hast i andar gētēy

vīnārišn i gētēy pat mēnōk rād ān gētīgān apāk nīrang i gētēyīk

rādēnišn patiš raβēt

apāyīšnīk-ic hast nīrang i mēnōkān i patiš gētēy rādēnišn ut vīnārišn

ut ēt i zamīk gētēy nīrangīk pat āp ut rāt ož i āp ut vāt pat asmān

mēnōk nīrangīk pat amahraspand varē ut xarr vīnārišn

ut tan gētēy nīrangīk ānēčīšn i tan passāčīšn

ut mēnōk nīrangīk pat ruvān zīndakīh

ut gēhān āmōk pat asrōnīh

ut pāmākīh pat aratēštārīh

ut varzišn pat rāstrgōšīh

ut āsānīh pat huturšakīh nīrang

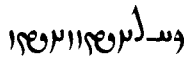
ut hamāk gētēy nīrangīk pat xratāyīh

ut mēnōk nīrangīk pat dēn vīnārišn

martōm tan gētēy nīrangīk apērtar pat āpātīh vīnārišn
ruvān mēnōk nīrangīk pat krpak bōzišn
ut ēt-iē ēēgōn nihuftak rādēnišn ētōnīh ut an-ētōnīh paidākīh pat dēnīk
var nīrang i pēsēnīk pat krtak dāstan tāstīk ākāsīh
ān-iē i ēēgōn āfrīn nīfrīn i pat vāvarīkānīhastan dēn-paidākīh ut andar
gēhān ākāsīh
ut ān-iē i haē axtarān apāxtarān rusišn vartišn
aβsōn i xrafstr ožanišn ut qazišn ut zahr darmān
vasīh <i> vīmārīh bē-barišnūh <i> hōk risōpdāk
ut nīrang i pat ātaršān āpān urvarān zanišn ut ayō(k)šustān <i>
zamīkān
ān i andar barišn ham-barišnūh i jānvarān pat axtarān apāxtarān haē
rōn ut gēhān
ān i andar vīmārīh ut drucistīh pat haftakān ut nēm haftakān andar māh
purr māh ut vištaftas
ān i haē dēn nīrangīk apastāk īzišn pat šnāyišn <i> yazdān ut
bēsēnītārīh <i> dēvān dēn-paidākīh
ut han-iē vas nimūtār andar gētēy ut mēnōk zōrīk nīrang yut haē ān
i pat ēihr
ut kam-paidākīh i andar gētēy mēnōkīk nīrang aparrēzakīh i ēihr andar
*gētēy arvān. *zruftakīh i mēnōk-kārīh andar ēihr-kārīh*
ān i andar mēnōkān arvān vas ray ožīh mēnōk varē apar ēihr rād nīrang
*apar ēihr aparrēzakīh ut ēihr andar nīrang mēnōk vare *zruftakīh*
ut andar -iē gētēy pat kišvarān šahrān i ēvak haē dit dūr ēis hast <i>
andar kišvar-ē šahr-ē ēihrīk
pat han kišvar šahr nīrangīk hangārēnd
ān i vasīhā paidāk

NOTES TO *DkM.*, 399-400

(1) *kārēnūt nīrang-ē*.

Sanjana's variant  appears to be dittography. *kārēnūt*, Pāz. (*ŠGV*, 11, 77) *kārīnīd*. Skt. *kāritaḥ*. It is taken here as absolute participle and noun. The same collocation—participle with noun—can form a possessive compound:

GrBd., 226, 1: *hangartēnūt dām bavēt* 'he becomes one who has finished his creation'.

Dd., Introd., 8: *matyūk martān i ošmurt mansr i dranḡēnūt zand uskārt dātastān*.

(2) *mēnōk rādēnišn, zōrīk nīrang.*

Cf. *DkM.*, 893, 16: *ēt-iē rād ēē pat var varzišnīh ān i varōmand *ēvar ut tārīk *rōšnīh pat mēnōk-zōrīh*, quoted by Bartholomae, *SR.*, 2, 10, note 3.

(3) *apāyišnīk.*

1. desirable; cf. Pāz. *āβāišnī* = Skt. *abhīṣṭha-*. *apāyišnīktar*, Skt. *ākāṅkṣanīyātara* (*MX*).

2. *apāyišn* 'needed'; *an-apāyišn* 'unneeded', *Dd.*, K 35, 199 verso 5-6, corresponding to *GrBd.*, 137, 13. *vārēt av givāk ku apāyēt.*

(4) *varē* 'power, energy'.

Av. *varəcah-*, *varəcahvant-*. Turfan Mid. Iran. (S) *yazdān kē pad xvēš varz ud rōšnī.*

erz, vrē, vrē'vynd. DkM., 675, 19. *varē ut xvarr ut ož.*

(5) *āmēčišn* 'element'.

Cf. Mātiyān i Čatrang, 26: 4 *ōgōn humānāk kunom čēgōn 4 āmēčišn kē martōm hačīš.* More often *zahak* 'element'.

GrBd., 142, 11: 4 *zahakān hast āp ut zamīk vāt ātaxš*

143, 7: 4 *gōhr ut zahakān*

ŠGV., 4, 17: *āβ ātaš gil vād*

5, 48: *ātaš āβ vād zamī.*

(6) *āmōk pat asrōnīh . . . et seq.*

Cf. *GrBd.*, 31, 9: *brāh i asrōnīh dāšt ēē ham-ē dānākīh apāk asrōnān*

31, 15: *brahmak i aratēštārīh ēē . . . dām-pānakīh kart*

32, 6: *brahmak i vāstryōšīh dāšt ēē . . . gēhān varzītan*

(7) *dēnīk var.*

Cf. *var i dēnīk. MhD.*, 13, 1 (Bthl., *SR.*, 2, 13).

(8) **𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎** *tāštīk* 'certain, sure'. So *ŠGV.*, 15, 62, *tāštī*, Skt. *sunīścīta-*. *ŠGV.*, 11, 140. *pa tāšt.* Skt. *nīścayena: bē-śū gumāh i garu bahōd pa tāšt.*

For the two forms, with and without *-īk*, cf. *nām-čīšt* and *nām-čīštīk*. The word may be derived from *tāsta-* 'cut off', hence 'decided'. cf. Av. *tāstəm dāurn* 'cut wood'. Latin *dēcidere* shows a similar development. It is found elsewhere:—

Ep. Man., i, 7, 4: *bē ēn nē tāštīk dānišn hom ku kam čīš nē šāyēt.*

Ibid., i, 9, 12: *adaḥ-sān pat nē *šāyastīh tāštīk nē vičvrenūt hēh.*

Dd Purs., 38, 10: *tāštīk agumān.*

According to *SBE.*, 18, 160. *tāštīk* occurs also in *Purs.*, 47, 5. The text is not accessible.

The phrase 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭯𐭮 *pat tāšt* is found several times in *MhD.*, but Bartholomae in his discussion of the ordeal and the oath (*SR.*, 2, 7 fol.) failed to recognize the word. He inclined to connect it with *tāšt* 'cup'. West also in the three passages of *Ep. Man.* and *Dd.* rendered *tāštīk* by 'purifying cup', 'consecrated cup', which involved the passages in obscurity.

(9) *āfrīn nifrīn* 'blessing and cursing'.

Gūzastak Ab. ad fin.. *zat ut skast nifrūt bavāt. ŠGV.*, *nifrūdaa*. NPers. *nafrīn* 'curse', *nafrī* 'curse', cf. for the form Buddh. Sogd. "pryw, Man. Sogd. *ptfryy*.

The same value of *ni-* is found in Arm. *uzork'* 'curse' from **ni-zava-*, whereas in Avestan the simple verb *zav-* means 'curse' in Yasna 11, 1, *zavaiti*. Hence the Pahl. 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭮 is *nikīrāy* 'repudiating' as read by the Pāzand *nigēraē, nigirāē. MX.*, 36, 13. Bthl. proposed *vīyīrāy. SR.*, 2, 38.

(10) *pat ēīhr*.

Av. *ēīθra-* 'visible, manifest', rendered by Pahl. *paidāk*, but also *ēīhr, ēīhrak*. Hence *pat ēīhr* 'in visible form', *ēīhrēnūtan* 'to embody'.

DkM., 681, 13: *vāstan i haēiš gētēy ēīhrēnūtak sārtaḥ av andar aβīgatīk kōšīšn pattūtan*.

Zātspram, 6, 6: *ān mēnōk i vāt andar ēīhrīk vāt i andarcūyīk frāē yumbēnēt*.

ŠGV., 6, 21: *ēīhranūdār. Skt. rūpayitā*.

7, 2: *ež . . . ēīhranūdāi, Skt. rūpatvāt*.

Pahl. *ēīhrak*. NPers. *ēīhr, ēīhra* 'countenance'.

The *ēīhrīk* in the present *Dk.* passage is contrasted with the *mēnōkīk*, just as in *Zāts*. 6, 6, *mēnōk i vāt* is set over against *andar ēīhrīk*.

Dd. Purs., 27, 4: *apī-š mēnōk-ēīhrīh rād dahīšn i yazdān ut frahartinšn i mēnōk nīrangīk frahartinšnīktar*.

(11) **zruftakīh* 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 . The spelling is to be compared with the treatment of *zruvan-*, Pahl. *zurrān*, and *truftak* from *trftak*.

Pahl. 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭮 NPers. *surb* 'lead'.

DkM., 407, 1: *zruftak 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 ut sūtak ut xāk-āmēk*.

DkM., 435, 12: *av nihānīk zruftakīh*.

GrBd., 35, 13: Paris MS. 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 *azrōpēt*. Hence the verb is *rōp-* 'remove', *rup-* 'be removed'.

Translation

On the nīrang. From the 'Exposition of the Good Faith'. It is this. The nīrang is the coming into operation of controlling influences. So the controlling influence in the visible world, when a nīrang is caused, is thereby rendered active. The action of those controlling influences is both in the invisible world and in the visible world. Because the visible world is ordered through the invisible world, the things of the visible world are associated with the nīrang of the visible world, and the controlling influence comes into operation through it. The nīrang of the invisible world is also necessary, since through it operates the controlling of the visible world and its organization.

As to the earth, the nīrang of the invisible world is in water and wind, the power of the water and wind in the sky.

The nīrang of the invisible world is concerned with the organization of the supernatural power and splendour of the Amahraspands.

As to the body, the nīrang of the visible world is concerned with the preparations of the elements of the body, the nīrang of the invisible world is concerned with the life of the intelligent soul.

As to the beings of the visible world, the nīrangs are :—

teaching by the priests
 protection by the warriors
 cultivation by the peasants
 comfort by the artisans,
 and the whole nīrang of the visible world is vested in kings.

The nīrang of the visible world is concerned with the organization of the Faith.

As to the body of men, the nīrang of the visible world is most influential in the organizing of well-being.

As to the intelligent soul, the nīrang of the invisible world is concerned with the deliverance through good deeds.

There is this also : in the controlling influence of hidden things the manifestation of its being so or not so,

and the certain knowledge through the ordeal according to the established form by its use,

and that also consisting of blessing and cursing, the religious manifestation of their trustworthiness and making known in the visible world,

and that also connected with the movement and resolution of zodiacal signs and planets,

the incantation as cure of the attack, biting or poison of noxious creatures, the removal of the destructive character of a multitude of diseases,

the *nīrang* in respect of the assault of fire, water, or plants, and the metals of the lands,

that concerned with coming into existence and conception of animals in regard to the zodiacal signs and planets . . .

that in connection with disease and health in the weeks and half-weeks, the new moon day, and the seventh days after the full and new moons.

that of the religious *nīrang* according to the revelation of the Faith for the worship of the Avesta in propitiating Yazdān and vexing the *dēvs*.

The others also, appearing in great number in the visible and invisible worlds, as powerful *nīrang* besides those which are embodied.

Because the *nīrang* of the invisible world is rarely manifested in the visible world, the embodied form prevails in the visible existences and the activity of the invisible is eliminated in the activity of the embodied.

Because in the invisible existences the power of Vay and its invisible supernatural activity is more abundant than the embodied, therefore its *nīrang* prevails over the embodied, and in the invisible supernatural activity of the *nīrang* the embodied is eliminated.

Also in the visible world, in regions and districts remote from one another there is a thing which in one region and district they consider to be embodied, but in the other region and district they consider to be *nīrang*. That is abundantly manifested.

2. *aβsōn*.

Beside *nīrang*, as we have seen, stands *aβsōn* with like meaning. So in *GrBd.*, 177, 6: *nīrang ut aβsōn i dātīk gūsān*, and in the Vid. passages quoted above from *DkM.* and the Pahl. Comm. *aβsōn* in healing represents the *māθra-* of the Avesta.

The verb is attested in *GrBd.*, 154, 15:--

*nārun ka nē aβsūt ēstēt dēvān yātūkān stanēnd tiyr humānāk
ar ān <murr> vēdēnd ut ožanēnd ē rād ān murr nārun <ka>
nē aβsūt ēstēt stanēt <xvarēt> tāk dēvān kār nē framāyēnd
ka aβsūt ēstēt nē xvarēt dēvān vinās patiš kartan nē tuvān.*

Here the *aβsūtān* works against the *dēvs*. But just as there are

aya maθra in the Avesta, and good and evil nīrangs, so the *aβsōn* may be used by beings good or evil. In *Aβiyātkār i Zarērān*, 74 and 100, the *yātūk Vīdrafš* has a spear : *ān fraš i aβsūtak*. The weapon has been magically strengthened.

Both aspects of the *aβsōn* persist into NPers. The *Šāhnāma* knows the beneficent *afsūn* of kings (Vullers, 20. 43, of Hōšang), and the *afsūngarī*, which a heavenly Sarōš teaches to Firēdūn (Vullers, 50. 304-5). The physician at the birth of Rustam (Vullers, 223, 1678) is described as—

yak-ē mard i bīnā-dil u pur-fusūn

and he exercises *afsūn* (*afsūn kunaδ*) in his work of healing.

But the harmful *afsūn* is illustrated in the case of Sarv, king of Yaman, the *šāh i afsūngarān* (Vullers, 73. 208), who tried to destroy the sons of Firēdūn by bringing upon them a bitter cold.

In NPers. we have—

afsūn

afsān ‘fascinating, magician’

afsāna ‘incantation’

afsāy ‘enchanter’

afsūgīdan ‘to subdue by magic’

afsānīdan ‘to make tame’

The etymology of *aβsōn* is of importance for the discussion which follows. It can safely be explained as from a verb *sav-* with the preverb *abi-* (which the *abhi-* of Sanskrit *abhicāra* ‘enchantment’ may support; Salemann proposed *upa-* in *GIP.*, 1b. 304). Hence **abisarana-*. The verb *abi-sav-* may be rendered ‘to exercise supernatural power upon, so imparting strength’ as to words or weapons.

3. *sav-*.

We are led then to recognize a word *sav-* with the pregnant meaning of ‘strengthening’ by the exercise of supernatural power whether of words alone or of words associated with rites. This meaning, and this is of particular importance, is to be recognized also in the Avesta. Such a translation of the frequent Av. *sav-* seems alone to do justice to the contexts. It may be seen clearly in such a collocation as that in *Visprat.* 7, 2 :—

arštātəm yazamaide vanuhīm
frūdāt.guēθum varədat.guēθum sarō.guēθum

rendered in the Pahl. Comm. :—

astāt yazēm vēh frēh-dātār i gēhān
vališn dātār <i> gēhān
sūtēnītār <i> gēhān

Similarly in verbal form, *Vid.* 4, 2, gloss :—

yō dainhave hu.vaxsāi
fraδamnahe varədamnahe rraθamnahe sujamnahe

Pahl. Comm. : *kē dēh pat huvarš frā.rvēnēt ku vēš bē kunēh <vālēnēt>*
eratēnēt sūtēnēt ku-š sūt patiš kunēnd.

To this *sav-* with transitive meaning 'to strengthen', the corresponding intransitive is attested as **k₂uei-* 'to increase, be strong' in Skt., Gr., and Iranian :—

Skt. *śvay-*, Av. *spay-*, Oss. *rəsuyun*, NBal. *sīay* 'to swell'.

Gr. *κνέω*

Adjectival derivative :—

Av. *sūra-*, *səvišta-*

Skt. *śūra-*, *śaviṣṭha-*

Gr. *ἄκυρος*, *κύριος*

In Mid. Iran. *sav-* is chiefly found in the participial *sūt* : Pahl. *sūt*, *sūtēnītan*, *sūtōmand*, *sūtēnītār* are frequent. NPers. *sūd* is 'profit, advantage'.

Pahl. *sūt-aβkārīh* 'affording *sūt*' : *Dd.*, K 35, fol. 199, verso 6 : *ut sūt-aβkārīh apar givāk av rōtastākān barsēt* is used of the wind which brings rain to promote the welfare of the world. So also *Dd Purs.*, 30, 11, *sūt-aβkār*, and *GrBd.*, 5, 9, *sūt-aβkārīhā*. *DkM.*, 751, 4-5, *sūt ut nīrmat*.¹

The gloss to *suokarantəm*, *Yast*, 7, 5, reads in *GrBd.*, 165, 10 :—

sūtōmand ku bar <ut> āp <av> urvar dahēt.

Similarly *GrBd.*, 66, 12 fol. :—

hamāk kōf hač zamīk apar āmat hand kē frahartišn ut sūt i martōmān hačiš.

Dd., K 35, 199, verso 7-11, uses this same phrase in describing the effect of rain :—

*patiš navak āp-ič navak tačišn ut navak *bēšačēmšnīh av urvarān*
ut navak vaxsīšn ut navak zargōnīh av zamīkān ut yōšdāsīh av

¹ In *nīrmat* we should perhaps recognize *nī-rmat*, a derivative from *ar-* with reduced grade **r-mat-*. Arm. *armat* 'root' may be explained as **ā-rmat-* (Nyberg, *MO.*, 23, 369, proposed **uδ(a)mat*). Avestan *ārmatti-* needs further consideration.

*gōspandān ut navak zāyišn ut navak xrap damīh[ā] av apārīk
dāmān ut navak bām ut navak hugōnīh dahēt patēxvīh i gēhān sūt
ut frahaxtišn i vēh dahišn aβzāyēnēt.*

Here the same idea is elaborated which is intended by the *frādat.gāēθa-* and *savō.gāēθa-* of the Avesta. The translation of Pahl. *sūt* by ‘advantage’ is inadequate. It is rather a ‘strengthening and promoting of welfare’.

The verbal form occurs in Pahl. in *DkM.*, 674, 13 fol., in explaining the word *sūtōmand* (here rendering the Av. *saošyant-*):—

*sūtōmand pērōzgar nām tan-kartār-ič nām
ētōn sūtōmand čēgōn harvišp axv i astōmand savēnēt* 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥

It is found also in *DkM.*, 606, 5 fol. :—

*adač frāč raft porušāsp pat mēnōk-kāmakīh čēgōn mēnōkān
apāyast mēnōk savišnīh* 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ku mēnōkān ham-ē sūt.
Pahl. Psalt. svtlyklyhy.*

In the recently published Pahlavi Psalter the word *svtlyklyhy* **sūtēkarīh* occurs three times to translate Syriac *kršp* and *tkšpt* ‘prayer’. It was possible accordingly to decide the correct form of the name of the 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 Nask as *Sūt-kar*, since this Nask begins with a treatment of the Ahunavar, that is, precisely as was seen above, one of the *nīrang*s in the passage *DkM.*, 784, quoted above. It is therefore possible to see in *sūt-kar*, *sūtē-karīh* the word *sūt* with the same meaning as *aβsōn* and *nīrang* from the verb *sav-* ‘to strengthen by supernatural power’. Its adaptation to the Christian sense of ‘prayer’ is natural: the ‘potent formula’ passing over to prayer.¹

It may then be considered that we have :—

- (1) *aβsōn, aβsūt, aβsūtak*
- (2) *sūt-kar*

from the same *sav-* and with the same meaning.

Barr, in the Glossary to the *Pahlavi Psalter*, p. 54, suggested a possible connection of *svtlyklyhy* with Av. *sruti-*, that is, *sr-* becoming *s-*, but the supposed parallel in Pahl. *aβsōs* is to be otherwise explained, as *-sōs* from *-sauk-š-*,² an inchoative form of *sauk-*. It is clear that a derivation from *sav-* in the sense suggested is more satisfactory.

¹ It is curious that a similar transition appears to have taken place also in the Syriac: *kršp* is used of ‘sorcery’ in Hebrew and Akkadian.

² Similarly NPers. *dōs-* ‘adhere’ beside *dōža* ‘tincture of lac’, Arm. *doč* ‘lac’.

4. **k̄yen-*.

A meaning 'strengthen by supernatural power' seems to be attested outside Iranian in Balto-Slavonic for another derivative of **k̄ey-*, namely with the enlargement *-en-* in **k̄yen-*.

Lettish *svēts* has preserved certain interesting uses. I am indebted for the following information to Mr. N. B. Jopson.

(1) G. F. Stender, *Lettische Grammatik*, Milan. 1783.

- p. 233. *šwehti lahfti*, heilige Flüche, heissen bey den Bauren, wenn jemand auf der Kanzel, auf Begehren eines andern (vermutlich nicht umsonst) brav verflucht wird.
- p. 270. *šwehtas meitas*, unterirdische heilige Mädgens, unter welchen die Semmes mahte oder Erdgöttin ihr Reich hatte. Diese Mädchen sollen für ihre Verehrer, des Nachts alles arbeiten, dass, wenn sie aufstehen, alles fertig finden.
- p. 270. *šwehti wahrdi*, heilige Worte. So nannte die abergläubische Letten, die gemurmelten Worte der vermeinten Wehsager und Segensprecher.

(2) G. F. Stender, *Lettisches Lexicon*, Milan. 1789. *Zweiter Theil*, p. 307.

šwehts, heilig, selig. it. theuer und hoch, it. das Besondere so gar im Bösen.

šwehti wahrdi, Gottes Wort, *abuse* das abergläubische Besprechen, it. wenn ein Prediger auf der Kanzel brav flucht, welches ehemals Mode war.

šwehts putns, Storch.

šwehts nasis, ein Messer, dessen Schnitt sehr schmerzet.

šwehts kohdums, unheilbarer Biss.

šauliti šwehtiht, Sonnenuntergang feyren und alsdann die Arbeit aus der Hand legen, ist ein lettischer Aberglaube.

It was, of course, employed by Christians in the sense of 'holy'. In the examples here quoted we seem to have a use of the word independent of Christianity¹ and therefore important. This is confirmed by the Serbo-Croatian:—

svētiti (1) 'to avenge': *sin svēti oca* 'the son avenges the father'.

(2) 'to consecrate': *svētenik svēti vodu* 'the priest consecrates the water'.

¹ Cf. also Čech *molla* 'idol, temple' beside Pol. *modla* 'prayer', as treated by Benveniste, *BSL.*, 33, 133.

ösveda 'revenge'.
osvétiti 'to avenge'.

Both Lettish and Serbo-Croatian words represent an Indo-Eur. **k̑uen-to-*. In Christian use **k̑uen-to-* is found regularly in these and the other Balto-Slav. languages :—

Lettish *svēts*.
 Lith. *šventas*.
 Old Slav. *světŭ*.
 Russ. *sviat-oi*.
 Serb. *svēt, svēta, svēto*.
 Pol. *święty*.
 Old Pruss. *swints*.

The examples in Lettish and Serbo-Croatian suggest an original meaning 'to strengthen by supernatural power' as for the Iranian *sav-, abi-sav-*. This is particularly clear in the Lettish use of *svēts* in reference to 'words' and 'knife': *svēts* implies the presence of magical power in both.¹ A transition to express the sense of 'holy', as in the case of 'holy water' in Christian use, was evident. The word could then be given meanings which early Lettish beliefs did not compass. It is possible that further search would discover other examples in the Baltic texts.

This Balto-Slav. word is identical in form with the Iranian **spanta-, *santa-*.

5. Iranian **spanta-, *santa-, *śanta-*.

In dealing with the vexed problem of Iranian **spanta-*, to which the inquiry has now led, it is necessary to keep in view four points. These are (1) the Avestan contexts, (2) the etymology, (3) the Balto-Slav. cognates in their oldest ascertainable meanings, (4) the traditional Pahlavi translation. A view which allows full value to each of these four factors receives thereby a strong cumulative confirmation. It is hoped to show that each of the four aspects are in accord. The result is likely therefore to be trustworthy.

The central importance of *spanta-* in Zoroastrian studies is self-evident and explains the rich literature which has been devoted to the problem of its meaning.

¹ It is obvious that this would also explain the Germanic Goth. *huns*; Old Engl. *hūst* 'sacrament', which has been supposed to represent **kuntslom*. From 'an offering of magic power' to 'sacrament' would be but another example of the adaptation of pre-Christian words to Christian uses.

From the time of Anquetil du Perron attempts have been made to translate *spanta-*. The following may be noted :—

(1) In the *AIW*. Bartholomae has an elaborate note in which he seeks on the evidence of Lithuanian *šventas*, by him understood as ‘*heilig*’, to prove that the meaning of Av. *spanta-* is ‘*heilig*’ and nothing else. Similarly Spiegel and Geldner translated.

(2) Jackson (*GIP.* ii. 635) wrote ‘*aw. spanta* ‘*vorteil-, gewinn-, heilbringend*’, von der Wurzel *span (su)* ‘*nützen, forthelfen, vermehren*’; hence he translated ‘*wohlthätig*’.

(3) B. Geiger (*SWAW*, 1916) attempted a new explanation by comparing Skt. *pan-* ‘to praise’. This is phonetically inadmissible.

(4) Junker (*Ung. Jahrb.*, v. 1925, 411 fol.) proposed to connect *spanta-* with the group of words to which *spaita-* ‘white’ belongs, with the meaning of ‘shining’, thinking of the light in which Ahura Mazda dwells. This view is also held by Hertel, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Avestas und des Vedas*, p. 108 fol. It is in conflict with the Balto-Slav. cognates and the Pahl. tradition.

(5) Johansson connected *spanta-* with Gothic *swinps* ‘*ἰσχυρός*’; see Charpentier, *Brahman*, 46, note 5. This is phonetically inadmissible.

(6) Lommel by a consideration of the contexts (*ZII.*, 7. 44 fol.) came to the conclusion that *spanta-* could everywhere be rendered ‘*klug*’. This can, however, in two cases be done only by straining the meaning severely, namely in *gaospanta* and *μηθρα spanta*.

As can be seen, none of these explanations satisfy all the four points upon which it is necessary to insist.

A new explanation is accordingly here offered, which if it proves acceptable must affect the view of Zoroastrian origins to an important extent.

It has so far been seen that Mid. Iran. Zoroastrian texts contain a theory of ‘supernatural power’ manifested in the cosmos as well as in the acts of daily life, as in the case of the physician healing by *aβsōn* and the use of ‘spells’ by Aži Dahāka.

The agreement of Balto-Slav. theory as expressed by representatives of **kyen-to-* may justify the assumption that **key-* had been early specialized in this direction in these two Indo-Eur. dialects. If this was the case—the idea of ‘effective power’ expressed by **key-* and its cognates—it would not be surprising to find traces of such a meaning in the Avestan *spanta-*.

The word is attested in Iranian as follows :—

Av. *spānta-*, comp. *spanyah-*, superl. *spāništa-*, *spāntō.tama-*,
abstract *spānah-*, adj. *spanahvant-*.

Gr. *σφενδαδάτης*.

Cappadocian Calendar *σονδαρα*.

Arm. *spandaramet*, -i *Διόνυσος*.

spandarametakan 'Dionysiac'.

sandaramet-k' γῆ κάτω, ἄδυτον.

sandarametakan καταχθόνιος.

sandarametayin χθόνιος.

sandarametapet Δημήτηρ.

Saka *śśandā* (see below).

Sogd. Letters 'sp'nd't nom. pr.

Man. *spnd' rmt, mrl' spnd* (see Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Man.*

Dogmatik, 91).

Pahl. *spand*, *gōspand*, *māraspand*, *amhraspand*.

spēnāk.

NPers. *gōspand*, *gōsfand*.

Probably the name of the rue plant is to be connected :—

Pahl. *spandān*.

NPers. *sipand*, *isfand* 'rue', *sipandān* 'seed of wild rue'.

Arm. *spand*.

Afgh. *spānda* 'wild rue'.

It is a plant of apotropæic character. Cf. *urvar pat nīrangīk apāc dāštārīh i vas pitiyārak*, *DkM.*, 784, quoted above.

These various forms assure the etymology. The alternation of *sp-*, *s-*, *śś-* is of the same type as that of Median *σπάκα*, Av. *spā*, *sūnō*, Pahl. *sak*, NPers. *saq*, Waxī *šač*, and Av. *aspa-*, OPers. *asa-*, Saka *aśśa-*, Waxī *yaš*. Hence we have here an Indo-Iranian **śyanta-*, Indo-Eur. **k̑en-to-*. We have recognized the identical form in Balto-Slav. The formation is an adjectival derivative with suffix *-to-* from a subst. **k̑en-*, cf. Brugmann, *Vergl. Gram.*, ii, 403, who quotes the type in Gr. *θαυμαστός*. Skt. *sūrta-*, and especially Italic examples, as Latin *fastus*. Av. *spānta-* is therefore the equivalent of *spanahvant-* 'possessing *spanah-*'.

It has been shown that the meaning of the Balto-Slav. word, as attested in particular by Lettis *svēts* and Serbo-Croatian *ösveta*, expressed the idea of 'supernatural power'. This is precisely the meaning which fits the Avestan words. Here we find :—

mθra spanta.
gao spanta, Vid., 21, 1. (Pahl. Comm. gāv i aβzōnīk.)
spantā ārmaitiš.
spantō mainyuš.
nā spantō, Yasna. 51. 21. spantəm narəm, Visprat, 19, 1.
spantā daēnā. Y., 45. 11.
ašəm . . . spantəm aməšəm. Y., 37. 4.
fravašiš . . . spantā . . . spānistā . . . sūnā . . . səvištā. Yašt. 13, 75.
āθrō urvāzištahe spantahe.
gāθābyō spantābyō. Y., 55. 1.
haoma sūra spanta, Visprat. 9. 3
aurvantō . . . spanta vīdēānhō, Y., 57, 27.
spanta fradaxšta mərəya.
spantō.dāta-
spantō.xratu-, Yašt, 13, 115, nom. pr. Cf. Dd., 36, 11,
aβzōnīk xrat.
spantō.frasan-, Vid., 22, 19.

So the abstract, associated with 'knowledge', is found in :—

spanan̄ha vaēdyā.paite, Y., 9, 27, addressing Haoma.
Y., 9, 22, spānō mastīmča.
Yašt, 10, 33, mastīm spānō vaēdīm.
Vid., 18, 7, avathu anhā spanyā yezi mām paiti.pərəsānhe.

The possession of *spanan̄h-*, which according to the explanation here proposed means 'supernatural power', is attained by the knowledge of what was called *nīrang* and *aβsōn* in Mid. Iran. Cf. the Pahl. rendering of Av. *mat.paiti.frasa-* by *apāk apāc pursišnīh i nīrang*.

Just so in the Šāhnāma *afsūn* is associated with wisdom : Vullers, 73. 214 :—

bad-ān īzaδī farr u farzānagī bu-afsūn i šāhān u mardānagī

Vullers, 71, 178. speaking of the physicians :—

pur az dānīš u pur fusūn āmaδand

The *nā spantō* of the Gāthās is the man who has this power. The *spantō mainyuš* is the being of the invisible world who manifests this same power, and the *spanta-mθra-* is exactly the *nīrang*. It is possible also to understand the cow as *spanta-*, and the earth called *spantā*. It is a meaning made necessary by a comparison with Lettish.

The activity of the being who has *spanan̄h-*, the *spanta-* man, is

expressed by the cognate verb *spanu-* in the Gathic passage, *Yasna*, 51, 21 :—

ārmatōiš nā spāntō hvō čistī urdāiš šyaοθanā
daēnā ašəm spānvat

This is probably also the meaning of *spanvanti* in *Hadōxt Nask*, 1, 4.

It has therefore been shown that the three first points—(1) Avestan context, (2) etymology, (3) the meaning of the Balto-Slav. cognates—confirm each other and together assure a meaning of ‘supernatural power’. There remains the fourth point: the Pahl. Commentators rendered *spānta-* and the related words, not by a cognate word, but by *aβzōnīk*. It is now necessary to show that this is equally in accord with the above result and in turn confirmatory of it.

6. *aβzōnīk*.

In the Pahlavi Commentators’ rendering of Av. *spānta-* and its cognates we have another example of an interesting practice. This is to avoid an identical or etymologically related word in translating Avestan. Turfan Mid. Iran. shows that the phrase *yasn ud vahm* was familiar, yet Av. *vahma-* is not rendered by *vahm* in Pahl. In the *Frahang i Oim*, 10, Av. *pusam* ‘crown’ is rendered by *aparsar* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥, although Turfan Mid. Iran. has *psg* **pusay* (M., 7, 9, North.) and Arm. has *psak*. Similarly Av. *čīθra-* is usually rendered by *paidāk*, though *čīhr* and *čīhrak* are also found. It is therefore not necessary to suppose that the commentators used *aβzōnīk* to render *spānta-* owing to a mistaken association of the words.

It is important to define, if possible, the meaning which was intended by the translators in using *aβzōnīk*. Happily the word and its cognates are well attested.

The oldest examples of the verb are in two Old Pers. inscriptions. The first published by Herzfeld with facsimile in ‘A new Inscription of Xerxes from Persepolis’ (*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1932), and again in *AMI.* 4, 117 fol. and also by Benveniste, *BSL.* 33, 144 fol. :—

39-40 *uta uniya krtam abiḡāvayam*

The second inscription, also of Xerxes, was published in the *Illustrated London News*, 8th April, 1933, p. 488 :—

9-10 *adam abiḡaḡāvayam abiḡ ava krtam*

The meaning is clearly ‘to add’.

We have the word also in Turfan Mid. Iran. (S) 'b:z- and 'b:z'y-, see Henning, Manichaica ii. and in Buddh. Sogd. 'βz'w-, 'βz'w'y.

In Pahl. the word is common. It is here a matter of the meaning. Two aspects are represented.

(1) *aβzūtan*, *aβzāyēnūtan* 'to increase in number'.

In *Yasna*, 62, 4, *spānah-* is glossed by *aβzōnīkīh ku tāk ēiš-ē ras ēiš dānom* <*aβzūtan*>

In *Yašt*, 1, 8, *spanahrant-* is glossed by *aβzāyēnūtār ku hač andak ēiš ras ēiš bē aβzāyēnēm*.

GrBd., 222, 3-4, *ka-m yortāk dūt ku andar zamīk bē parkanēnd ut apāē rōdēnd pat aβzōn apāē bavēt*.

GrBd., 54, 4, *kast ut aβzōn kunēnd* 'they shorten and increase'. So in NPers. *afzūn* 'more'.

Šāhnāma (Vullers, 429, 72) :—

*birūn raft bā ō zi laškar suvār
zi mardān i ſangī fuzūn az hazār.*

(2) *aβzūt* is further defined by its opposite, *ričūt ričūtan* 'to lessen, to do harm' (cf. Bthl., *SR.*, 3, 53 fol.). *Dd Purs.*, 27, 2, *api-š dart ut ričāyīšn apar vitart ēstēt nāzūktar*. *ŠGV.*, 4, 63, *vazūdan*, Skt. *vidhvamsitum*. *ŠGV.*, 8, 73, *ež vazūdārī*, Skt. *virodhatrāt*. Cf. *Šāhnāma* (Vullers, 368, 844), *fazāyanda būd az gačāyanda būd*.

Hence *aβzūtan* will mean 'to increase, strengthen'. So *aβzāyīšn* explains *fšavišn* (gloss to Av. *fšaonibya*, *Sīrōc.*, 1, 7), which means the well-being of the herd, including an increase in numbers. The Skt. version uses *sphītayitum* 'to make prosper' for *fšavēnišn*.

DKM., 729, *aβzāyēnākēnūtan* <*i*> *ān i ahrav pat dānākīh ut kāhēnūtan i ān i druvand pat dušākūsīh* <*i*> *gēhān*. Similarly the use of *aβzūd* on Sasanian coins means 'well-being, good fortune', something more than a bare increase in numbers.

The same view is attested by *GrBd.*, 48, 12, in the list of opposites : *ganākīh hast zatārīh av aβzōnīkīh*. Here *aβzōnīkīh* might be translated 'making prosper' in contrast to *zatārīh* 'destructiveness'.

It is also interesting that for *frāūdim*, *Yasna*, 53, 6, the NPers. gloss has *afzūnī-dahišnī*, the Skt. *vrddhidātīh*.

We are here in the presence of the same conception as that expressed by the *sūt ut frahaxtišn i gēhān*, and the Av. *savō.garθa-*.

Since *sav-* and *spanta-* are restricted in the Avesta to beneficent activities, resulting in prosperity among living beings, the rendering of *spanta-* by *aβzōnīk* looks to the result of the activity of the being who

is *spanta-*, who possesses the supernatural power, the *nīrang*, needed to promote the well-being of the world, which is the *aβzūt* of living creatures. It is therefore evident that *aβzōnīk* is not ‘bountiful’, nor is it simply ‘increaser’ as the glosses quoted above (*Yasna*, 62, 4: *Yašt*, 1, 8) might at first suggest: *aβzōnīk* is ‘he whose activity results in *aβzūt*’, the *sūt ut frahaxtišn i gēhān*.

It will now be evident that the cosmic view of the *nīrang* in the *Dēnkart*, as translated above, may justly be considered a doctrine of the *Vēh-dēn*, and represent speculation based on the Avestan idea of the *spanta-* and the *maθra-*.

As shown by the agreement of Balto-Slavonic and Middle Iranian, *spanta-* was probably at one time used both of bad and of good supernatural power. It is specialized in the Zoroastrian tradition in a good sense, as happened, for example, also in the case of *ahura-*.

7. Saka *śśandā*.

In Avestan *spantā ārmaitiš* is often the ‘earth’, whatever be the explanation of *ārmaiti-*.

When it is remembered that in Saka *purra* (fem.) is used for ‘moon’, that is, the epithet, as in Av. *pərənō.māh-* and in Pahl. *purr māh* ‘full moon’, without the word ‘moon’, and also that *urmayśdā* is ‘sun’, it is probable that *śśandā*, *śandā* ‘earth’ is to be explained similarly as an adj. without the noun.

In Saka, as in the modern dialect Waxī, Indo-Iran. *śy* is represented by *ś*, where Av., Sogd., and the North-West. dialects have *sp*, and Old Pers. has *s*.

Saka <i>śśīya-</i> ‘white’	Waxī <i>śač</i> ‘dog’
<i>biśśa-</i> ‘all’	<i>yaś</i> ‘horse’
<i>aśśu-</i> ‘horse’	<i>yīśən</i> ‘iron’
	<i>śiš</i> ‘louse’

Hence Saka *śśanda-* is the expected form corresponding to Av. *spanta-*. In Saka we find *ysamaśśandā* ‘ground, soil, earth’ (*-ā* < *-akā*), *ysamaśśandaa-* ‘the world’, *śśandā* ‘earth’.

We seem to have here an old phrase **zam- *śyantā*, which has been replaced by *spantā ārmaitiš* in the Zoroastrian tradition. If Av. *ārmaitiš* is brought into connection with Arm. *armat* ‘root’, the meaning could be ‘basis’, which would suit well to replace a word meaning ‘earth’.

8. *ahra-*.

In the Avesta the *spāntō mainyuš*, as the being whose activity is constructive, tending to the prosperity and strengthening of living beings, stands over against the *anrō mainyuš*, which should probably be translated by the opposite as 'destructive'.

We should then have an Iran. base *ah-* (or *anh-* with nasal, but the form *astā* on which such a form is based cannot be pressed to prove the nasal, as is indicated by such a spelling as *mačā*, which corresponds to Skt. *mahā*) 'to destroy'.

From this an explanation of *Aogəmadadācēā*, 28, is attainable :—

mā məm tanvō iθyejanuhaiti
anrāi vairi fraspayōis
yim xruvantəm āiθivantəm
*yim dāvēm *afradərəsvantəm*¹
frākərəntat anrō mainyuš

In this passage *vairi* should certainly be read **vairē*, dat. sing., not as Geiger followed by AIW, **vairīm*. The dative case *anrāi*, **vairē* depends on the verb *fra-spā-* 'to throw down to'. Examples of such datives are given by Brugmann, *Vergl. Gram.*, ii, 2, 502, of the same type as Gr. *ψυχὰς ἄδι προΐαψεν*, Skt. *mṛtyāve vā eśā nīyate*.

In this phrase *anra- var-*, *anra-* may be rendered 'destructive', hence 'pit of destruction', that is *dōsarv*, the pit of Ahriman. So the Pāzand reads *q i ganā var* 'the pit of the destructive one', and the Skt. paraphrases with *angromanīonarakaguphā*.

This same phrase is used also in *DkM.*, 660, 1 :—

ašān av ān i ganāk var 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌 *aβkanēnd av dōsarv*

in a quotation of Dēn. referring to the age of iron. West in *SBE.*, 47, 97, rendered 'smiting precinct'.

The Pāzand *q i ganā var* and Pahl. *ganāk var* are half-translations. But just as *Ahrēman*, *Ahriman* represents **Ahramanyu-*, Ἄρειμάνυος, Av. *anrō, mainyuš*, with *ahr-*,² not translated by *ganāk*, so **ahra-var*

¹ MSS. 𐬱 for 𐬱. Emended by W. Geiger (adopted in AIW.) on the basis of the Pāzand *anašnās* and Skt. *anāloka-*. It is confirmed by *GrEd.*, 188, 11, where Ahriman's abode is described :—

gīvāk tārik ut gandak andar a-frāē-paidāk dōsarv rād gōβēt ku tār pat dast šāyēt grīstan gandakēh pat kārt šāyēt brītan.

Hence *a-frāē-paidāk* represents an Av. **afradərəsvantəm*, just as *frāē paidāk* renders Av. *frādərəsra-* in *Yasna*, 57, 27.

² *Id.*, 36, 11, 13, 101, has *angraman*.

is probably to be recognized in the Turfan texts. In *M* 99*d* 21, 22, occurs *ʿhrycr *ahrēvar*. Various attempts have been made to interpret this word. F. W. K. Müller gave ‘*Wall (?)’: Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Stell. Iesu*, p. 114, *ʿhryver* ‘Umwallung’ (T. ii. D. 178, iv verso, 3*b*); Jackson, *Researches*, p. 66, thought of Av. *āθri-* and *vāra-*. It receives a better explanation if it is connected with this Av. *amra-var-*.

III. Pahl. *وړوار* *vīvar* ‘grieved’

In the description of Spandārmāt. *GrBd.*, 173, 3 fol., we have in line 7:—

api-š vēhīh ēn ku vīvar ut gilak ōpār

TD 2, *وړوار وړلو وړلو وړلو*

P(aris MS.) *وړوار وړلو وړلو وړلو*

‘Her being good is for this reason: she is grieved and filled with weeping.’

The lamentations of Spandārmāt are known elsewhere, as in this same passage following and *Žāmāsp Nāmak*, 74 (*BSOS.*, vi, 582). To *ōpār* ‘filled with’, cf. NPers. *ōbāstan* ‘to fill’, and for the form and meaning cf. the use of the frequent NPers. *-āgīn*, from **ākēn*, ‘filled with’: *ōpār* is then a verbal noun ‘a filling’. NPers. *ōbār* ‘lamentation’ does not seem of use here.

DkM., 579, 20¹: *guft ēstēt ku gilān-ōpār ut vīvar pat krpak kartan tuššāk bavišn*

‘It is said that the person full of weeping and grieved must be active in doing good works.’

gilān-ōpār with *-ān* as *kārān-dōst* (*Husrav*, 10) and *āpān-dān* ‘water-pot’ (*GrBd.*, 62, 11). Pahl. Psalt. *v’ē nēnyy*.

DkM., 921, 6-7: *ēt-ič rād ēē vīvar وړوار fražām admēt bavēt ut frārōn admēt fraškart nimūtār-ič bavēt*

Here *fražām-admēt* ‘having hope of the end’.

Dd., 36, 27: *vīvarīh bast i andar kōršišn*

‘he allotted the distress which exists in the conflict.’

Here *vīvarīh* *وړوار*.

The reading of *vīvar* is so determined. The form *vīvarīh* proves that *وړوار* is adj. (which also suits the contexts). Hence . . . *var*.

¹ Bartholomae, quoted *MO.*, 15, 194, note 6, seems wrongly to have read *nryt*.

The initial letters 𐭪𐭫 allow various readings, but the meaning already determined by the context points to the participle of $vā(y)$ - 'to excite', therefore $*vīta$ - 'excited', in a bad sense 'distressed'. The Pahl. will accordingly have $vīt$. In Sanskrit also the verb developed similar meanings: $vī-$ ($vēti$, $vītā-$) 'to excite', $āvī-$, $āvī-$ 'pain'.

A parallel development is illustrated by the verb $fram-$. NPers. $faram$ is 'grief', but Turfan Mid. Iran. $framēn$ (also with initial $f-$) is 'joyous' (Henning, loc. cit. ii). So to read also in M. 97. d 23. $sād uδ$ $fram <ēn>$. Both meanings find their explanation in a verb $fram-$ 'to be agitated'¹. In Pahl., *GrBd.*, 128. 2. 11, we find the fire $ātarš$ i 𐭪𐭫 (P. 𐭪𐭫), that is, $fram-kar$. Here there are three possible translations: (1) 'causing agitation', (2) 'causing joy', (3) 'causing grief', as Markwart rendered it in *Šahrīhā i Erān*, p. 56. The most probable meaning is that the fire itself is (always) excited'.

Pahl. $vītrar$ is then $*vīta-bara-$ 'bearing grief': $*vīta-$ n. This same $*vīta-$ is attested with adjectival function in Turfan Mid. Iran. in a word which has been already several times discussed.²

S. 9. a 21-3

$kird-uš$ $nasāh$ $uδ$ $zīndān$	· Āz created the physical body
$u-š$ $bast$ $gyān$ $vydr'y$	and prison, and bound the
	grieved soul.'

S. 9, c 18-19

$vydr'y$ $uδ$ $nāf$ i $xvāstī$

It should almost certainly be read $vīδ-rāy$ 'he whose $rāy$ ('soul')³ is $vīδ$ ', that is, $*vīta-$ 'grieved'.

The same word, defectively written, is attested also in M. 4. b 15-17:

$až$ $āvarzūγ$ $radisgār$
 $uδ$ $až$ $ādur$ $taβuγ$ $xrarēnday$
 $burz$ $bramīδ$ $gyān$ $vīr'y$

Read $vīδ-rāy$.

This interpretation requires that its opposite $xvās-rāy$ (quoted by

¹ Rather than $fra-man-$.

² F. W. K. Muller and Schaefer connected it with the verb $vīdardan$: Salemann left it untranslated, Jackson, *Researches*, p. 96 (where see references), 'mute (?).', Andreas, followed by Henning (*NGW.*, 1932. 219, note 7, where other references), suggested $vi-ita-$ + $rāy$. Hence Henning's rendering 'der die Erkenntnis verloren gegangen' and 'unvernunftig'.

³ It would be interesting to compare the identification of $xvār$ and $rūān$ in *GrBd.*, 101, 13.

Henning, loc. cit.) should be rendered 'happy', rather than 'wohldenkend' in M. 97, d 17.

The parallel phrases in S.—

vīd-rāy ud nāf ī xvāštī

and *sōγvār ud nāf ī xvāštī*

may also help to confirm the explanation here proposed.

A further comparison is suggested. NPers. *bīdār* 'awake, wakeful', a frequent epithet of heroes in the *Šāhnāma*, could be **vītāvar* 'excited'.

A Letter from James I to the Sultan Aḥmad

By E. DENISON ROSS

(PLATES II AND III)

THE main object of this article is to explain the circumstances which induced James I to write to Sultan Aḥmad the letter which is here reproduced.¹ These circumstances cannot fail to be of interest to students of Oriental history, constituting as they do a kind of footnote to the relations existing between England and Turkey at the beginning of the seventeenth century. I cannot here recount in detail the many adventures of Sir Thomas Sherley, for they would occupy far too much space in the *Bulletin*; but I shall confine myself to an outline of the events which culminated in his falling into the hands of the Turks, who held him prisoner for a period of nearly three years (January, 1602, to December, 1605), and the correspondence that passed between Constantinople and London regarding his captivity.

The three sons of Sir Thomas Sherley the elder of Wiston, Sussex, were all destined to spend some time in Muslim countries. The eldest, Thomas, had by comparison the least adventurous life, for his two brothers, Anthony and Robert, had such amazing careers that, even in the Elizabethan age of adventure, they must be regarded as extraordinary. In 1598, Anthony and Robert, accompanied by twenty-four others, made the journey from Venice to Ispahān, via Aleppo, Baghdad, and Qazvīn, without either credentials or any definite object in view. So favourably did Anthony Sherley impress the Shāh that at the beginning of 1600 he was sent on an embassy to the Christian princes of Europe. Robert, who was left behind as a hostage for his brother, after serving Shāh ‘Abbās I in court and in camp for nine years, was in his turn sent on a similar mission. Anthony’s connection with Persia ended with his arrival in Rome in May, 1601. Robert, on the other hand, remained to the end of his days in the service of Shāh ‘Abbās, only to die of a broken heart as a result of the ingratitude shown him by the Shāh on his return to Persia with Sir Dodmore

¹ The original of this letter some years ago came into the hands of Messrs. Maggs Bros., and recently my friend Mr. Sigismund Goetze, knowing of my interest in the Sherley brothers, very kindly made me a present of it, and it is now exhibited in the Library of the School of Oriental Studies.

Cotton's mission in 1628. Anthony, after serving the Emperor Rudolph II. entered the service of the King of Spain, in which country he died as a pensioner in 1636.¹

Thomas Sherley the younger was born in 1564, but there is no record either of the exact date or the place of his birth. He spent his youth at Wiston, and in 1579 was sent, together with his brother Anthony, to Hart Hall, Oxford, and left without taking his degree. In 1583 he was appointed to the royal household, and we next find him fighting in the Low Countries. In 1591 he secretly married Frances Vavasour, and as a result was disgraced at court and imprisoned in the Marshalsea Gaol for several months. In 1593 he was again fighting in the Low Countries as a captain in command of 300 men under Lord Willoughby. He was knighted in recognition of his distinguished military services in the Low Countries either in 1589 or 1593. At this time he became involved in his father's debts, on account of which Sir Thomas the elder was serving a term of imprisonment in gaol. It was no doubt the family debts which drove all three brothers abroad. In 1598, the year in which Anthony and Robert went to Persia, Thomas resolved to try his own fortunes at sea, and set sail for Portugal on a voyage of adventure. He returned from this expedition in June, 1602, having achieved nothing beyond the destruction of two Portuguese villages, and the capture of four hulks. In the same year, spurred on by the fame achieved by his two brothers, and also by the ridicule and scorn showered upon him as a result of his unfruitful voyage, he equipped three well-built ships, manned with 500 soldiers, and set sail with the object of attacking the infidel Turks. Fuller, in his *English Worthies*, says: "he was ashamed to see his two younger brothers worn like flowers in the breasts and bosoms of foreign princes, whilst he himself withered on the stalk he grew on." The only sources for his exploits are his own letters written from Turkey after he was taken captive: those of Her Majesty's Ambassador in Constantinople, Mr. Henry Lello; and *The Three English Brothers*, by Anthony Nixon, published in 1607.²

According to Nixon, Thomas was driven on to the coast of Italy, and proceeded to Florence, where he was received with great honour by the Duke of Tuscany. It is not known at which port he landed.

¹ For his life I would refer to my *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure*, "Broadway Travellers Series," Routledge, 1933.

² The only copy known to me of this little Black Letter book is the one in the British Museum, catalogued under G. 6672.

but he finally set sail from Leghorn, apparently with only two ships, having lost one ship as the result of an engagement with a large vessel in the course of which he lost one hundred men, and "the spoil being by no means equal to so great a loss, the soldiers became mutinous, and a part of them deserted with one of the ships". At Leghorn Thomas replenished his crews with thirty Greeks and Italians, and also took on an Englishman named Peacock as pilot, who had with him a dozen English mariners. It is evident that Thomas sailed under the banner of the Duke of Tuscany. His misfortunes had, however, only just begun, for, when off the coast of Sicily, Peacock "fled with another ship", leaving Thomas again with only one. When they eventually reached the Archipelago the vessel sprang a leak, and they were forced to put into the small island of Zea. What exactly took place on this island and led to his being taken prisoner by the Turks it is hard to discover. Thomas himself, writing apparently to Lord Burleigh from Negroponte on "the last of February, 1602"¹ gives the following account:—

"I am a man vnknowne vnto your Lordship, but a Gentleman, a knichte and housholde servant of the Queenes, my ffather is a man of good livinge, but somethinge caste behinde hande by harde fortune, I am his eldeste sonne, and since his disgrace I have traviled to gett my livinge by my sworde, and the labore of my handes in treadinge which course I thruste into the Straights, with 2 shippes whiche are hollye my owne. I have done nothinge preiudiciall to any of hure Maiesties frendes, but have only soughte to make my voyage upon the Spanyarde in which pretentes whilst I did labor my shippe sprange a greate Leake, soe I was forced to putt into Gio [Zea], where I remayned a holle weeke dewringe which time I nore anny of myne did take the worthe of a henne wi thought payinge for it, in thiende of which vnfortunate weeke, ther felle oughte a brable betwene some of the Ile and some of my people, which cominge to my knowledge, I landed with intention to pasifie all matters, and soe I did, but it was my harde fortune to be lefte with 2 poir men more of myne at Gio, and there my shippe did verve curteouslye leaue me where I remayned 5 weekes in highe extremtyie of myserye and nowe I am in negroponte, somewhat better for the punishment of my bodie, but my libertie noe more then it was, and my mynde indeurethe the same Afflictions that it did at the firste but the Cade [Caid] dothe vse me honorably, knowinge me to be a Ientelman, but thinkethe that I cam in traffeke, and bounde firste to Marselles And Legorne, where as (he supposeth) I have allreadie vnladen, and that I have a remayner lefte for to vnlade at Gioe. Thus he hath written vnto the Bashae, and that he findethe noe faulte in me, nowe my seute vnto your Lordship, is that, youe woulde please to spende your brethe for me, deliver me and youe shall gett yourselve

¹ S.P. Foreign, Turkey, 4. f. 160.

honor and thanks, and youe shall for ever bynde me vnto youe. I ame not soe poore but I maye deserve it. and your Lordship shall doe god good service to free a Christiane from bondage, and you shall deliver your Contrye from a greate skandalle in savinge and freeinge me. The Bashae would heare youe yf I weare an offender, much more beinge pronounced Innocente by his owne officers. Thus I humblye take my leve of your Lordship: at Negraponte the Laste of february 1602.

Yours ever to command,

THOMAS SHERLYE."

Mr. Lello, writing to Sir Robert Cecil from Constantinople on 26th February, 1602,¹ expresses his opinion that Thomas and his men must have "used no friendly and lawful means" of procuring victuals from the islanders of Zea. Nixon gives the most vivid description of the landing of Thomas and his men, of the capture of a town, of his withdrawal on the approach of a large body of the islanders, and of the flight of the soldiers and their desertion of their leader, who, holding his ground with only two others, was wounded and taken prisoner. Whatever may have been the circumstances, it is clearly established that Thomas was taken prisoner by these Greek Turkish subjects of the island, and there retained until his ship had departed a month later, when he was transferred to Negropont and was there confined with great rigour from 20th March until 25th July. Nixon tells us that in Negropont, though Thomas and his two fellow prisoners were carefully guarded, they were well treated: but "after the end of five days the governor of the island lent him a janissary to carry his letters to the English consul of Petrass, which was five days' journey from thence; howbeit he received no answer of his letters from the Consul; but upon the janissary's return, he was presently committed into a dark dungeon, and with a great galley chain bound fast with a slave that was before taken, which grieved him worst of all".

From Negropont Thomas was sent to Constantinople, a distance of 500 miles, "riding upon a pack saddle with a great galley chain about his legs and another about his waist and many times his legs bound under the horse's belly." The Turks had at the time no notion who their prisoner was, and had Thomas held his peace he might have been more speedily released. When, however, it was discovered—presumably through his letters—that he was the brother of Sir Anthony Sherley, who had been engaged in stirring up the Christian powers against the Sultan, the Turkish authorities no doubt felt that his

¹ S.P. Foreign, Turkey, 4, f. 209.

captivity was more desirable than his release. It was also well known that his brother Robert was serving their arch-enemy the Shāh of Persia, with whom hostilities had been renewed after a truce of thirteen years.¹

Of Thomas's miserable condition in Constantinople Nixon gives a very detailed account which he may have received from Thomas himself. The facts agree substantially with what we may learn from the letters written during the period by Thomas, and the despatches of the English Ambassador, Mr. Lello. Both Thomas and Nixon make charges against Lello of negligence in dealing with the matter of Thomas's release, and the following letter from Thomas to his brother Anthony, dated 31st May, 1605,² contains many accusations against the Ambassador. This letter was shown by the friar (to whom Thomas refers as "myne assured freind") to Lello, who sent a copy of it to Cecil, with his own comments in the margin:—

"My moste honorāble deare brother: I muste needes impute it to one of my worste fortunes that yow doe not receive my letters, for I doe assure yow that I never lett carrier passe without sending of düble packetes unto yow, th' one by the Englishe Embassador (*w^{ch} is ever suppressed*) th' other by myne assured freind the fryer: And I feare that his confidence in the Frenche Embassador hathe bine the cause that they haue ever myscarred of late, for since his cominge to Constantinople I reposed a greate hope and confidence in him uppon yo^r: commendacōns and asurance. (But to use fewe wordes and leave all circumstances) I find noe kinde of comferte from him, but a right frencheman he hathe shewed himselfe in betrainge bothe yo^r secrets and myne. First he delivered your open letter to the man (*you may imagen*) and since told him all the complaints and exclamacōns w^{ch} the fryer used agaynste him in my behalf: Now (brother) I praie yow to judge what hope there is of my libertie when you especte yt by the meanes of only 2 men, of whome th' one carethe not for me, *th' other is myne enemy* as marke the sequell, and yow will plainlie perceave *firste hee never tooke hould of any opertunitie to ease me*, but hathe geven waye to all meanes to ruine me as Mr. Burton can tell yow. Nexte, he hathe ever wrytten in to England of stronge hopes for my libertie, when hee had none at all. Therby preventinge all further and newe meanes, yt should there be effected for me, and to increase

never any unless they be de-maunded.

mysselfe.

meaning myself w^{ch} in right he should have said his freind.

That is most untrew I never omitted non, this Burton is a clocke maker, whome for a d-sordered fellow I sent out of my house

¹ In 1590 Shāh 'Abbās I had concluded a truce with Sultan Muhammad with the object of being able to give his undivided attention to the suppression of the Uzbeks on his eastern frontier.

² S. P. Foreign, Turkey 5, f. 17.

never had any
but his Mat^y &
yo^r hon^{ty}

(To) prove his
allegacon for
Mr Glover I wish
yo^r hon^{ty} would
opinyne him (if)
he be an honest
man () will
speake yt way .
but I moue if he
Sr Thom^s Hunt^r
first I forl his
brothers. Ir^{es}
advised him to
stly upon
non, but y^e French
& and now an
other.

his hatred to me my father hathe shewed my letters (wrytten againste him) to suche as have certified him of yt. You wryte to me that you have bound him, yf any thing can bind a man, my deerest Brother, wth greefe I speake yt he is not a man to be bound wth benefits, but to be forced wth sharpe threates and terrours, like a dull horse that must ever be spurred. When he receaveth a freshe letter from the kinge or any counceler then he rampeth like a beare for two or three dayes, and then, as Sir Drue Drurie was wonte to saie, finger in mouthe and no more newes : these are my present hopes here, unlesse you, or some other of my frinds can helpe me to some better succor out of Christendom then any that Turkie dothe vet afforde. I am verie glad that you have spoken wth Mr Glover he is a true honest gent and (I am sure) hathe confirmed what I have formerlie wrytten. I praye you use Mr Burton wth that respecte that his love to me dothe deserve w^{ch} (you see) is exceeding greate. And so I comend [him ?] to you this laste of Maye 1605.

Yo^r moste affectionat loving poore brother,
TO: SHERLIE."

Lello, in his covering letter ¹ to Cecil (then Viscount Cranbourne), speaks of Thomas's "harsh and malicious dealinge" towards him, who has, he declares, been "the best friend hee had in his present state". He continues with an account of an occasion on which Thomas "sent to mee for a trifling matter, which not beinge founde for him at that present burst out into such a raging and rayling fury that it was wondered at by the barbarous turkes in prison with him as also his Galer and owne servante in prison attendinge upon him beinge in conscience moved with that his faulse calumniation, made known unto mee how that hee often used to rayle upon mee in that kinde, and at that present swore he would cause me to be hanged and I should answer the whole charge of all his troubles whether he came out or not as beinge cause thereof". The Ambassador then proceeds to outline the steps he has taken to effect Thomas's release and declares that the fact that Robert Sherley is at this time in the service of Shāh 'Abbās is the reason for Thomas's continued imprisonment. We are then given a curious sidelight on Thomas's character by Lello's account of how in prison "he will sometimes give out hee is allied to the kinge and would shew it in his expenses were he not restrayned of money. Many times hee will banquet the prince of Georgians, and persians in prison with him, publickly makinge his brothers actions knowne".

¹ S.P. Foreign, Turkey 5. f. 18.

JACOBVS DEI OPTIMI MAXIMI MVNDI CONDITORIS ET RECTORIS ynici, clementia, Magnæ Britannia, Franciæ et Hiberniæ

Rex veræ fidei contra omnes Idololatrias falso **CHRISTI** nomen profitentes, inuictus et potentissimus Propugnator; **Augustissimo, Inuictissimoq; Imperatori SULTAN ACHOMET, Musulmanici Regni Dominatori Potentissimo, Imperijq; Orientis Monarchæ, supra omnes soli et supremo, Salaten, et multos cum humis rerum omnium assuetudine lactos et felices annos. Augustissime et Inuictissime Imperator.** Nisi existimaremus, illum subditum nr̄um **THOMAM SHERLEIVM**, (qui biennio abhinc atq; amplius **Constantinopoli** in carcerem cõ-jectus, ibidem, etiam nunc detinetur) contra **Ma: V^m** vel imperij vestri subditos non deliquisse, aut delicti non maximi (si quidem crimen vltim admisset); ab illo latis jam graues poenas esse perfolutas; post illas literas, quas superiori anno pro illo descripsimus, haud quaquam nos deprecatione vteremur. Sed illius nos miseret, infelicis et calamitosi hominis; Nec minus parum nos ipsius, quibus meliorem conditionem ac fortunam promerentibus, summus ex ista filij calamitate maior accessit; eoq; major, quod illorum re familiari aduersis calibus grauiter imminuta et propemodum labefacta, nisi vestra benignitas succurrat, illius redemptio ac libertas plane desperanda sit. Itaq; præterquam quod subditus sit noster, ac propterea, nisi aliquo flagitio supplicium illud promeruerit, nobis reddendus; illorum precibus permo sumus, vt pro illo rursus deprecemur; ac pro libertate illius impetranda toties **Ma: V^m** per literas interpellemus. Quod quidem eo facilius a **Ma: V^m** nos impetratum speramus, quod illud non solum misericordiz, et aequitati dari sitis, (quæ duæ res imperij vestri potentiam maximè decubunt atq; illustrabunt); verum etiam honori et gloriæ vestræ, cum nos pro illo deprecatores, habeatis, qui in nam nullas etiam gentes imperium et potestatem habemus ac referendæ gratiæ occasi- nem et facultatem, non minus quàm voluntatem, aliquando fortassis habitari sumus. Quod reliquum est, Deum Opt. Max. Regum omnium Regem ac Dominum precamur, vt **Ma: V^m** saluam et incolumem quamdiutissimè conseruet. Dat. c. Palatio nostro de Whythall Londanj, decimo quinto die mensis Iunij 1605.

Jacobus R

Augustissimo, Inuiditissimo, Imperatori,
SULTAN ACHMET CHAN, Mu:
sulmanici Regni Dominatori potentis:
simo; Imperijq; orientis Monarchæ
supra omnes soli et supremo.



ADDRESS OF LETTER FROM JAMES I TO THE SULTAN AHMAD.

In 1605 the Earl of Salisbury put Sir Thomas Sherley's case before King James, who wrote several letters to the Sultan—including the one here reproduced—demanding the release of his subject :

(Trans.) :—“ James, by the mercy of most gracious and almighty God, sole maker and ruler of the World, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland : most powerful and invincible defender of the true faith against all idolators falsely professing the name of Christ, to the most august and invincible Emperor, Sultan Ahmad, the most potent ruler of the kingdom of the Musulmans, and Monarch of the Eastern Empire, sole and supreme over all, Greeting and many prosperous and happy years, with the greatest abundance of all things.

“ Most august and invincible Emperor. If we did not consider our subject Thomas Sherley (who three years ago and more thrown into prison in Constantinople, is even now detained there) had committed no crime against Your Majesty, empire, or subjects, or not a very serious crime (if indeed he admits any crime) : and that severe penalties have already been sufficiently suffered by him : after those letters which we wrote on his behalf last year, we should scarcely make a fresh entreaty. But we are sorry for this unfortunate and miserable man : nor less for his parents, to whom, deserving a better condition and fortune, a very great grief arises from the misfortunes of their son : and the more so, because their wealth, being seriously lessened and almost destroyed through adverse circumstances, unless your beneficence comes to their aid, his redemption and liberty will be entirely despaired of. Therefore, besides that he is our subject, and on that account ought to be given up to us, unless he deserved this punishment for some shameful crime : we are moved by their prayers, to entreat you again on his behalf ; and by these letters solicit Your Majesty for his liberty to be effected.” Etc.

These letters were eventually delivered to the Sultan by Lello after some delay owing to the former's absence at the wars against the Persians and, Lello having advised the Sultan and his ministers “ to take good notice of his Majesties letters, which weare not for so small matter to be lightly regarded, the same being from a potent and greate Prince, able to requite yt ” and further having distributed “ some 1,100 dollers (which Sir Thomas hath promised his father shall repay) . . . ”¹ among the pashas, Sir Thomas was released from prison on 6th December. Both he and his father wrote appreciative letters to Lord Salisbury in which they express their gratitude to Lello and do full justice to his efforts on Thomas's behalf, Thomas adding (in a letter dated 19th December, 1605)² that “ though hee dyd mutche for mee in Christian charitye : yett hee did force more for your lordshippes sake than eyther love or pitye of mee could

¹ S.P. Foreign, Turkey 5. f. 44. Lello to Salisbury, dated 19th December, 1605.

² S.P. Foreign, Turkey 5. f. 46.

have moved him unto". There is also preserved in the Record Office an interesting letter from Thomas to James I thanking him for writing letters in his behalf, in which he took the opportunity of expressing his opinions on the state of affairs in Turkey at that time.¹

Thomas, on his release from imprisonment, instead of hurrying away from the town in which he had suffered so much shame and indignity, elected to spend some time sight-seeing in Constantinople, and having done so proceeded homeward by easy stages through Italy and Germany. In August, 1606, we hear of him living in Naples "like a gallant". After his return home he wrote an account of all he had seen on his travels, and the original manuscript is preserved in the Library of Lambeth Palace.² This little journal contains many interesting descriptions of the places he visited, but unfortunately nothing of his own personal experiences.

With his later career we are not here concerned; suffice it to say that his troubles did not end with his release from prison, and in 1607 we hear that he was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower for interfering with the Levant trade, but was released after answering various questions regarding a supposed plot connected with the trade of Turkey. These queries and his replies to them are preserved in the Public Record Office,³ the articles being as follows: "1, howe I entered firste into this plotte; 2, whoe persuaded mee to it; 3, with whom I have had conferens about it by letters or speeche; 4, howe farre I have proceeded in it; 5, to declare the full purpose, scope, and entente of the proiecte." Thomas seems to have spent the remainder of his life in continual poverty and distress which were aggravated by his father's debts, on account of which he appears to have been made prisoner in the King's Bench in 1611. We hear little of him after this beyond the fact that he represented the borough of Steyning in Parliament in 1615, and that in 1617 he contracted his second marriage with Judith Taylor, a widow, by whom he had several children. In 1624 he seems to have retired to the Isle of Wight, where he shortly afterwards died.

¹ S.P. Foreign, Turkey 5, ff. 38, 39.

² Lambeth MS., 514.

³ S.P. Foreign, Turkey 5, f. 251.

The Letters of Al-Mustanşir bi'llāh

By ḤUSAIN F. AL-HAMDĀNĪ

I

IN the archives of the Da'wat of the Yemen and India a collection of royal letters and decrees (*sijillāt*) issued by the Fāṭimid Khalīfa al-Mustanşir bi'llāh (denoted in the following pages by the letter M.) (died A.H. 487 = A.D. 1094) to the Şulaihid̄s of the Yemen has been preserved, and a manuscript containing this collection of documents has now been acquired by the Library of the School of Oriental Studies, London. The MS. is a modern copy, which belonged to an Ismā'īlī priest in India. I have searched in vain for other copies, but it is quite likely that we might find others in the collections of the Ismā'īlīs in the Yemen and India. I give in the following pages a synopsis of the historical matter contained in these documents. Apart from their interesting literary style the letters furnish us with some useful historical data and contemporary evidence for the period covered by them, viz. the forty-four years from A.H. 445 = A.D. 1053 to A.H. 489 = A.D. 1095.

Alī, son of Muḥammad aṣ-Şulaihī (Ş), the founder of the Şulaihid̄ Kingdom in the Yemen, who made his declaration of independence on the summit of Masār, Mount Ḥarāz, in A.H. 429 = A.D. 1037, owed allegiance to none except M. In this collection we have letters of M. written from A.H. 445, about the time when Ş. had consolidated his power in the Yemen. One of the greatest achievements of Ş. was his success in establishing peace in Meccā on behalf of M. (*vide* Nos. 3, 4, 7, and 12). With the discovery of these documents we are able to fix the date of the death of Ş. Nos. 40 and 60 leave us in no doubt that he was assassinated in A.H. 459 = A.D. 1067. This is further confirmed by 'Umārā,¹ Idrīs 'Imādu'd-dīn (*Uyūn*, vii). al-Kḥazrajī and Ibnu'l-Athīr.

The kingdom which Ş. established would have fallen to the ground if his son Aḥmad al-Mukarram (Muk.) had not come to its rescue and restored it (*vide* Nos. 60 and 61). After a brief period of rule, Muk. retired to the heights of Dḥu Jublā, the summer capital, and his wife,

¹ 'Umārā also gives another date, viz. A.H. 473, which is supported by al-Janādī and Ibn Kḥallikān. In my note on page 508 of *JR.C.A.S.*, vol. xviii, part 4, October, 1931, I have used the latter date, depending upon 'Umārā and al-Janādī, but in the light of the contemporary evidence of the *Sijillāt*, the date could not be other than A.H. 459.

Our Noble Lady, Sayyidatuna'l-Ḥurra (S.H.), took up the reins of administration of the State and the Da'wat. She ruled the country with the assistance of her premiers and the commanders-in-chief of her armies, though after the death of Muk, his young son 'Abdu'l-Mustanşir (A.M.) was appointed as the nominal head of the State (*vide* No. 14). The Ismā'īlī movement aimed at extensive propaganda and organization of the Da'wat wherever it was possible. M. entrusted to S.H. the work of supervising the affairs of the Da'wat in India (*vide* Nos. 50 and 63). The Şulaiḥid Kingdom came to its end after the death of the great Queen of Arabia. Though the Şulaiḥid Empire was short-lived, it was full of exciting events. This collection throws some interesting sidelights on the history of the latter part of the long reign of M. and on that of his allies, the Şulaiḥids. Among these letters, Nos. 1, 5, 6, 8, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 39, 43, 57, 64, and 66, give to the Şulaiḥids information about the events which happened in Egypt and at the Fāṭimid Court. Nos. 1, 13, 18, 19, 30, 31, 64 convey felicitations on the 'Īd and describe the festivities on these happy occasions in Cairo. Almost all letters written after A.H. 467 = A.D. 1074 mention Badru'l-Jamālī in highly eulogistic terms (*vide* No. 32).

Ş. sent his emissary, Lamak b. Mālīk, who was then the Grand Qāḍī of the Yemen, to the court of M. (*vide* Nos. 42 and 55), where he lived for several years with al-Mu'ayyad fi'd-dīn aṣḥ-Şhīrāzī,¹ returning to the Yemen after his master Ş. had died. It was through al-Mu'ayyad and Lamak that the literature of the Fāṭimid Da'wat was transferred from Egypt to the Yemen. These documents testify that direct relations existed between al-Mu'ayyad and the Da'wat of the Yemen (*vide* Nos. 55 and 61). I have dealt in detail with the question as to how the literature written during the Fāṭimid period came to be preserved down to our own times in the Yemen and India in *JRAS.*, April, 1933. The documents support the conclusion arrived at in that article that there existed political, religious, and literary links between Egypt and the Yemen during this period. In the reign of S.H. the Da'wat was separated from the State, an account of which is given in *JRCAS.*, vol. xviii, part 4, October, 1931. The Da'wat, after the decline of the Şulaiḥids, became a purely religious organization and inherited the literature written and brought from Egypt during the Şulaiḥid period. It was this secret organization of the Da'wat

¹ See my article, *JRAS.*, Jan., 1932, p. 135, and *Encyc. of Islam*, s. v.

which has preserved these documents for us together with many other gems of Islamic literature.

It will perhaps be of interest in this connection to mention a Covenant ('Ahd) of M. preserved in the Autobiography (*Ṣīrat*) of al-Mu'ayyad fi'd-dīn ash-Shīrāzī. This Covenant was read by al-Mu'ayyad on behalf of M. to Abu'l-Ḥārith al-Basāsīrī.

It is probable that this collection was one of the sources of Idrīs 'Imādu'd-dīn for his history of the Da'wat entitled '*Uyūn al-Akhhbār*', vol. vii. In this work he quotes Nos. 5, 14, 35, and 50 *in toto*, and No. 7 in the incomplete form in which we find it in the collection. But Idrīs had other sources as well, for he reproduces in '*Uyūn*' some letters of M. addressed to the Ṣulāhiids which are not to be found in the collection. It will therefore be useful to take note of the letters of M., which are not mentioned in the collection, but are preserved in '*Uyūn*':—

Letter of M. to Ṣ. dated Rabī I. A.H. 458, with condolences upon the death of the latter's son ('*Uyūn*, vii. f. 40b–f. 41a).

Letter of M. to Muk. dated Rabī I. A.H. 458, expressing condolences upon the death of his brother (*ibid.*, f. 41b).

Letter of M. to Ṣ. dated Jumādā II. A.H. 459, regarding the permission requested by Ṣ. to go to Egypt (*ibid.*, f. 42a–f. 44a).

Letter of M. to Muk. dated Muḥarram. A.H. 467, giving tidings of the birth of a son named Aḥmad and surnamed Abu'l-Qāsim (afterwards al-Musta'li) (f. 77a). Compare this with Nos. 6 and 11.

The book contains sixty-six letters written to the order of M., with the exception of Nos. 28, 35, 43, 51, and 52. All the letters of M. are headed by *basmalat* and *ḥamd*, written by the hand of M. himself (بخط اليد الشريفة النبوية). The formula الحمد لله رب العالمين is the motto of M. This is also further supported by a reference to M.'s letter headed by this motto in *al-Ḥulāyat al-Āmarīyyā*.¹ At the beginning of the letters of the mother of M. (see Nos. 51 and 52) is the formula الحمد لله ولي كل نعمة, which seems to be her motto. No. 35 is the letter of the mother of al-Musta'li bi'llāh, which is headed by the formula الحمد لله على نعمه. It is remarkable that Ṣ., Muk., and A.M. all bore the *kunya* Abu'l-Ḥasan.

¹ This *Risāla* is a polemical treatise written by al-Āmir bi'ahkām'illāh to support his father al-Musta'li's and his own claims to the *Khilāfat* of M. against the contentions of Nizār and his followers. (See also Nos. 35 and 43.) The *Risāla* is preserved by the Da'wat and an edition of the text is under preparation.

The following table gives the chronological order of the *sijillāt* :—

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Sender.</i>	<i>Addressee.</i>	<i>Number.</i>
'Idu'l-Fitr 445	M.	Ş.	13
Rajab 448	M.	Ş.	12
'Idu'l-Fitr 451	M.	Ş.	1
Şafar 452	M.	Ş.	6
Rabī' I 455	M.	Ş.	7
Ramaḍān 455	M.	Ş.	5
Rabī' II 456	M.	Muh. b. Ş.	2
Jumādā I 456	M.	Ş.	4
Rajab 457	M.	Muh. b. Ş.	10
Sha'bān 460. . . .	M.	Muk.	40
Rabī' I 461	M.	Muk.	33
Rabī' II 461. . . .	M.	Muk.	60
Jumādā I 461	M.	Muk.	29
Jumādā II 461	M.	Muk.	42
Jumādā II 461	M.	S.H.	55
Ramaḍān 461	M.	Muk.	61
Ramaḍān 461	M.	S.H.	65
Muḥarram 467	M.	Muk.	56
Şafar 467	M.	Muk.	32
Rabī' I 468	M.	Muk.	41
Sha'bān 468	M.	Muk.	58
Dhu'l-Qa'da 468	M.	Muk.	57
Rabī' II 469	M.	Muk.	54
Dhu'l-Qa'da 470	M.	Muk.	34
Şafar 471	M.	S.H.	44
Şafar 471	Mother of M.	S.H.	51
Şawwāl 472	M.	S.H.	20
Şawwāl 472	M.	Muk.	39
Şawwāl 472	M.	Muk.	59
'Idu'l-Aḡhā 474	M.	Muk.	30
Rabī' I 476	M.	Muk.	63
'Idu'l-Fitr 476	M.	Muk.	31
'Idu'l-Aḡhā 476	M.	Muk.	64
Rabī' I 478	M.	Ş.	14
Rabī' I 478	M.	S.H.	48
Rabī' II 478	M.	A.M.	26
Rabī' II 478	M.	S.H.	46
'Idu'l-Fitr 478	M.	A.M.	19
'Idu'l-Aḡhā 478	M.	Muk.	27
'Idu'l-Aḡhā 478	M.	S.H.	66
Dhu'l-Ḥijja 478	Sister of M.	Muk.	28
Muḥarram 479	M.	A.M.	15
Rabī' I 480	M.	Muh. b. Muk.	17
Rabī' I 480	M.	A.M.	25
Rabī' I 480	M.	S.H.	36
Rabī' I 480	M.	A.M.	37
Rabī' I 480	M.	Şulāhid and Zawāhid Sultans	38
Rabī' I 480	M.	S.H.	45
Rabī' I 480	M.	S.H.	49

Date.	Sender.	Addressee.	Number.
Rabī' II 480	Daughter of az-Zāhir	S.H.	52
Jumādā I 480	M.	A.M.	16
Jumādā II 480	M.	S.H.	53
'Īdu'l-Fitr 480	M.	A.M.	18
Dhu'l-Qa'da 481	M.	A.M.	22
Dhu'l-Qa'da 481	M.	A.M.	23
Dhu'l-Qa'da 481	M.	A.M.	24
Dhu'l-Qa'da 481	M.	S.H.	50
Şafar 489	Musta'li	S.H.	43
Şafar 489	Mother of Musta'li, widow of M.	S.H.	35
—	M.	Ş.	3
— (after 457)	M.	Ş.	8
— "Muharram of the above- mentioned year"	M.	—	9
—	M.	Ş.	11
—	M.	S.H.	21
—	M.	Ş. (?)	62

II

The following is a detailed inventory of the letters in the order in which they are contained in the MS. :—

(1) f. 1b-f. 3b.—Mustaṣṣir's (M.) letter to 'Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Şulaiḥī (Ş.), dated 'Īd al-Fiṭr, A.H. 451 :—

M. informs Ş. of the successful close of the month of fasting and of the advent of the Festival of 'Īd. He desires Ş. to give publicity to this news.

(2) f. 3b-f. 6a.—To Muḥammad, son of Ş., dated Rabī' II. A.H. 456.

M. mentions the services of Ş. in the cause of the Faith, enjoins Muḥammad to remain obedient to his parents and to take his two brothers *الأمير الموفق والأمير المكرم منجب الدولة وصنيعتها ذى السيفين* into his confidence and to be of good behaviour to his subjects.

(3) f. 6b-f. 10b.—To Ş. ; date not mentioned :—

M. mentions (1) As'ad b. 'Abdullāh, (2) 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī, (3) Muḥammad b. 'Asīya, (4) Maṣṣūr b. Ḥamīd, (5) Mūsā b. Abī Hudḥaifa, and (6) Ibrāhīm b. Abī Salmā as bearers of Ş.'s letter to him. M. bestows upon Ş. additional robes of honour and adds to the title of his eldest son *ذو المجدين* *منجب الدولة وصفتها* the word *ذو السيفين* *منجب الدولة وغرسها* the word *ذو السيفين* *منجب الدولة وصنيعتها* the word

ذو الفضلين. M. takes note of the services of the wife of Ṣ. in the interests of the Faith.

M. says that he received a letter from the ruler of Mecca in which the latter had mentioned Ṣ.'s help in restoring order in Mecca and expresses his delight and appreciation of the success of Ṣ. in this respect.

M. is pleased with Ṣ.'s messengers and says that they have all gone back to their master except Muḥammad b. 'Asīya, whom death has overtaken.

The Wazīr Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad is mentioned in eulogistic terms and Ṣ. is asked to address communications to the Wazīr.

(4) f. 10b-f. 14b.—To Ṣ. (cf. 'U.A., vii. f. 13a-15a), dated 21 Jumādā I, A.H. 456 :—

M. acknowledges the receipt of two letters of Ṣ.—one from Ṣan'ā, dated Sha'bān 455, and the other from Hajar Shawwāl 455.

Replying to the first letters, written after his return from Mecca, M. recognizes the services of Ṣ. in subduing the rebellion of the Khārijī who led the people of Madhḥaj, of the Naḵh and of 'Abs, in reducing his strongholds and in inflicting a complete defeat upon him.

M. asks Ṣ., however, to treat the ruler of Mecca with leniency. If statesmanship is not effectual, Ṣ. is asked to pursue what course he deems fit. M. takes note of Ṣ.'s recommendation that the office of the Qādī of Mecca be transferred from 'Abdullāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusainī to his grandson on account of his piety and other qualities.

Referring to the second letter, M. shows his appreciation of Ṣ.'s efforts in suppressing the revolt of Ibn 'Urāf. M. says that he is in touch with the news of Ibn 'Urāf. M. is pleased that Sharīf Fakhr u'l-ma'ālī dhu'l-majdain rejected the advances of Ibn 'Urāf's son at Mecca. M. accepts the recommendation of Ṣ. in the matter of the grandson of 'Abdullāh b. Ibrāhīm. M. also grants Ṣ.'s request to grant an amnesty to As'ad. In recognition of his great services, M. bestows upon Ṣ. the additional title of "Support of the Khilāfat" (عمدة الخلافة).

(5) f. 15a-f. 17b.—To Ṣ. (cf. 'U.A., vii. f. 37b-f. 38b), dated Ramaḍan, A.H. 455 :—

M. describes the rebellion of Ibn Bādīs, the departure of Amīnu'd-daula Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥim at the command of M. to the other provinces of Africa, and the success of Amīnu'd-daula in uniting

the Arabs, capturing the stronghold of Fez, appointing Ibn Yalmū as governor of the provinces, besieging Ibn Bādīs and in suppressing his revolt and restoring the country to M.

(6) f. 18*a*-f. 20*a*.—To Ṣ., dated Ṣafar. A.H. 452 :—

M. gives the glad tidings of the birth of a son to him on Sunday, 14th Ṣafar, A.H. 452. The new-born child is named Aḥmad and surnamed Abu'l-Qāsim. Ṣ. is asked to give publicity to this news in the length and breadth of his country.

(7) f. 20*b*-f. 23*a*.—The introductory part of this letter (*vide* 'U.A., vii, f. 11*a*-f. 12*b*, where the introductory portion is missing also) is missing, but from the following contents it is clear that this is M.'s letter to Ṣ., which is dated Rabi' I. A.H. 455 :—

M. takes note of Ṣ.'s kindly treatment of a runaway to the Yemen and goes on to describe how Ṣ. helped him to rise from insignificance to glory and shows how the favoured one became ungrateful to his benefactor and what efforts were made by Ṣ. to reconcile the contending parties at Mecca. M. is anxious that blood be not shed on the holy land, but gives Ṣ. latitude to deal with the situation as he chooses, relying upon his good sense.

In reply to Ṣ.'s complaint, M. says that Ṣ. did not properly understand the reason of stationing the Amir Za'im ad-daula Ḥusain b. Aḥmad at Mecca, whom Ṣ. holds responsible for the cause of war. M., however, reassures Ṣ. that he will write to the Amīr in the matter.

In compliance with Ṣ.'s request, M. grants Ṣ. his wish to bestow upon 'Abdullāh b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh al-Ḥusainī favours from the public treasury (Bait al-māl).

(8) f. 23*b*-f. 24*a*.—To Ṣ., date missing :—

This letter contains tidings of the birth of a son to M. in the second third of Jumadā I, A.H. 457. The new-born child is named al-Muḥsin and surnamed Abu'l-Faḍl. The letter abruptly ends with the words :

لتأخذ بحظك من الأغباط ييمن موردها وتزيح
missing.

(9) f. 24*a* f. 25*a*.—A considerable portion of this letter is missing, and only the concluding part is preserved. It is dated " Muḥarram of the above-mentioned year ". The year is mentioned in the last portion. The fragment contains M.'s sermon addressed to one of the Ṣulaiḥids on the code of conduct he should adopt in the administration of the affairs of his kingdom.

(10) f. 25*b*-f. 26*b*.—To Muḥammad, son of Ṣ., dated Rajab, A.H. 457 :—

Replying to Muḥammad's letter, M. pronounces his blessings upon the young Prince, and appreciates the Prince's part in the administration of the affairs of his father's kingdom and exhorts him to be dutiful to his parents and affectionate to his brothers and the faithful.

(11) f. 26*b*-f. 27*b*.—To Ṣ., date missing :—

M. announces the news of the birth of a son to him, who is named al-Ḥasan and surnamed Abū Muḥammad. The letter ends abruptly with *ويكاد زيتها يضيء ولولم تمسه نار نور على نور يهدي الله لنوره* من يشاء, the last part missing.

(12) f. 28*b*-f. 30*a*.—To Ṣ., dated Friday, 22 Rajab, A.H. 448 :—

M. acknowledges the receipt of this letter at the hands of the messengers of Ṣ. M. assures him of the high esteem in which M. holds the Sharīf Tāj al-ma'ālī Muḥammad b. Sharīf Ḥasan b. Ja'far al-Ḥusainī, whose case Ṣ. has recommended, and gives his assent to whatever Ṣ. does to ensure the bonds of friendship in the interests of the House to which he (M.) and the Sharīf belonged.

(13) f. 30*a*-f. 31*b*.—To Ṣ., dated 'Īd al-Fiṭr, A.H. 445 :—

This contains a description of the pomp and magnificence with which M.'s procession marched towards the Public Prayer Ground (Muṣallā) on the Festival of the 'Īd, of his prayer and sermon, and of his return to his Palace.

(14) f. 32*a*-f. 36*a*.—To A.M. (see 'U.A., f. 64*a*-f. 66*a*), dated 1st Rabī' I, A.H. 478 :—

M. gives A.M. elaborate condolences on the death of his father, al-Mukarram. The letter contains a high tribute to Badru'l-Jamālī, as also to the deceased. M. sends Amīr Abu'l-Ḥasan Jauhar al-Mustanṣirī to offer condolences in person on behalf of M., and gives him powers to perform other formalities. From the literary point of view, the style of Inshā' in which this letter is composed is one of the most elaborate in this collection.

(15) f. 36*b*-f. 39*a*.—To A.M., dated 7th Muḥarram, A.H. 479 :—

M. writes very highly of the services of (Badru'l-Jamālī) Amīr u'l-Juyūsh, then goes on to describe the high position of his son, al-Afḍal, and asks A.M. to mention al-Afḍal in the official sermon along with himself and Amīr al-Juyūsh.

(16) f. 39*b*-f. 42*a*.—To A.M., dated Jumādā I, A.H. 480 :—

M. describes the anarchy which once paralysed his kingdom,

then the advent of Badr and the consequent establishment of order and peace. But M. complains that one 'Abdullāh ar-Rikābī is still busy with his mischievous work against the State. M. therefore asks A.M. to direct all his powers to annihilating the mischief-monger.

(17) f. 42b-f. 44b.—To Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad, son of Muk., dated Rabi' I, A.H. 480 :—

This contains M.'s exhortation to Muk. to be loyal to his brother.

(18) f. 45a-f. 47a.—To A.M., dated 'Īd al-Fiṭr, A.H. 480 :—

The rejoicings of the Festival of the 'Īd are described.

(19) f. 47b-f. 49a.—To A.M., dated 'Īd al-Fiṭr, A.H. 478 :—

The festivities of the 'Īd described.

(20) f. 49b-f. 51b.—To S.H., dated Shawwāl, A.H. 472 :—

M. asks her to follow in the footsteps of her mother-in-law and seek the advice of Badr. He asks her to secure the arrest of (1) 'Abdullāh ar-Rabbānī, (2) Ibrāhīm Ghulām al-'Āmirī, who claimed prophethood for himself, (3) al-Huṣairī, (4) his son (i.e. of al-Huṣairī). M. says that they are hypocrites and mischief-mongers. They had gone to the Yemen and joined hands with the enemies of the Da'wat. They should be either captured or killed (see below, No. 39).

(21) f. 51b-f. 52a.—To S.H., date missing :—

The last part of the letter is missing. The fragment contains expressions of M.'s high appreciation of Badr.

وطالعي الوالد السيد الأجل أمير الجيوش . . . بدر المستصرى . . .
فهو خليقتنا وباب دعوتنا الحال منا محلا لم يحله أحد قبله القائم من أمورنا
مقام الأساس لمشكلات الالتباس وهو عليك شفيق ولمصالح حاكمك سالك في
كل طريق

The document ends with the words : واعلمى ذلك وسارعى اليه إن :

ثناء الله تع

(22) f. 52b-f. 56a.—To A.M., dated Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 481 :—

M. says he has issued orders that the faithful remain loyal to him and to his mother Ṣ. He then mentions the co-operation of Badr and praises him in high terms. M. acknowledges the receipt of S.H.'s letter, which she wrote in reply to M.'s. M. sends this letter to her by the hand of Shaikh Abū Naṣr Salāmah b. Ḥusain, together with other letters addressed to the Sultāns and the believers in the Yemen. M. is pleased to note that the quarrel between Sabā b. Almad aṣ-Ṣulaiḥī and Sulaimān b. 'Āmir az-Zawāḥī had been settled amicably.

(23) f. 56b-f. 58a.—To A.M., dated Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 481 :—

M. acknowledges the receipt of the letter in which A.M. excuses himself for delay in sending the amount of poor-rate (*zakāt*). M. administers a mild rebuke for neglecting this essential obligation, particularly when A.M.'s ancestors were so punctual in their remittances.

(24) f. 58b-f. 60a.—To A.M., dated Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 481 :—

M. conveys his condolences upon the deaths of Muḥammad, A.M.'s brother, and of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Malik aṣ-Ṣulaiḥī, A.M.'s cousin.

(25) f. 60b-f. 62b.—To A.M., dated Rabī I, A.H. 480 :—

This letter speaks of the nobility of A.M. and of his ancestors, and also of their services to the cause of the Da'wat. Amīr 'Aḍud ad-daula has informed M. about this. M. then speaks of the favours he has bestowed upon A.M. and his mother, S.H., and gives promise of further attentions.

(26) f. 62b-f. 65b.—To A.M., dated 7th Rabī II, A.H. 478 :—

On receiving news of the death of al-Mukarram, M. has ordered that all correspondence be addressed to A.M. He entrusts the duties of the Da'wat and all the functions of the State to A.M. M. states that he has deputed 'Aḍud ad-dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan Jauhar to A.M. with letters to him (A.M.) and other leaders of the Yemenite Da'wat, as also with letters from Badr al-Jamālī. M. also takes note of a letter from S.H. describing the death of Muk. and requesting the appointment of A.M. in the place of the deceased. M. has accordingly issued orders to the people of the Yemen.

(27) f. 66a f. 67b.—To Muk., dated 'Īd al-aḍḥā, A.H. 478 :—

Felicitations on the 'Īd are conveyed. M. informs Muk. that everything is well with his kingdom in the hands of Badr and of his son al-Afdal.

(28) f. 68a f. 69a. From the Sayyida, the sister of Mustanṣir, to Muk., dated 14th Dhu'l-ḥijja, A.H. 478 :—

The Sayyida acknowledges the receipt of Muk.'s letter. The affairs of the kingdom, she says, are managed by Badr and the territory, which was once lost, has been restored through him. The Sayyida sympathizes with Muk. for his sufferings on account of the frequency of his wars and congratulates him on the final victory over the enemy.

(29) f. 69b f. 70a. To Muk., dated Jumādā I, A.H. 461 :—

M. has received a petition from Ḥimyar under the signature of one Ja'far the artist (الصانع) in which attention was drawn to

Muk.'s administration. M. asks Muk. to show favour to the petitioner and help him.

(One can read between the lines the complaint of the petitioner against the maladministration of Muk. (لأسباب دعته إلى ذلك) and the guarded manner in which M. desires Muk. to win the petitioner over by showing favour to him.)

(30) f. 70a-f. 72a.—To Muk., dated Wednesday, 'Īd al-aḥḥā, A.H. 474 :—

Felicitations on the 'Īd are described. The letter is dispatched after the ceremony is over. M. attends the Public Prayer Ground in company of Badr. and after prayers offers sacrifice

« . . . عدل إلى موضع المنحر فبحر بسنان يمضي مضى الحنف في ادعائه شاكرًا لربه على ما خوله من جزيل عطائه . . . آخ »

Mukarram is asked to give publicity to this letter.

(31) f. 72a-f. 73b.—To Muk., dated Saturday, 'Īd al-Fiṭr, A.H. 476 :—

Felicitations on the 'Īd.

(32) f. 74a-f. 75b.—To Muk., dated 29th Ṣafar. A.H. 467 :—

M. acknowledges the receipt of Muk.'s letter at the hands of his messengers Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan and companion. M. had replied to this letter, when there reached him another letter from Muk., to which the present letter is the reply. M. is sure that his previous letter will satisfy Muk., and declares that the most important part of his writing was about Badr. who had raised the pillars of the Fāṭimid Kingdom after they had disappeared فقد قرر أمير المؤمنين في نفسه أنك تحل منه محل الأولاد وأنه يرى فيك أن يرفعك من درج الفضل إلى السبع الشداد وجدد هذا الفضل بهذا الذكر لما كان بحضرته من أهم الأمر فاعلم ذلك من رأي أمير المؤمنين.

(33) f. 76a-f. 76b.—To Muk., dated 1st Rabī' I. A.H. 461 :—

M. has received a petition from al-Qā'id, Muqbil, and Muwaffaq, who complain of Muk.'s treatment of them. Muk. is asked to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards them.

(34) f. 77a-f. 80a. - To Muk., dated 29th Dhu'l-Qa'da. A.H. 470 :—

This letter contains an elaborate description of the high position of Badr and of his great services to the Imām.

قد نشر الله تعالى به دعوة أمير المؤمنين بعد أن أصبحت رميماً ونضربه

خلافة أمير المؤمنين بعد أن أصبحت فشيئاً لم يكن لأمير المؤمنين بد من أن يرقه في الرفع والأعلاء فوق الفراقد ويحلّه منه محلّ الوالد ويجعل له مقام الملك وينزله في عقد خلافة الإمامة مكان السلك فنصّ عليه في كفالة قضاة المسلمين وهداية دعاة المؤمنين نصّ حق وتقلها منه إلى محق مستحق إذا كان مبرزاً في ميدانها ناطقاً بلسانها عالماً باحكامها . . . الخ

This refers to the union of the functions of the state Khilāfat and the mission (Da'wat) in the leadership of Badr. M. asks al-Mukarram to follow the guidance of Badr

فول وجهك نحو هذا السيد الأجل . . . واجعله قبلة دينك في مصادرک ومواردک الخ.

(35) f. 80b-f. 88a.—From the mother of al-Musta'li, son of M., to S.H., dated 8th Şafar, A.H. 489 :—

This letter (see *U.A.*, vii, f. 79b-f. 83b : also No. 43 below) describes the nomination (*naṣṣ*) of M. in favour of his son, Musta'li, the revolt of Nizār and Aftagīn at Alexandria, al-Afdal's campaign against Nizār's insurrection, and the events leading to the arrest of Nizār.

(36) f. 88b-f. 92b.—To S.H., dated Rabī' I, A.H. 480 :—

M. expresses his co-operation and support in her work. On hearing of the death of her husband, M. hastened to appoint her son, A.M., in place of his father. When Amīr 'Aḍul ad-dīn returned, accompanied by Abū Naşr Salāmah al-Kātib, M. learned from them the news of the Yemen. S.H. is asked to seek the assistance of Badr. M. assures her and her two sons of his attention towards them. Regarding the controversy between Abū Ḥimyar Sabā b. Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣulaiḥī and Abū'r-Rabī Sulaimān b. 'Āmir az-Zawāḥī, M. is aware of S.H.'s correspondence with Na'im aṣh-Shā'ir al-Hilālī, then with Sa'du'llāh and his companion aṣh-Shirāzī. The Amīr 'Aḍudu'd-dīn and Shaiḫ Abū Naşr also acquainted M. with the nature of his quarrel. M. entrusts to S.H. the task of settling the dispute between the two. M. acknowledges the receipt of the sacrifices, poor-rates, and presents sent by S.H. through her agent Shaiḫ Abū Naşr.

(37) f. 93a-f. 98a. To A.M., dated Rabī' I, A.H. 480 :—

Since A.M. is the son of the Da'wat (سليلا الدعوة ونجلها) and his ancestors were attached to the "rope" of the Da'wat, M. has appointed A.M. in place of his father and issued orders (سجلات) at

the hands of 'Aḍud-d-dīn, and in these letters M. informed him :
 واعلمك أن دعاة أمير المؤمنين وأولياءه نجوم في سماءه إذا حوى نجم اطمع
 ونجما و سيف إذا أعمد حساما اقتضى حساما. There came to M. also
 A.M.'s agent, Shaiḫ Abū Naṣr Salāmah b. Ḥusain, who conveyed
 to him A.M.'s messages. Badr is again mentioned in eulogistic terms.
 A.M. has come to the throne through the favour of the Imām in his
 teens, but M. assures him that he himself came to the Khilāfat when
 he was under eight years of age and his grandfather, 'Alī b. Ḥusain,
 became Khalifa when he was just nine years old. It is argued
 وقد حاز هذا في الإمامة وهي الدرجة التي تلي النبوة فكيف الدعوة التي
 لأمير المؤمنين أن ينصرف فيها على اختياره. M. reassures him of further
 co-operation and acknowledges the receipt of the dues of poor-
 rate, etc.

(38) f. 98b-f. 103b.—To the Sultans of the Ṣulaiḥids and the
 Zawāḥids and the grandees (Mashā'ikh) of Ḥijāz and to all sections
 of the Believers, dated Rabī I. A.H. 480. The letter is an earnest
 appeal to the Ṣulaiḥids and Zawāḥids to shelve their mutual differences
 and to obey S.H. and her son, A.M. The letter contains a strong
 plea for unity in the cause of the Da'wat and records the surpassing
 services of Ṣ. al-Mukarram, and S.H.

(39) f. 104a-f. 106a.—To Muk., dated Shawwāl, A.H. 472 :—

This contains an order to arrest (1) ar-Rikābī, *alias* 'Abdullāh,
 (2) Ibrāhīm Ghulām al-'Āmirī, (3) al-Ḥusairī, and (4) Ḥusairī's son,
 (5) a poet, who was with Ṣubḥ al-Khārijī, (6) a chamberlain of the
Khalifa's Palace in the service of the sisters of the Khalifā, all of whom
 had fled from Egypt and made for the Yemen. M. asks Muk. to
 administer severe punishment to these miscreants, and send them
 as captives to Egypt (see No. 20).

(40) f. 106b-f. 109a.—To Muk., dated Shahbān, A.H. 460 :—

M. expresses sorrow at the death of Ṣ. and confirms his appointment
 to Muk. M. also notes Mukarram's reference to the ungrateful conduct
 of Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Abū Hāshim al-Ḥusainī.

(41) f. 109b-f. 111b.—To Muk., dated Rabī I. A.H. 468 :—

M. has received a letter from Muk., describing the troubled state
 of the Yemen and the subsequent victory of Muk. M. is pleased
 with this news. With reference to what Muk. has written about the
 death of the Dā'ī stationed in India, M. pronounces mercy on the

deceased : وأما ما أوردته من شأن الداعي المقيم كان بالهند ومضيه لسيبته
 فالله تعالى يتجاوز عنه وقولك في دعاء الحاجة إلى من يسد مسدّه
 ويحفظ نظام المؤمنين بتلك الديار جاهداً جهده فأنت أقرب الناس من ذلك
 الحظ وأولاهم بالقبض والبسط فافسح في ذلك وفي سواه غاية الأمل والملاحظ
 وكاتب بذكر من يقع الاعتماد عليه لنعضده بالمكاتبة ونشده (f. 109b)

Muk. is asked to seek the help of Badr.

(12) f. 112*a*-f. 114*a*.—To Mukarram, dated Jumādā II, A.H. 461
 (see No. 55):—

M. bestows upon Muk. the further title of Amīr al-Umarā, and sends this glad tidings together with a *tashrīf* through Mukarram's agents, the Qādī Lamak b. Mālik, 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 'Abullāh b. 'Umar Abu'l-Barakāt b. 'Alī 'l-Ashīrā, with whom M. is pleased.

(13) f. 114*a*-f. 120*b*.—From al-Musta'li to S.H., dated 8th Ṣafar, A.H. 489:—

This contains an elaborate account of the Nizārī Aftakīn's rebellion and the subsequent victory of Afḍal over both.

(14) f. 121*a*-f. 123*a*.—To S.H., dated Ṣafar, A.H. 471:—

M. pronounces his blessings upon S.H. and reassures her of his own and Badr's co-operation.

(15) f. 123*a*-f. 125*a*.—To S.H., dated Rabī I, A.H. 480:—

M. acknowledges the receipt of S.H.'s letter, and pays a high tribute to S.H. for all her sacrifices and services in the cause of the Da'wat.

(16) f. 125*b*-f. 128*a*.—To S.H., dated 7th Rabī II, A.H. 478:—

After the death of Muk., M. appointed his son, A.M., and sent orders to that effect through his agent, 'Aḍud ad-dīn Jauhar al-Mustansiri. These were also accompanied by letters from Badr. Soon after the agent had left for the Yemen, there came to M. S.H.'s agent with news of Muk.'s death and request to appoint A.M. M. had already sent the agent with instructions to unify the forces of the Da'wat in the Yemen.

(17) f. 128*b*-f. 130*a*.—To S.H., dated Rabī I, A.H. 480:—

A letter of consolation to S.H. and her son, A.M., on account of the calamities inflicted upon them by their enemies.

(18) f. 130*b*-f. 133*a*.—To S.H., dated 10th Rabī I, A.H. 478:—

S.H. is praised for her great services in the cause of the Da'wat.

After the death of Muk., M. appointed his son, A.M., as his successor. Badr is also mentioned in this connection. M. has deputed 'Aḍud ad-dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan Jauhar al-Mustaṣsirī with royal letters—one to express condolence upon the death of Muk. and others to leaders of the State and the Da'wat asking them to be loyal to A.M.

f. 133*b*.—Lacuna (بياض بقي من غير كتابة سهو الكاتب).

(49) f. 134*a*–f. 136*a*.—To S.H., dated Rabī I, A.H. 480 :—

M. is pleased with S.H.'s information that the Ṣulaiḥids and Zawāḥids had composed their differences. Amīr 'Aḍud ad-dīn and Shaikh Abū Naṣr also acquainted M. with the situation.

(50) f. 136*b*–f. 137*b*.—To S.H., dated Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 481 :—

This letter (see *U.A.*, vii, f. 62*b*–f. 63*b* : cf. also No. 63) gives formal sanction to S.H.'s appointment to the Da'wat of India of Aḥmad, the elder son of the Dā'ī Marzubān b. Iṣḥāq b. Marzubān on the death of his father. M. also approves of S.H.'s appointment of Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm, who was the Dā'ī at 'Ummān (Oman), to help the Aḥmad mentioned above, and of Ḥamzā, son of the late Sibṭ Ḥamid ad-dīn, to the Da'wat of Oman. M. appreciates S.H.'s vigilance in the affairs of the Da'wat. M. entrusts to S.H. the management of the Da'wat of India.

(51) f. 138*a*–f. 139*a*.—From the Saiyida Malika, mother of M., to S.H., dated Ṣafar, A.H. 471 :—

M.'s mother receives S.H.'s letter and promises her own, M.'s, and Badr's co-operation and support.

(52) f. 139*b*–f. 141*b*.—From Saiyida, the daughter (?) of aḏ-Zāhir (mother (?) of M.), to S.H., dated Rabī II, A.H. 480 :—

She has received S.H.'s letter at the hands of the latter's agent, Shaikh Abū Naṣr Salāmah b. al-Ḥusain. She pays a tribute to S.H. for her services and says that letters have been issued to A.M. and to the Sultans of the Yemen to support A.M. in his sovereignty of the Yemen.

(53) f. 141*b* f. 144*a*.—From M. to S.H., dated Jumādā II, A.H. 480 :—

M. describes the disturbed condition of the State and afterwards the establishment of peace and order by Badr, the flight of his adversaries to the Yemen, and the subsequent annihilation of those fugitives at the hands of Muk. Only one man, known as 'Abdullāh ar-Rakābī (المتسبب الى الترمين), still survives in the Yemen to carry

on the nefarious work. He should be immediately arrested and killed. All efforts should be directed towards this.

(54) f. 144*b*-f. 147*b*.—To Muk., dated Rabi' II, A.H. 469 :—

M. entrusts the government of 'Ummān to Muk., although the country was outside his jurisdiction, but since the people of this country have revolted against the established authority of the then prevalent church. M. suggests this course. As the Hijāz was near the Yemen, M. asks him to take over also the responsibilities of the administration of this country. Amīr 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī al-'Alawī (مستخلص الدولة العلوية و عدتها) of al-Aḥsā has supported the government against its enemies. Muk. is, therefore, asked to take the Amir into his confidence.

(55) f. 148*a*-f. 149*a*.—To S.H., dated Jumādā II, A.H. 461 (see No. 42) :—

M. mentions a previous letter which he has addressed to S.H. This letter M. had communicated after al-Mu'ayyad fi'd-din's letter :

وفذ الكتاب المقدم ذكر عطف كتاب داعي دعائه المؤيد في الدين
عصمة المومنين صفى أمير المومنين و وليه احسن الله عونيه وتسديده وتوفيقه
وهو يرجو وصوله فيقع منك موقع الشفا من ذوى العلة والمأ من ذوى العلة

M. had also sent honours and titles (التشريفات والالقب والتكرامات) to S.H.'s son¹ by her own agents, the Qāḍī Lamak b. Mālik, 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, Ḥusain b. 'Alī, 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr, and Abu'l-Burakāt b. al-'Ashīrā.

(56) f. 149*b*-f. 152*b*.—To Muk., dated Muḥarram, A.H. 467 :—

M. acknowledges the receipt of Muk.'s letter handed over by محمد بن تميم الكتامي and ابراهيم بن الحسن العامري. M. is satisfied with the support of Muk.'s followers, particularly of 'Āmir b. Sulaimān az-Zawāhī and Aḥmad b. al-Muzaffar aṣ-Ṣulaiḥī. M. then speaks of the disorganization of the State, the appearance of Badr, and the subsequent peace and glory of his kingdom.

(57) f. 153*a*-f. 156*b*.—To Muk., dated 29th Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 468.

¹ The text has الى ولدك, whereas in No. 42 it is said that these honours were sent to Mukarram with these agents. While Mukarram was still living, these could only have been sent to him الى ولدك may perhaps be the copyist's mistake.

This long letter is a description of Badr's campaign against the insurrection of Baladkosh and of the subsequent victory of Badr.

(58) f. 157a-f. 159b.—To Muk., dated 27th Shahbān, A.H. 468 :—

In this, M. congratulates Muk. on having conquered twenty mountain strongholds and on his victory over the enemy. This is accompanied by the mention of Badr's successes.

(59) f. 160a-f. 162a.—To Muk., dated Shawwāl, A.H. 472 :—

This letter confirms M.'s complete confidence in Badr. He entrusts all the affairs of the State, Khilāfat and Da'wat to Badr. Also Badr's two sons—Abu'l Ḥusain 'Alī and Abu'l-Qāsim Shāhanshāh are mentioned in eulogistic terms. This letter is sent with Ṣā'id b. Ḥamza.

(60) f. 162b-f. 165a.—To Muk., dated Rabi' II. A.H. 461 :—

Muk.'s letter has been received. M. sympathizes with Muk. upon his father's assassination and the destruction of his family, but expresses his joy at the defeat of the enemy and at Mukarram's taking revenge on him.

فله درك أيها الأجل لقد ذكى غرسك وطاب وحق
أمل أمير المؤمنين في تقديم قدمك وما خاب فاعلم أنك خليفة في بلاد
اليمن وعماده وعدته وسناده وقرعيناك بما أعطاك من الرتبة السنية والدرجة العلية

Regarding the representations of Ghars ad-dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥusain b. Yūsuf aṣ-Ṣaimūrī (?), which are referred by Muk. to Egypt, M. advises him to consider the situation and his own strength to meet it.

The bearer of Muk.'s letter, Ḥusām ad-daulah Nādir al-Mustanširī, is asked to return with this letter in company of a former agent, Ja'd b. Ḥamīd b. al-Huwaid al-Yāmī (?). M. also orders other agents who came in the time of Ṣ. to return to the Yemen.

M. bestows upon Muk. the further title of Amīr al-Umarā.

(61) f. 165b-f. 167b. —To Muk., dated 15th Ramaḍān, A.H. 461 :—

M. has received a letter at the hands of Muk.'s two agents, Sifr b. Sināh b. Abī'l-askar and Ja'd b. 'Abdu'r-Rahmān al-Yāmī, and is pleased to hear of Muk.'s crushing victory over the enemy.

M. pays a tribute to Muk.'s mother and congratulates him upon the birth of a male child, honours the new-born babe with the title of الأمير نجيب النجاء and sends an amulet to be tied on its arm :
وكتب لك بخط يده شبه العوذة لتشدها في عضده والله تع يجعله مبارك
الناصية ويتولاه بالعيشة الراضية بمنه

Regarding Muk.'s inquiries about Shahrayār b. Ḥasan, M. says

al-Mu'ayyad will deal with the matter : *وأما ما سئلت فيه مما يتعلق بالوفى شهر يار بن حسن فإنّ الشيخ الأجل داعى الدعاة المؤيد فى الدين عصمة المؤمنين صفى أمير المؤمنين ووليه أبانصر هبة الله بن موسى سلّمه الله واحسن توفيقه وتسديده يفعل فى ذلك ما يوجه حكمه ويقتضيه .*

(62) f. 168a-f. 168b.

This is a fragment from M.'s letter addressed probably to Ṣ. (?). There is no date. M. had written a separate letter dealing exclusively with the unrest at the Ḥaramain and had asked Ṣ. to spend from his (Ṣ.'s) own purse for the performance of the rites and ceremonies of the place. In this letter, M. reminds him of his former injunction and asks him to carry with him 10,000 dinars to the Holy Places. He has also dispatched Amīr Ṭāhir b. 'Alī b. Ḥāssa (? حاسه) with the clothes he has worn and prayed in on the last Friday of Ramaḍān in order to elevate the position of Ṣ.

(63) f. 168b-f. 170b.—To Muk., dated Rabī I, A.H. 476 :—

Mukarram's letter received. Regarding the Da'wat in India and 'Ummān, M. had received letters from these parts with requests to send deputies to fill the vacancies caused by the death of their dā'īs. Also Mukarram's suggestion to appoint Marzubān b. Ishāq b. Marzubān to the mission of India and Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Jābir to that of 'Ummān is accepted. Orders to this effect have been issued by the office (majlis) of the Amīr al-Juyūsh and sent with the Amīr Mu'izz ad-daula Ṭauq b. Nāsik (see No. 50).

(64) f. 171a-f. 172b.—To Muk., dated Friday, 'Īdu'l-aḍḥā, A.H. 476 :—

Greetings on the 'Īd.

(65) f. 173a-f. 174b.—To S.H., dated 15th Ramaḍān, A.H. 461 :—

M. expresses his great pleasure to hear from her the glad tidings of the birth of a male child to her. He bestows upon the new-born babe the title of *الأمير نجيب النجباء*. This letter is sent with the Amīr Abu'l-Faḍl Ṭāhir b. 'Alī b. Ḥabāsa and two of her own agents (see No. 61).

(66) f. 174b-f. 175b. —To S.H., dated 12th Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A.H. 478 : —

This letter is in reply to S.H.'s inquiries regarding the insurrection of the "seceders" (*الحوارج*). M. informs her of the complete victory over the rebellious forces through the efforts of Badr.

The nature of the Persian Language written and spoken in India during the 13th and 14th Centuries

By M. J. BORAH

IT has often been said that the Persian language written and spoken in India does not possess that flavour which is generally found in the writings of the Iranian authors. There is an element of truth in the foregoing charge so far as the literature produced in India during the later period of Muslim rule is concerned. But the Persian literature produced in India from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century may be favourably compared with the writings of many an indigenous Iranian scholar. The works of Amīr Khusrau and Ḥasan of Dihli and Badr-i-Chāch, who flourished during this period, are highly esteemed by Iranian scholars and are placed next to Sa'dī and Jalāl ul-Dīn Rūmī. The early immigrants who made India their permanent home retained the purity of their tongue in a much larger measure than their successors. But with the growing influence of the Hindu scholars who began to study Persian to qualify themselves for the service of the State, the difference in the style of India and Persia proper became more marked. According to Firishta this influence of the Hindus on the Indo-Persian literature began to work from the time of Sikandar Lodi's accession to the throne in A.D. 1489. He says: "The Hindus began to study and write Persian (during the reign of Sikandar Lodi) which was not in vogue amongst them before this time."¹ With regard to the nature of the Persian language written and spoken in India during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we have an interesting account left by one of the contemporary writers, namely Amīr Khusrau of Dihli. In the preface to his *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl*² he says:—

"The singers of the land of Hindustan, particularly the immigrants who have settled at Delhi, surpass all the scholars of the world in their attainments. Therefore no Arab, Khurāsānī, Turk, Indian, nor any other who comes to the Muslim cities of India and spends his whole life in places like Delhi, Multan, and Lakhnautī, and not in places

¹ Firishta, vol. i, p. 344.

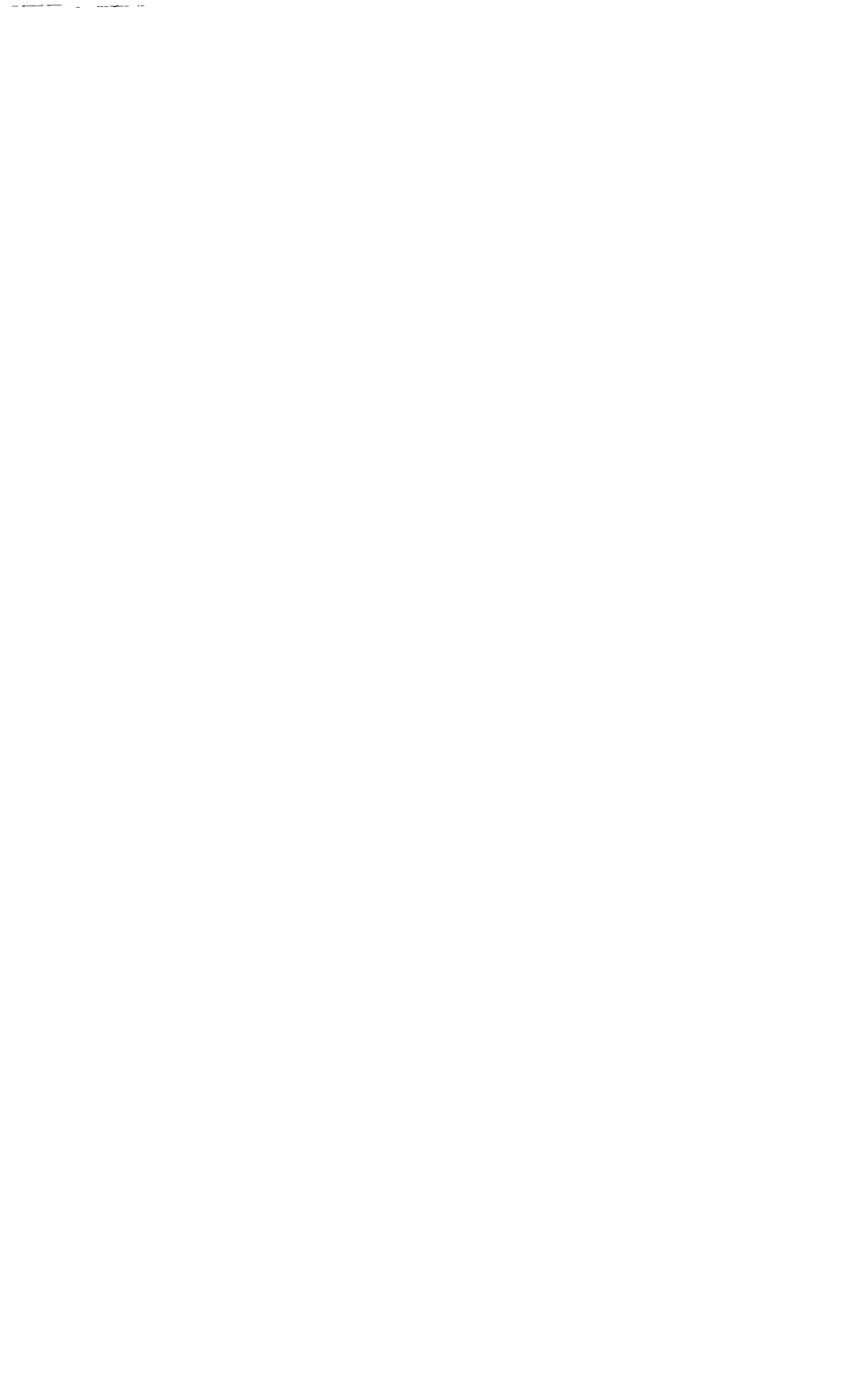
² British Museum MS. Add. 21, 104 f., 155.

like Gujarat, Malwa and Deogīr, the land of Hindu Idolatry, suffers deterioration in his own language. Assuredly he speaks according to the standard of his own country. For example, if he is an Arab, he is the master of his own language only, and he cannot lay a proper claim to the language of others ; his broken speech is a proof of his foreign origin. If a Hindu citizen or a villager continually lives and mixes with the inhabitants of Delhi, yet there is imperfection in his Persian. A Khurāsānī, 'Irāqī, Shīrāzī or a Turk, however intelligent he may be, commits blunders in the Indian language, even if he burns many a midnight candle and claims eloquence in an assembly, yet at the end he stumbles and breaks down. But the Munshīs (secretaries) born and brought up in Indian cities and particularly at Delhi, with but little practice, can speak and understand the spoken language (of others) and also obtain a command over prose and verse ; they can adopt the style of every country they visit. And it has been fully proved from experience, that many of our people who have never been to Arabia, have acquired an eloquence in the Arabic language such as has not been achieved by the scholars of Arabia themselves who take lessons from the flow of their language. The Arabs, in spite of being eloquent in their own tongue, have not ability to learn our Persian correctly.

I have seen many Tāziks¹—not Turks—who have learnt Turkish with industry and erudition in India ; and they speak in such a way that the eloquent men of this tribe who come from their original home are astonished at it. In the case of the Persian language, which has been derived from the Persians, there is no other correct style than the style of Trans-Oxiana, which is the same as that of Hindustan. Because the Khurasanis pronounce the word چہ (*cha*) as چی (*chi*), and some of them read کجا (*kuja*) as کجو (*kaju*), but in writing they use چہ (*cha*),

¹ The word Tājik or Tāzīk is used by different writers in different senses. The early Armenian writers applied it to the Arabs, modern Armenians have imposed it on the Turks and the Turkish Empire and even on Muslims in general. Professor Noldeke has suggested that Tājik (better Tāchik) and Tāzī are the same word, the former being merely the older form. *Chik* means "belonging to" and in this case "belonging to the tribe of Tau". In modern Persian *Chik* becomes *Zī*. D'Oshson says : "The Mongols gave the name of Tājik, or Tāzīk to the Muhammadans, and in the historical works of this period it will be found that they employed this word in opposition to that of 'Turk'. The first served to designate the Muhammadan inhabitants of towns and cultivated lands, whether they were of Turki, Persian, or Arab origin mattered not." (*Fade Ross and Ehas's Introduction to Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī*, pp. 85, 87, 90-1). I think Khusrau has used this term in the sense of Persian-speaking Turkeṣtānī.

not چى (*chi*) and كجا (*kuja*), not كجو (*kaju*). The correct pronunciation is that denoted by the spelling. There are many words like these which are pronounced in one way but are wrong if written so. But the Persian speech prevalent in India, from the bank of the Indus to the coast of the Indian ocean is everywhere the same." It is evident from this account that the standard style of Persian adopted in India was that of the Trans-Oxiana.



Isophones of the Orthographic *gh-*, *bh-*, *dh-*, etc., and of *h-* in the Ambala District ¹

By BANARSI DAS JAIN

THERE is a saying in India that language changes every twelve *kos*.² This saying will still hold good if we say language changes every *kos*, although the amount of change in the latter case will be almost impossible to detect. In spite of this saying, which is correct at bottom, we are apt to believe that our next-door neighbours (if they are not recent strangers) speak exactly the same language as we do. Similarly we also believe that we speak exactly the same language as our parents spoke or our children will speak. But this our belief is not true, for, as a matter of fact, language changes gradually and almost imperceptibly both in time and space. The language of one's neighbours is slightly different from one's own, but when the distance grows and two persons separated by twenty or thirty miles talk together, they are certain to pick up some peculiarities in each other's speech. In the like manner the speech of the children differs from that of the parents, and in the course of a few generations this difference becomes appreciable.

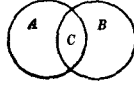
Although on the whole speech varies so gradually from village to village that it is almost impossible to draw a definite line of separation between two neighbouring dialects so that we could say that to one side of this line there is one dialect and to the other side the second, yet geographical division, more or less definite, can be attempted with reference to the following points:—

(1) *Vocables*, i.e. words signifying a particular idea. In the Punjab there are at least three words meaning "the back"—*puṭh*, *ḍhui*, *kaṇḍ*. All the three are not found in one and the same dialect. The area in which each of these predominates can be ascertained, but the

¹ "Lately there has been no lack of would-be new methods, which sometimes have been announced in a rather noisy way. Of real importance is the principle of linguistic geography, which has been illustrated in a series of linguistic atlases and special investigations founded on them. It is hardly necessary to remark how many-sided is the information on the history of words which may be derived from these works." Holger Pedersen, *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century*, Harvard University Press, 1931, p. 307.

² The implication is that the difference between two languages spoken 12 *kos* apart is appreciable.

boundaries between these areas cannot be determined quite definitely as there will be wide strips intervening between the two areas where both the words spoken in the adjacent areas find currency.



Supposing *A* represents the *dhui*-area and *B* the *pitth*-area, the strip *C* will be such that here both *dhui* and *pitth* are used. The speakers employ these words indiscriminately and find it difficult to decide which is their own and which is foreign.

The lines or bands separating the areas of different vocables are called *isoglosses*.

(2) *Forms*, i.e. different forms of the same word, e.g. *putt*, *puttar*; *tur*, *ṭur*; *pacē*, *panjhī*; *sapp*, *samp*; *kītā*, *kareā*, etc. Experience shows that the lines separating the areas of these forms are also wide, i.e. between the areas there are wide bands where the speakers are not quite certain as to which form they should call their own. These lines or bands may be called *isomorphs*.

(3) *Speech-sounds*.—There are certain speech-sounds which are employed in one area and are absent in its neighbourhood. Such are the voiced and unvoiced *h*, *ṭ* and *ts*. *r* and *rh* (i.e. *r* followed by a vowel in the low tone), various pronunciations of *gh-*, *bh-*, etc., and numerous others. The lines separating the areas of speech-sounds, however, admit of a more definite and precise determination than either of the two factors mentioned above. These lines may be termed *isophones* (or *isotones* if the difference is in tone only).

It will not be without interest to describe here briefly how I became interested in, and what method I followed to investigate the isophones of the initial *gh-*, *bh-*, *dh-*, etc., and of *h-*. This will serve a twofold purpose. Firstly it will indicate, to some extent, the degree of accuracy of the results obtained, and secondly such persons as feel interested in the work and find opportunity may avail themselves of it in collecting more materials.

Everybody comes in contact with speakers of different dialects, and thus gets an opportunity of noting certain points of difference. I became particularly interested in the various pronunciations of the orthographic *gh-*, *bh-*, etc., and *h-*. It was in my school days that I noted the pronunciation of *gh-* in the Bāṅgarū word *ghāl* “to put” to be different from my pronunciation of the same letter in the initial position. Later, in 1908, I found that a class-fellow of mine from

Gujranwala pronounced the *h* in the English words *he, his, behind* differently from the way I did. Still later in 1914 I observed that the pronunciation of *gh, bh* in the words *ghōrā, bhāī, bhain* in the Jubbul dialect (Simla Hills) was quite peculiar and was different from mine and Bāngarū pronunciations. About that time I had analysed my pronunciation and had found that the symbols *gh-, bh-, ḍh-, dh-, jh-* had three distinct values. I brought this to the notice of Mr. A. C. Woolner, who pointed out that two of them were surd and sonant varieties of the same thing. The third was more different. I also discovered that when an unaspirated surd stop was followed by a vowel of the lowest note as in *Ālāp* or solfaing the result was a sound that differed very little from the surd variety of the peculiar pronunciations of *gh-, bh-, etc.* That this peculiarity of pronunciation was due to variation of pitch of vowels was discovered by Dr. T. G. Bailey and announced by Professor Daniel Jones in his lectures on phonetics delivered at Lahore in 1913.

So far I have noted the following values of the initial *gh-, jh-, ḍh-, dh-, bh-* :—

(1) The voiced stop followed by voiced aspiration. This is the original pronunciation of these symbols and is now found in Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, etc. I shall call it the true pronunciation.

(2) Unvoiced unaspirated stop followed by a vowel in the low-rising tone. This pronunciation is typical of Panjabi, and hence I call it the Panjabi type.

In those areas where the intervocalic *h-* followed by a stressed vowel is lost, and the vowel pronounced in the low-rising tone, the previous voiced unaspirate does not lose its voice, e.g. *ḍhū* "wages for placing" (= *ḍahū*) is pronounced differently from *ḍhū* "two and a half".

(3) Voiced unaspirated stop followed by a vowel in the low-rising tone. This is the typical value obtained in the districts of Hissar, Rohtak, Karnal, etc., and I call it the Bāngarū type.

(4) Voiced unaspirated stop followed by a vowel in the high-falling tone. This pronunciation prevails in the hill dialects about Simla, and I call it the *Pahāṛī* type.

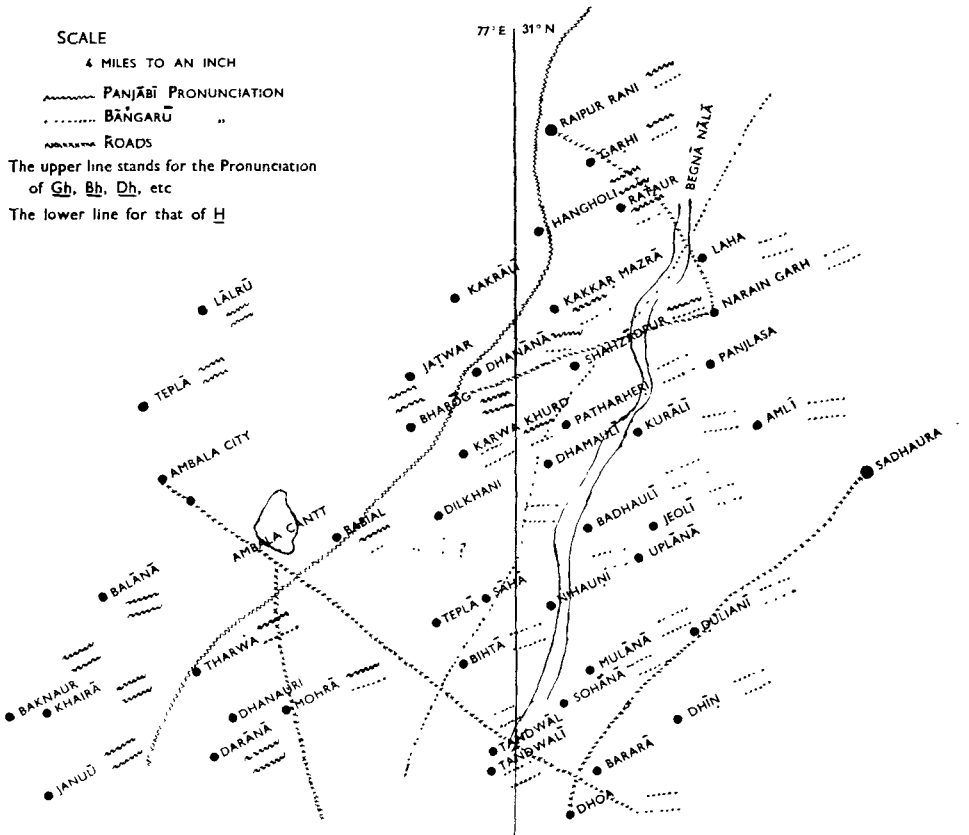
The following values of the initial *h-* have been observed :—

(1) Unvoiced *h-* as in standard English. This pronunciation is found in the districts of Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore

and the Patiala, Nabha, and Sangrur States. It is also found in Hindustani.

(2) Voiced *h-* followed by a vowel in the low-rising tone. This pronunciation is found in the rest of the Panjabi area and in the Dogri. It is typical of the Bāṅgarū dialect and I call it the Bāṅgarū type. Most speakers omit the *h-* also, and in that case the vowel beginning a breath-group is preceded by a glottal stop.

(3) Glottal stop followed by a vowel in the high-falling tone. This pronunciation obtains in the hill dialects about Simla, and I call it the *Pahārī* type.



While thus paying attention to the pronunciation of *gh-*, *bh-*, *dh-*, etc., and of *h-*, I found that the people from Patiala, Ambala city, and Samana pronounced the *gh-*, *bh-*, *dh-*, etc., in the Panjabi fashion, while those from Jagadhari, Lādwā, and Shahabad in the Bāṅgarū fashion. As I had noticed that a speaker giving the Bāṅgarū

values to these letters seldom gave them the Panjabi values and vice versa, it struck me that a definite line separating these pronunciations could be determined. I, therefore, observed the pronunciation of a number of words beginning with *gh-*, *bh-*, *ḍh-*, etc., and with *h-* from the lips of the students of schools at Patiala, Ambala, and Karnal, noting down the place from where each had come. In this way I got a rough idea as to the path of the separating line. Some time after I made a tour in small towns and villages and observed the pronunciation of school students there. This resulted in giving me an almost definite line separating the two pronunciations. The names of the places of which pronunciation was observed are shown on the accompanying map.

CONCLUSION

1. On looking at the map it will be seen that when going from Ambala to the east, the pronunciation of *gh-*, *jh-*, *ḍh-*, and *bh-* changes earlier than that of *h-*. There is a band about six miles wide where the pronunciation of *h-* is Bāṅgarū while that of *gh-*, *jh-*, etc., is Panjabi. To the west of this band the pronunciation of *gh-*, *jh-*, etc., and of *h-* is Panjabi and to the east of it, it is Bāṅgarū.

2. The line separating the pronunciation *gh-*, *jh-*, *ḍh-*, *dh-*, and *bh-* travels roughly along the Begna stream.

3. Another fact brought to notice by this investigation is that the compensatory lengthening of vowels before old consonant groups, e.g. Skt. *hasta-*, H. *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, first appears in this intervening band.

4. The rise and fall of the musical tones is not the same everywhere. In some places the difference is quite distinct. This requires a still closer study.

Beiträge zu einer Milindapañha-Bibliographie

VON SIEGFRIED BEHRING

INHALTSÜBERSICHT

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ABKÜRZUNGEN

- BB.** = *Bibliographie bouddhique* (in der Serie *Buddhica*, herausgegeben von J. Przyluski). Paris, 1930 ff.
- Bibl.** (mit darauffolgender Nummer) = bezieht sich auf die Nummern der vorliegenden Bibliographie.
- Dem.** = Denuéville. *Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha*, 1924 (= Nr. 6 dieser Bibliographie).
- ERE.** = Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.
- Held** = *Deutsche Bibliographie des Buddhismus* von H. L. Held. München-Leipzig, 1916.
- HOS.** = Harvard Oriental Series
- JA.** = *Journal Asiatique*.
- JCBRAS.** = *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- JPTS.** = *Journal of the Pali Text Society*.
- JRAS.** = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- M.** = *Milindapañha*. Stehen Zahlen dahinter, so beziehen sie sich auf Seite und Zeile der Trenckner'schen Ausgabe
- PTS.** = Pali Text Society.
- Q.** = Rhys Davids' *Übersetzung des Milindapañha* (Sacred Books of the East, Bd. 35 und 36). Dahinterstehende nicht eingeklammerte

Zahlen nennen den Abschnitt, eingeklammerte Zahlen Band und Seite der Übersetzung.

- RHR. = *Revue de l'histoire des religions*.
 SBE. = Sacred Books of the East.
 S.C. 1 = *A Supplementary Catalogue of the Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākṛit Books in the Library of the British Museum acquired during the years 1892–1906*. Compiled by Lionel D(avid) Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Oriental printed books and MSS. Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum. London: British Museum, 1908. 4°. pp. vii – 548 (= 1096 Spalten).
 S.C. 2 = (dasselbe) . . . *acquired during the years 1906–1928*. . . London: 1928. 4°, pp. vii + 847 (= 1694 Spalten).
 West(ergaard, Niels Ludvig) = *Codices indici Bibl. Regiae Havniensis*. Kopenhagen 1846 (= *Codices orientales Bibl. Regiae Havniensis*, Pars prior, 4°, pp. x. 122).
 Z.W. 1 = *Catalogue of the Sinhalese MSS. in the British Museum*, by Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe. London: 1900. 4°, pp. xxiii. 199.
 Z.W. 2 = *Catalogue of the printed books in the Library of the British Museum*, by D. M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe. London: 1901. 4°, pp. vii – 154 (= 304 Sp.).
 Die Abkürzungen *S.T.*, *Tōk.T.*, *T.T.*, die sich nur in Teil I finden, sind *Bibl. I* erklärt.

I. DIE CHINESISCHEN VERSIONEN DES MILINDABUCHES

A. TEXTE

1. 那先比丘經, kürzere Fassung in 2 Kapiteln (卷). Im *Shanghai'er Tripitaka* (Ausgabe des 類伽-Klosters in Shanghai, vollendet 1913. Abkürzung: *S.T.*) und im *Tōkyō'er Tripitaka* (vollendet 1885. Abkürzung: *Tōk.T.*) findet sich das Sūtra in Abteilung 24 (藏), Heft 8¹, fol. 43 recto–52 verso². Im von Takakusu und Watanabe herausgegebenen japanischen Tripitaka (*Taishō-Ausgabe*, 1924 ff. Abkürzung: *T.T.*) unter No. 1670 A im 32. Band, Seite 694a–703c. *Kyōto'er Tripitaka*, xxvi, 9, 769 recto–777 recto³.

¹ Specht's Angabe „troisième fascicule“ in *Bibl.* 26, p. 521, n. 1 muss ein Versehen sein; in *Bibl.* 28, p. 155, sagt er „8-e fascicule“.

² *Tōk.T.* war mir nicht zugänglich. Die Stellenangaben für diese Ausgabe verlanke ich dem Werke von Demiéville: *Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha* (*Bibl.* 6), und zwar: p. 75 n. 1 für die *Bibl.* 1 und 2 genannten Texte, p. 64 n. 2 für *Bibl.* 4a und 4b, p. 66 n. 5 für *Bibl.* 3. Für die Āgama-Abschnitte war mir die Übereinstimmung der von Anesaki zu seiner Arbeit „The four Āgamas in Chinese“, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, xxxv (1908), 3, benutzten *Tōk.T.*-Ausgabe mit der im Besitz des Ostasiatischen Seminars der Universität Leipzig befindlichen *S.T.*-Ausgabe aufgefallen, vgl. *Asiatica Major*, vol. vii, p. 28, unter „ST“. Da auch die *Bibl.* 1–4 genannten Texte sich in den beiden Ausgaben an gleicher Stelle finden, auch beide Ausgaben auf jeder Seite 20 Zeilen zu je 45 Zeichen enthalten (vgl. Anesaki, op. cit., p. 5), so ist anzunehmen, dass *S.T.* nur ein Nachdruck von *Tōk.T.* ist.

³ Vgl. Demiéville, op. cit., p. 75, n. 1.

2. 那先比丘經¹, längere Fassung in 3 Kapiteln (*Bun'yū Nanjō* No. 1358). Steht im Anschluss an die unter *Bibl.* 1 genannten Stellen, in *S.T.* und *Tōk.T.*: fol. 52 recto–64 verso und in *T.T.* als No. 1670 B auf p. 703c–719a.

Bibl. 1 und 2, die von einem unbekanntem Übersetzer unter der Dynastie der östlichen Tsin 東晉 (317–420) übersetzt worden sind, in anderen Tripitaka-Katalogen und Ausgaben: s. Dem., Kapitel ii und die Indexbände von *T.T.*

a) das Sūtra in 2 Kapiteln: *T.T.* Indexband i, p. 998c, Zeile 6 von links (Bemerkung: „auch 3 Kapitel“): p. 1014b, Zeile 5 von links; Indexband ii, p. 109b, No. 1009: p. 233c, No. 1154 (mit dem Vermerk „auch 3 Kapitel“ = Dem., p. 20, Zeile 19–22); p. 158b, No. 1072; p. 755b, No. 966 (mit einem kurzen Referat über den Inhalt; hervorgehoben die Abschnitte xxxviii und lxxx — nach der Einteilung von Demiéville — des chinesischen M.); p. 829b, No. 992 (= Dem., p. 20, Zeile 14–18; mit einem kurzen Referat über die Abschnitte cvi und cviii des chines. M.).

b) das Sūtra in 3 Kapiteln: *T.T.*, Indexband i, p. 780b, Zeile 9; p. 813a, No. 1000; p. 843c, Zeile 8 von links; p. 872b, Zeile 4 von links; p. 900a, Mitte; p. 920b, No. 1014; p. 939, No. 1011; Indexband ii, p. 58c, No. 1006; p. 140a, No. 1004; p. 171b, No. 1020; p. 260c, No. 1016; p. 293c, No. 1351; p. 318a, No. 1349; p. 346c, No. 1106; p. 382a, No. 1351; p. 421a, No. 1009.

c) das Sūtra in 2 und 3 Kap.: Indexband ii, p. 501c, No. 1363.

d) unbestimmt wieviel Kap.: Indexband i, p. 946b, No. 8.

Zu diesen chinesischen Fassungen des Milindabuches führe ich ferner noch folgende Stellen aus dem chinesischen Tripitaka an, in welchen auf Milinda und Nāgasena Bezug genommen wird:

3. 難陀王與那伽斯那共論緣. „*Avadāna vom Gespräch des Königs Nanda mit Nāgasena*“, das 111. avadāna, im 9. Kapitel² der Sammlung 雜寶藏經 (*Bun'yū Nanjō*, No. 1329; *Taishō-Ausgabe* No. 203), übersetzt A.D. 472 von Ki-kia-ye 吉迦夜 und Tan-yao 曇曜 unter der Dynastie der nördlichen Wei 北魏 (386–534). *S.T.* und *Tōk.T.*: Abteilung xiv (宿), Heft 10, fol. 39 verso–40 recto. *T.T.*: Band 4, p. 492c–493b.

4. In den chinesischen Übersetzungen von Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* von Paramārtha 眞諦, dessen Übersetzung 563–567

¹ Die alte Sung-Ausgabe (1104–1148), die der „Library of the Imperial Household“ gehört, liest hier, wie in der *Taishō-Ausgabe* vermerkt wird, 那先經.

² So *T.T.* und *S.T.* Takakusu, *JR.A.S.*, 1896, pp. 16 und 17, gibt es als im 8. Kap. stehend an; *Bibl.* 30, p. xlix, n. 3, sagt er: „vol. viii, avadāna 61.“

datiert ist, und Hiuen Tsang 玄奘, der dasselbe Werk 651-654 übersetzt hat, gibt es einen Abschnitt „Widerlegung derjenigen, welche (die Existenz eines) Ich behaupten“ (破說 [bzw. 執] 我), in welchem zum Beweise dessen, dass es keine Seele gebe, und damit die Frage nach der Identität von Seele und Körper müßig sei, ein Gespräch des Königs Milinda mit Nāgasena berichtet wird.

a) Paramārtha. 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論 (*Bunyū Nanjō* No. 1269; *Taishō-Ausgabe* No. 1559, Band 29, pp. 161c ff.; Forke's *Katalog d. Pekinger Tripitaka* No. 12). Der Milinda-Abschnitt (Nāgasena wird hier 那伽斯那 wiedergegeben, Milinda 旻隣陀) steht: *S.T.* und *Tōk.T.*¹: Abteilung xxiii (冬), Heft 2, fol. 32 verso; *T.T.*: Band 29, p. 307a. 18-307b, 3.

b) Hiuen-Tsang. 阿毘達磨俱舍論 (*Bunyū Nanjō* No. 1267; *Taishō-Ausgabe* No. 1558, Band 29, pp. 1 ff.). Der Milinda-Abschnitt (Nāgasena = 龍軍, Milinda = 畢隣陀) steht: *S.T.* und *Tōk.T.*: Abteilung xxii (收), Heft 10, fol. 105 verso; *T.T.*: Band 29, p. 155c, 17-156a, 1.

Die chinesischen Kommentare zur Milinda-Stelle in *Bibl. 4b* sind sehr unergiebig; vgl. Dem., p. 65, n. 3.

5a. In dem von Tao-shi 道世² in der Mitte des 7. Jahrh. redigierten Werk 諸經要集 (*Bunyū Nanjō* No. 1474; *Taishō-Ausgabe* No. 2123) findet sich im 17. Abschnitt (卷) oder: im 3. 緣 (歸信) des 27. 部 (占相)³ eine Stelle, in welcher das 那先比丘經 unter dem Titel 那先比丘問佛經 zitiert und über den Inhalt von drei Abschnitten⁴ daraus berichtet wird. *S.T.* (und wahrscheinlich auch *Tōk.T.*⁵): Abteilung xxxvi (雨), Heft 2, fol. 31 recto, Zeile 20 - fol. 31 verso, Zeile 7; *T.T.*: Band 54, p. 165a; *Ausgabe Kyōto*: xxvii, 8, p. 515 recto⁶.

5b. Dieselbe Stelle findet sich im 23. Abschnitt (卷) oder: im 3. 部 (生信) des 15. 篇 (獎道) eines anderen von Tao-shi redigierten Werkes, des 法苑珠林 (*Bunyū Nanjō* No. 1452; *Taishō-Ausgabe* No. 2122). *S.T.* (und wahrscheinlich auch *Tōk.T.*⁵): Abteilung xxxvi

¹ Vgl. Dem., p. 64, n. 2. S. Lévi in *Bibl. 16* muss eine andere Tōkyō-Ausgabe vorgelegen haben, denn er gibt dort, p. 233, für *Bibl. 4a*: vol. ii, p. 35a, l. 11 sqq. und für *Bibl. 4b*: vol. iii, p. 108a, l. 18 sqq. an.

² So ist auch *J.A.*, 1914, ii, p. 384 n., statt 道宣 zu lesen.

³ Bei durchgehender Zahlung im 155 緣.

⁴ = Dem., §§ cvi, cix, und cxiii.

⁵ Die Abteilungen und Hefte stimmen überein (vgl. Katalogband 1 der *Taishō-Ausgabe*, p. 630b, Zeile 10-11 und p. 619c, Zeile 1-2). Nur die Identität der Seitenzahlen musste noch festgestellt werden.

⁶ Nach Pelliot, *J.A.*, 1914, ii, p. 384 n.

(雨) : Heft 6, fol. 60 recto, Zeile 7-14. *T.T.* : Band 53, p. 457c-458a.
Ausgabe Kyōto : xxxviii, 5, 164 recto und verso ¹.

B. ÜBERSETZUNGEN

a) von *Bibl.* 1 und 2

6. Demiéville, Paul : „ Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha. “
 In : *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, xxiv (1924).
 pp. 1-258.

Eine Übersicht über die Einteilung dieser wichtigen Arbeit, welche nach den nicht zum Abschluss und zur Veröffentlichung gelangten Arbeiten von Specht ² und Dufresne ³ die erste und, soviel mir bekannt, einzige vollständige Übersetzung der chinesischen Versionen des Milindabuches in eine europäische Sprache enthält, mag von der Menge der darin behandelten Einzelfragen eine Vorstellung geben.

Einteilung der Arbeit : I. État des recensions conservées (pp. 1-4). II. Histoire des versions chinoises (pp. 4-21). III. Comparaison des versions chinoise et palie (pp. 21-35). IV. Ménandre (pp. 35-46). V. Nāgasena (pp. 46-67). VI. Valeur doctrinale de l'ouvrage (pp. 67-74). VII. Traduction (pp. 75-180). Appendices : 1. Sur les éditions imprimées du canon chinois (pp. 181-218). 2. Sur un passage du Mahāmeghasūtra (pp. 218-230). 3. Sur le fleuve Che-p'i-yi (pp. 230-1). 4. Sur la pensée unique (pp. 231-246). Collationnement des citations anciennes (pp. 247-8). Approximation du nombre des caractères écrits sur chaque feuillet des exemplaires officiels du canon à l'époque des Tang

¹ Nach Pelliot, *J.A.*, 1914, ii, p. 384 n.

² Specht, der zusammen mit Sylvain Lévi als erster auf dem 9. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongress in London (1892) auf die chinesischen Entsprechungen zum M. hingewiesen und Teile daraus übersetzt hatte (vgl. *Bibl.* 26), arbeitete an einer vollständigen Übersetzung der chinesischen Versionen. Leider verhungerte sein im Jahre 1906 erfolgtes Ableben (ein ihm vom damaligen Präsidenten der Société Asiatique, M. Barbier de Meynard, gewidmeter Nachruf ist abgedruckt in *J.A.*, 1906, i, pp. 305-9) die Vollendung dieser Arbeit.

³ Auf diesen Gelehrten wurde ich durch die Bemerkungen Pelliot's in *J.A.*, 1914, ii, p. 379, und *Toung Pao* 22 (1923), p. 210, aufmerksam. Prof. Pelliot hatte die Freundlichkeit, mir auf eine Anfrage mitzuteilen, dass Herr Dufresne sich auf den Rat seines Lehrers Sylvain Lévi an eine Übersetzung der chinesischen Version des M. gemacht hatte, aber durch seine Versetzung an die École Française d'Extrême-Orient und den Eintritt als Professor in die „ Direction de l'instruction publique “ der indo-chinesischen Verwaltung seine Milinda-Arbeiten aufgeben musste und nichts darüber veröffentlicht hat.

(nach p. 248). Vocabulaire de la version chinoise (pp. 249–253). Druckfehler- und Inhaltsverzeichnis (pp. 255–8) ¹.

7. Ivanovski (Aleksej Osipovič) ².

Professor Ivanovski übertrug die Einleitung und andere Stücke der chinesischen Milindapañha-Version nach in St. Petersburg vorhandenen Texten ins Russische. Professor v. Oldenburg fertigte davon eine englische Übersetzung an und sandte sie im Frühling 1892 an Professor Rhys Davids. Leider ging diese Übersetzung auf dem Wege verloren, vgl. SBE. 36. p. xi.

b) von *Bibl.* 3–4 ³

8. Chavannes, Edouard: *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripitaka chinois* et traduits en français par Ed. Ch. Publiés sous les auspices de la Société Asiatique. Paris: Leroux 1910–11. 8°. 3 Bände. i: 1910. xx. 428 pp. ii und iii: 1911. 449 und 395 pp.

Im 3. Bande. pp. 120–4, findet sich unter No. 418 die Übersetzung von *Bibl.* 3.

9. La Vallée Poussin, Louis de: *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* traduit et annoté. Société Belge d'Études Orientales. Paris; Geuthner. 8°. 5 Bände. 1) 1. u. 2. Kap. pp. vi. 331, 1923; 2) 3. Kap. pp. iii. 217, 1926; 3) 4. Kap. pp. 255, 1924; 4) 5. u. 6. Kap. pp. xi. 303, 1925; 5) 7. 8. u. 9. Kap. pp. iii. 302, 1925.

Der Übersetzung liegt der Text von Hiuen-Tsang zugrunde.

Die Nāgasena-Milinda-Episode (*Bibl.* 4b) findet sich auf pp. 263–4 des V. Bandes.

10. Lévi, Sylvain: (Übersetzung von *Bibl.* 4a und b) s. *Bibl.* 16.

11. Takakusu, Jyunjirō: (Übersetzung von *Bibl.* 3 ins Englische) s. *Bibl.* 29.

¹ Im Sonderdruck steht statt dessen ein Index (pp. 255–9) und eine erweiterte Liste von Verbesserungen und Nachträgen (pp. 261–4). Als Ergänzung zu dieser Liste hier noch einige kleine Druckfehler, die mir bei der Lektüre aufgefallen sind: p. 63, n. 4: lies xcv statt xxv; p. 65, n. 3: Yaśomitra statt Vasu-; pp. 79–80 fehlt die Kapitelbezeichnung X; p. 81, l. 15: Ćatapatha- statt -pata-; p. 130, n., 1. Zeile: Vasilev statt Vasilve; p. 133 n., l. 1: cakkhuvīññāṇam statt -nam; p. 137, n. 2: abbhantare statt abha-; p. 138, n. 6: udghāṭayati statt udghāt-; p. 150, n. 5: -bāhre āyatane statt -bāhāya-; p. 170, n. unter iv: Dīgha Nikāya, vol. ii statt iii; p. 236, l. 3: °marisyamti statt °marisyhanti (so ist auch im Druckfehlerverzeichnis, p. 264, zu lesen); ebenda ll. 18 und 19: akuṣala statt °sala.

² 1863–1903. Kurzer Artikel über ihn in der russischen Enzyklopadie von Brockhaus-Efron (in der Ausgabe 1890–1904: Band 12 A (= 24. Halbband), Sp. 757; in der neuen Ausgabe 1904–1914 (*Noryj Enciklopedičeskij Slovar'*), die beim Buchstaben I abgebrochen worden ist, im 18. Band). In der *Bol'saja Sorjetskaja Enciklopedija* fehlt der betr. Band noch.

³ Übersetzungen von *Bibl.* 5 sind mir nicht bekannt.

C. ARBEITEN, DIE SICH MIT DEM CHINESISCHEN MILINDAPAÑHA BEFASSEN ¹

12. Davids, T. W. Rhys : *The Questions of King Milinda* (genauen Titel s. *Bibl.* 74).

Beschäftigt sich im 2. Bande (SBE. 36), pp. xi-xv mit den chinesischen Versionen des M.

13. *Genshin 源信 (942-1017) von der Tendai-Sekte.

Zitiert in seinem Werk *Ōjōgōshū* 往生要集 das 那先比丘經, allerdings aus zweiter Hand, nach Tao-shi (vgl. *Bibl.* 5a und 5b) in der Sammlung *Shinshūsenkyōtanzon* 眞宗聖教大全, Bd. ii, pp. 437-8 (Dem., p. 245 und n. 8).

14. Ivanovski, Professor, s. *Bibl.* 29.

15. *Kanenori, Hari 堀謙徳 : „La géographie des lieux où enseignèrent les Maîtres en śāstra de l'Inde.“ In : *Shigaku Zasshi*, vol. xix, pp. 1157-1160.

Erklärt : „Le maître en śāstra Long-kiun, ou Na-k'ia-si-na, ou encore Na-sien, convertit le roi Ménandre en lui prêchant la doctrine mahāyāniste.“ (Dem., p. 63, n. 4).

15a. *Kimura, J. : Buha Bukkyō ni okeru Fumbetsu Jōza-su no Chii to sono Shūgi no sadamekata (La situation des Vibhajjavādin dans Theravāda et leur doctrine). In : *Shūkyō Kenkyū*, Juli 1930, 6 pp.—Angezeigt von K. Okamoto in *BB.*, fasc. 2, No. 263.

Nach der genannten Anzeige in *BB.* empfiehlt Professor Kimura in dieser seiner letzten Arbeit zur Klärung der im Thema aufgeworfenen Frage zwei Wege : „examiner ce que nie le *Kathāvatthu* et comparer *Milindapañha* avec *Vibhaṅga*.“

16. Lévi, Sylvain : „Un nouveau document sur le Milindapraçna.“ In : *Comptes rendus de l'Ac. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 4^e série, tome xxi, 1893, pp. 232-7.

Bringt zum erstenmal aus den im Chinesischen erhaltenen Versionen (Paramārtha und Hiuen-Tsang) von Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* die Stelle (s. *Bibl.* 4a und 4b), auf welche sich der Kommentator Yaśomitra, der einen Nāgasena erwähnt, bezogen hatte und die man bis dahin nicht vergleichen konnte, da der Sanskrittext des *Abhidharmakośa* nicht erhalten ist. Auf die betreffende Stelle in Yaśomitra's Kommentar, der *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, hatte schon Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 570, im Jahre

¹ In dieser Abteilung habe ich auch (aus Dem. und *BB.*) Arbeiten japanischer Gelehrter aufgenommen, in denen der M. nur erwähnt wird. Diese Arbeiten sind mit einem * bezeichnet.

1844 aufmerksam gemacht, und L. Feer teilte auf eine Bitte Rhys Davids' Genaueres aus Burnouf's Manuskript mit, vgl. *JRAS.*, 1891, 476-8. Lévi's Aufsatz brachte zwei Jahre später willkommene Aufklärung. Er fasst das Resultat seiner Untersuchung wie folgt zusammen: „Le texte pâli du Milindapañha et les versions chinoises étudiées par M. Specht n'ont pas de passage qui corresponde au fragment cité par Vasubandhu. mais la doctrine est de part et d'autre absolument conforme“ (p. 235).—S. auch Dem., Abschnitt v, iv (pp. 64-5): „*Le maître ancien de Vasubandhu.*“

17. Lévi, Sylvain: Einleitung zu Specht's Aufsatz „Deux traductions, etc.“, s. *Bibl.* 26.

18. —, —: (Diskussionsbemerkung) in: *JA.*, viii^e série, t. xix (1892, i), p. 343.

„M.S.L. estime que la version chinoise (du M.) permettra de reconstituer la forme primitive de l'original.“

19. *Maeda, Eun, 前田 慧雲: Geschichte des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus (大乘佛教史論). Tōkyō, 1903.

Auf pp. 122-7 „l'auteur se borne à renvoyer au texte sur le Nirvāṇa (v. ch. § xciv): de ce passage 'et d'autres pareils' il conclut qu' 'en lisant attentivement ce dialogue' on ne peut manquer d'y reconnaître des éléments mahāyānistes; puis vient l'argument de fond: si Nāgasena exposa la théorie hīnayāniste de la négation du moi, c'est par contrainte et pis-aller, parce qu'il lui fallait convertir un profane, un païen, un roi grec, un débutant, auquel convenait seule cette doctrine élémentaire ou 'initiale'“ (Dem., p. 63. n. 4). Demiéville weist darauf hin, dass dieselbe Meinung schon fünfzehnhundert Jahre früher von Vasubandhu geäußert worden sei.

20. *Matsumoto, Bunzaburō: Über das Sukhavāti-Paradies, Gokuraku jōdo ron 極樂淨土論. Tōkyō, 1904.

Sieht (pp. 18-20) im § cvi des chines. M. (Dem., pp. 166-7) den ersten Vorläufer der Sukhavāti-Lehre und vergleicht auf pp. 149-151 den § cviii mit zwei Stellen aus dem Amitāyus-Sūtra. Ist geneigt, eine Abhängigkeit der Amidalehre von der im Nāgasena-Sūtra zutagetretenden „idealistischen Konzeption“ anzunehmen, eine Ansicht, die Demiéville als „singulièrement fragile“ bezeichnet (Dem., p. 232).

21. *Ōda, Tokunō 織田得能, bringt auf p. 1688 des

Bukkyōdaijiten 佛教大辭典 in seiner Notiz über den König Menander den § cvi des chines. M. (Dem., p. 232 und n. 1).

22. v. Oldenburg. Ssergej (Sergius. Serge)

war der Vermittler zwischen dem russischen Sinologen Ivanovski, der sich mit den in St. Petersburg vorhandenen chinesischen Milindatexten beschäftigte und augenscheinlich des Englischen nicht mächtig war, und den Englisch schreibenden Orientalisten (s. *Bibl.* 7 und 29).

23. Pelliot, Paul: „Les noms propres dans les traductions chinoises du Milindapañha.“ In: *J.A.* xi^e série, t. iv (1914, ii), pp. 379–419.

Analyse von 24 im chines. M. vorkommenden Eigennamen. „Mon but, en rédigeant le présent article, a été de fournir aux indianistes des indications que la plupart d'entre eux ne peuvent pas aller prendre directement dans les sources chinoises: et en même temps j'ai essayé, à propos de cette onomastique, d'utiliser d'une façon plus précise qu'on ne le fait généralement les données de la phonétique chinoise ancienne“ (p. 417).

24. Rahder, J(ohannes): Groot-Indië. Rede uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het hoogleerarsambt aan de Rijks-Universiteit te Utrecht op den 7den April 1930. door J. R., gr. 8^o. pp. 33¹.

pp. 10–12: weist auf die Übersetzung von Demiéville hin und belegt durch einige chinesische Umschreibungen indischer Wörter seine Ansicht, dass das Original der chinesischen Milinda-Übersetzung nicht in Pāli, sondern in einem altindischen Prākṛit abgefasst sein müsse, ähnlich dem Dialekt der Kharoṣṭhī-Inschriften.

24a. Sasaki, N.: Zui-kyō 隋經 (Śūtras de l'époque Zui). 5 pp., 19 photog.; Tōkyō, 1930.—Angezeigt von K. Okamoto. *BB.*, fasc. 2, No. 148.

Behandelt die im Titel genannte Abteilung des in Nara aufbewahrten Tripitaka von Shōsōin 正倉院, die auch ein 那先比丘經 enthält, s. Indexband I der *Taishō-Ausgabe*, p. 946b, No. 8. Es handelt sich um ein Heft, ich weiss aber nicht, ob von *Bibl.* 1 oder *Bibl.* 2.

25. Schrader, F(riedrich) Otto: Die Fragen des Königs Menandros. Aus dem Pāli zum ersten Male ins Deutsche übersetzt Berlin: Raatz o.J. (1907). 8. pp. xxxv — 172 — xxvii.

¹ Anzeige von Louis de La Vallée Poussin. *BB.*, fasc. 2, No. 102.

Enthält ein Kapitel: *Die chinesischen Ausgaben und ihr Verhältnis zum Pāli-Text*, pp. 117–125.

26. Specht, Édouard: Deux traductions chinoises du Milindapañho. Mit einer Einleitung von Sylvain Lévi.

Diese Abhandlung, welche die Orientalistik zum erstenmal auf die chinesischen M.-Versionen hinwies, wurde am 9. Sept. 1892 von L. de La Vallée Poussin der indo-arischen Sektion des 9. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses in London vorgelegt¹ und ist dann erschienen in: *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* (held in London, 5th to 12th September, 1892), ed. by E. Delmar Morgan, in two vols. London: printed for the committee of the Congress. 1893. Vol. i (Indian and Aryan sections), pp. 518–529.

27. —, —: Deux traductions chinoises du Milindapañho. Paris: Leroux. 1893. 8^o. pp. 25.²

Dieses Büchlein habe ich mir leider nicht beschaffen können, so dass ich nicht weiss, wie weit es von *Bibl.* 26 abweicht.

28. —, —: (eine Mitteilung) in: *J.A.*, ix^e série, t. vii (1896 i), pp. 155–7.

Enthält die Antwort auf die von Takakusu in *Bibl.* 29 ausgesprochene Frage nach den in Paris vorhandenen Ausgaben des chinesischen Milindatextes. Specht's Angaben betr. Vorkommen des chines. M. in den Katalogen des chines. Tripitaka sind nach *Bibl.* 23 und besonders nach *Bibl.* 6, wo dieser Frage ein besonderer Abschnitt gewidmet ist (pp. 4–21), zu ergänzen, bzw. zu berichtigen.

29. Takakusu, Jyunjirō 高楠順次郎: Chinese translations of the Milinda Pañho. In: *JRAS.*, 1896, pp. 1–21.

Teilt die Einleitung aus dem Milindatext der Sammlung des India Office in teilweiser Übersetzung mit und kommt zum Schluss, dass man nicht, wie Rhys Davids in der Einleitung zum 2. Teil seiner Milindapañha-Übersetzung (SBE. 36, p. xi und Anm. 3, und p. xii mit Anm. 1) annehmen zu müssen glaubt, drei (± Exemplar von St. Petersburg) oder gar vier (± Exemplar der India Office-Sammlung) chinesische Fassungen besitze, sondern, dass es mit den schon von Specht in *Bibl.* 26

¹ Vgl. *Transactions*, etc., vol. i, p. xxxiii.

² Kurzes Referat darüber von Senart s. *Comptes rendus de l'Ac. des Sc. et B.-L.*, 1893, p. 113.

genannten zwei Fassungen sein Bewenden habe. Weiterhin bringt er eine Übersetzung von *Bibl.* 3¹. Zum Schluss ist als Bestätigung der Annahme von Takakusu eine Mitteilung des russischen Sinologen Ivanovski abgedruckt, die durch v. Oldenburg an Takakusu und von diesem an Rhys Davids weitergegeben wurde. Ivanovski stellte die Übereinstimmung des in St. Petersburg vorhandenen Textes mit der von Takakusu auf pp. 5 ff. seines Aufsatzes gegebenen Übersetzung fest.

30. ——. —: A Pāli chrestomathy with notes and glossary giving Sanskrit and Chinese equivalents. Tōkyō: Kinkōdō & Co. 1900. 8². pp. xciv + vi + 272.

Auf pp. xlviii-lviii finden sich neben einer einführenden Notiz über die Pāli- und chinesischen Versionen des Milindabuches Auszüge aus dem chines. M. und Vergleiche mit dem Pālitext (die entsprechenden Pālistücke: pp. 69–88).

31. *Tokiwa, Daijō 常盤大定.

Sagt in *Encyclopædia Japonica*, vol. vii (1916), pp. 1229–1230: „Les commentateurs chinois font (de l'interlocuteur de Ménandre) l'auteur d'un Trikāya-śāstra et lui attribuent une doctrine différente de celle des représentants de l'école de Nāgārjuna: mais ce point n'a pas été étudié de près. . . . La doctrine (du M.) ne comporte qu'une faible part d'éléments pouvant être appelés mahāyānistes: toutefois on y trouve quelques passages fort remarquables, notamment un paragraphe relatif au 'salut par la force étrangère'. Cet ouvrage est un document important pour l'histoire du bouddhisme au II^e siècle avant l'ère chrétienne dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest“ (Dem., p. 64, n. 1).

32. Watters, T.: „The eighteen Lohan of Chinese Buddhist temples.“ In: *JRAS.*, 1898, pp. 329–347².

Anknüpfend an den 12. Arhat 那伽犀那 werden chinesische Texte, in denen ein Nāgasena vorkommt (*Bibl.* 3, *1a*, *1b*, 2 und 1) erwähnt, ausserdem der Pāli-Milindapañha (p. 241).

Demiéville meint, der Arhat Nāgasena könne natürlich der kanonisierte Held des M. sein (das ist die Ansicht von Watters): er (D.) sei jedoch eher geneigt, den Arhat mit dem Sthavira

¹ *Bibl.* 3 ins Französische übersetzt s. *Bibl.* 8.

² Dasselbe Thema, jedoch viel eingehender, behandelt der Aufsatz von Lévi und Chavannes „Les seize arhat protecteurs de la loi“, in *J.A.*, II^e série, t. 8 (1916, II), pp. 5–50 und 189–304. p. 274 findet sich hier die Bemerkung, der Arhat Nāgasena sei durch die Bekehrung des Menander zum Buddhismus bekannt

Nāgasena zu identifizieren, der nach tibetischen und chinesischen Quellen im Zusammenhang mit einer Sektenspaltung genannt wird (Dem., pp. 47–52).

II. GIBT ES EINE TIBETISCHE ÜBERSETZUNG DES MILINDABUCHES ?

Die einzige Stelle, in welcher ich einen Hinweis auf das Vorhandensein einer solchen Übersetzung zu finden glaubte, steht im 8. Bande (1915) der *ERE*.

33. Rhys Davids sagt hier (p. 632*b*), nachdem er vom Verhältnis des indischen Originals zur Pāli- und zur chinesischen Version gesprochen hat und von verschiedenen Möglichkeiten, dieses Verhältnis zu erklären: „A solution of this Milinda problem would be of the utmost importance for the elucidation of the darkest period in the history of Indian literature. Unfortunately, each of the alternatives suggested above involves great difficulties, and none of the scholars who have written on the subject has so far been able to persuade any other to accept his conclusions. The evidence at present available is insufficient. When the Tibetan translation has been properly examined¹, when all the quotations from the Milinda in the Pali commentaries are edited, when all the references elsewhere (and especially those in the numerous Buddhist Sanskrit works still buried in MSS.) have been collected, we shall be better able to estimate the value of the external evidence as to the history of the Milinda literature in India.“

Doch stellte sich sehr bald heraus, dass ich Rhys Davids missverstanden hatte. Frau Rhys Davids war eine tibetische Übersetzung nicht bekannt, und auch Frl. Marcelle Lalou, an welche ich mich mit der Bitte um Auskunft gewandt hatte, wusste nichts von einer solchen Übersetzung im tibetischen Kanon. Rhys Davids spricht also von der Zukunft und meint, dass vielleicht im tibetischen Kanon sich eines Tages eine Milinda-Übersetzung finden würde, die dann unter Umständen wertvolle Hinweise zur Geschichte der Milinda-Literatur liefern könnte.

34. Auch Sarat Chandra Das verspricht sich von einem Durchsuchen des tibetischen Kanons nach einer solchen Übersetzung Erfolg.

¹ Von mir gesperrt.

Er sagt (*Journal of the Buddhist Text and Research Society*, vol. vii, pt. iii (Sept. 1904), p. 5 : .. As the Tibetans translated all the Mahāyāna works which were written in Sanskrit it is very probable that Milinda Prasna may still be found either in original or in translation in Tibet. Its recovery may some day be announced by the future Tibetan scholar when he has carefully analysed the Tangyur collection of Buddhist shastras.“¹

35. Auch bei Pavolini. *Buddismo* (*Bibl.* 112), p. 98, n. 2, habe ich eine ähnliche Äusserung gefunden : ed è probabile, e desirabile, che del dialogo si trovi poi anche una versione tibetana“ Leider erklärt Pavolini sein .. probabile “ nicht näher.

Es sei also hiermit an die Tibetologen der ganzen Welt die Bitte gerichtet, einer wissenschaftlichen Institution oder mir Mitteilung zu machen, ob ihnen etwas vom Vorhandensein einer tibetischen Übersetzung des Milindabuches bekannt ist. Dieses Werk wäre, wie das ja auch Rhys Davids in der *Bibl.* 33 zitierten Stelle hervorhebt, von grösster Bedeutung für die Milinda-Kunde.

Von Bearbeitungen tibetischer Quellen, in denen auch auf Milinda und den M. Bezug genommen wird, sind mir nur bekannt geworden :

36. Stcherbatsky (Ščerbatskoi), Th(eodor) I. : .. The soul theory of the Buddhists.“ In : *Izvestija Rossijskoi Akademii Nauk* (*Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*), 6. Serie, Band xiii (1919), pp. 823-854 und 937-958.

Die Arbeit ist die Übersetzung des Anhanges zum 8. Kapitel (von manchen als 9. Kapitel bezeichnet) von Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. .. Widerlegung derjenigen, welche (die Existenz eines) Ich behaupten “² nach dem tibetischen Tandjur. O. O. Rosenberg hat die Übersetzung mit den chinesischen Versionen des Hiuen-Tsang und Paramārtha verglichen.

Die Geschichte von Nāgasena und Milinda findet sich auf pp. 846-8.

37. Waddell, L(aurence) A(ustine) : .. An historical basis for the Questions of King ‘Menander’ from the Tibetan.“ In : *JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 227-237.

Meint, dass der M. auf einen Dialog zwischen Nāgasena und einem König Ananta oder Nanda von Bengalen oder Südostindien

¹ Merkwürdig ist, dass Das hier offenbar den M. zu den Mahāyānawerken rechnet.

² Vgl. *Bibl.* 4a und 4b.

zurückgeht. Diese Hypothese ist jedoch kaum zu halten. vgl. Garbe. *Beiträge zur indischen Kulturgeschichte*. Berlin 1903. Anm. auf S. 109 und 110¹: *Goblet d'Alviella. Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce* (Ausgabe Paris 1926), p. 27, n. 3 (= *Bulletins de l'Ac. Royale Belgique* 1897, i, p. 688 n.): Dem., pp. 47 ff., besonders n. 3 auf p. 47 und n. 3 auf p. 52.

¹ Im Aufsatz in der *Deutschen Rundschau* (s. *Bibl.* 108) fehlt diese Anm.

(Teil III folgt.)

A Grammar of the Language of Vaturanga, Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands

By W. G. IVENS, Litt.D.

VATURANGA

VATURANGA itself is the name given to a small district at the extreme north-west end of the island of Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands; but, according to Bishop J. M. Steward, who worked as a missionary on that end of the island, the language spoken along a very considerable portion of the north-west coast, as well as of the north-east coast, of the island is very closely allied to the language of Vaturanga. In addition, through the work of the Melanesian Mission, the language of Vaturanga has become the "ecclesiastical" language in the schools and churches of the mission throughout the portion of the island indicated.

The translational work in the Vaturanga language undertaken by the Melanesian Mission comprises: (1) A translation of the Book of Common Prayer, with the usual daily and occasional services, the liturgical Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, together with fifty-four Psalms, and a Hymnary. These translations represent the work, at various times, of Rev. P. T. Williams, Bishop J. M. Steward, Rev. F. Bollen, and Rev. H. Toke. (2) The Gospel according to St. Luke. This was issued many years ago, and the translation was the work of the Rev. P. T. Williams, with native assistants. In 1932 a translation of the four Gospels and the Book of the Acts was published by the Melanesian Mission Press. Various native teachers of the Mission were responsible for the translation.

The following grammar has been drawn up as a result of the study of the existing translations in the language, with the help of a MS. dictionary and MS. notes on the grammar compiled by Bishop J. M. Steward.

Dr. Codrington presents a grammar of the Vaturanga language on pp. 539-545 of his *Melanesian Languages*, the material for which was gathered from Vaturanga-speaking native boys in the Melanesian Mission School at Norfolk Island. This grammar has also proved of use in compiling the present grammar.

The translations in the language were made long after Codrington's

grammar was published. It is therefore possible now, with the new material available, to do a much fuller grammar of the language and to amend any mistakes made by Dr. Codrington. The present grammar has been submitted to Bishop Steward for comment and criticism, and his corrections and additions have been incorporated in the text.

According to Codrington (*Melanesian Languages*, p. 540), there is a connection between the languages of Vaturanga and that of the neighbouring island of Savo, but rather in phonology and vocabulary than in grammar. Bishop Steward, however, thinks that there is no connection between the two languages. It may well be that certain words are common to both languages, and that certain sounds are found in both.

Codrington calls attention to the fact that the Vaturanga language has the remarkable characteristic of making fixed and certain changes of letters with the language of Florida, the island of the central Solomons which lies midway between the islands of Guadalcanal, Ysabel, and Mala, and with which a considerable intercourse has been maintained in the past by the peoples of the neighbouring parts of these three islands. Thus, as Codrington says, the Florida *g* (what Codrington calls "the Melanesian *g*") is *h* in Vaturanga, and the Florida *h* is *s* in Vaturanga; e.g. Florida *hege* "self, alone", is Vaturanga *sehe*. But, he adds, "it cannot be said that every *h* and *s* in Vaturanga is the equivalent of a corresponding *g* and *h* in Florida, since the vocabularies of the two languages are not the same." In addition, it may be said that the Florida *s* changes into *j* or *z* in Vaturanga; e.g. Florida *sisi* "red", *sabiri* "to trade", are in Vaturanga *jiji*, *zabiri*. Codrington also notes that Florida *sani* "from" becomes *tani* in Vaturanga.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>adj.</i> , adjective.	<i>MIL.</i> , <i>Melanesian Island Languages</i> ,
<i>adv.</i> , adverb.	S. H. Ray, M.A., Cambridge University
<i>excl.</i> , exclusive, i.e. excluding the person	Press.
spoken to.	<i>pl.</i> , plural.
<i>incl.</i> , inclusive, i.e. including the person	<i>pers.</i> , person.
spoken to.	<i>sing.</i> , singular.
<i>ML.</i> , <i>Melanesian Languages</i> , R. H.	<i>TSE.</i> , <i>Torres Straits Expedition</i> , vol. iii.
Codrington, D.D., Clarendon Press.	Cambridge University Press.

For references to Bugotu see "Bugotu Grammar" (Ivens), *BSOS.*, Vol. VIII, Pt. 1, 1933.

For references to Inakona see "The Language of Inakona" (Rev. A. Capell, B.A.), *JPS.*, No. 154, June, 1930.

For references to Longgu see Ivens, "A Grammar of the Language of Longgu, Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands, to be published shortly in *BSOS*.

I. ALPHABET

1. (a) Vowels : *a, e, i, o, u*.

(b) Consonants : *b, d, h, j, k, ngg, l, m, n, ng, p, r, s, t, v, z*.

According to Bishop Steward, the vowels have the sounds of the English *ah, eh, ee, oh, ugh*, except before *b, d, ngg, ng, z*, when *a, e, i, o* have shorter sounds, as in the English "pan", "pen", "pin," "on." The *b* in Vaturanga is sounded as *mb* in "tumbler", the *d* as *nd* in "handle"; *ngg* is sounded as *ng* in "finger", and *ng* as *ng* in "singer". *j* is sounded as *ts* in "Tsar", *z* as *nts* in "handsaw".

Bishop Steward also says that every vowel in the language is given its full sound, and that diphthongs do not occur.

In the translations, *ng* is printed as *n* and *ngg* as *g*. The *ngg* sound is a change from *k*, however, and not from *g*.

Bishop Steward dissents from Codrington's statement, *Melanesian Languages*, p. 540, that *j* is sounded as *ch* in English "church", and gives its value as above. Again, with regard to Codrington's statement that *j* in Vaturanga has not always the same sound, being sometimes the equivalent of the English *z*, and sometimes containing an *n* sound, Bishop Steward says that the value of *j* is *nj*, i.e. *nts*, but adds that in practice it is often very difficult to know whether to write a *j* or a *z* for the sound, each sound apparently being heard at different times and from the same speaker.

In the translations, *j* is often used where Bishop Steward writes *z* in his dictionary : e.g. *jajabali* or *zajabali* for *zazabali*.

An *l* has been lost in many words, but without any "break" in the pronunciation such as occurs in the Sa'a, Mala, language, when medial consonants are dropped : e.g. *tindao* for the Florida *tindalo* "ghost", *sangātu* for the Florida *sangalatu* "hundred" (in this case the *a* is lengthened); *tetco* for *tetelo* "little". Bishop Steward, in his grammatical notes, writes also a form *teteko* "little", showing a change from *l* to *k*.

The letters *q* and *w* do not occur, as also is the case in the languages of Florida and Bugotu. Where *w* occurs in Sa'a as an initial letter it is missing in Vaturanga ; e.g. the Sa'a *wasi* "wild, unowned", *walu* "eight", are in Vaturanga *aji, abu*.

The "Melanesian *g*" or, as Ray calls the sound, the "guttural

trill," is also absent in Vaturanga, its place being taken by *h m* words in which it occurs in Florida.

II. ARTICLES

2. (a) Demonstrative :—Singular : *na*.

Plural : *hira*.

(b) Personal, masculine, *a* ; feminine, *ko. a ko*.

The articles precede the noun.

3. The article *na* is used before all nouns, and seems to be more or less attached to the noun, being often written as one word with it, and not being dropped for the plural ; it may mean either " the " or " a " ; *na mane* " a man, the man " ; but usually a demonstrative pronoun follows the noun when " the " is indicated : *na mane ngene* " that man, the man, he who ". *Na* is used, as in Bugotu, with the gerundival forms : *na paneteana* " the doing of it, to do it " ; *e lalave na reiana* " he sought to see him ". It may denote purpose, and in itself contains a gerundival force : *ara tu na vano* " they rose up to go ". A noun form follows the words *tangomana* " to be able ", and also *jika* and *mole*, the dehortatives : *jika na hoko* " do not speak ". *Na* is used preceding the possessive noun *ni*, to which the pronouns of possession, *nggu, mu, na*, etc., are suffixed : *na* in this case is written separately : *na min*, " yours " ; also it is used with the interrogative pronoun *hua* " what ", and with the ordinal numbers : *na hua* " what ? " ; *na ngidana* " first, the first " ; *na ononina* " the sixth " ; *na sangawulumina* " the tenth " ; also *na toha* " a thousand ". In itself *na* is singular, but it is used following *hira*, the personal pronoun 3rd pers. pl. which is used to denote plurality : *hira na ome* " things " ; also *hamu na taovia* " ye kings ! "

When the connotation is general the article *na* is omitted : *loho vale* " house-building ". No article is used with a noun following and qualifying another noun : *na vale jinoho* " the guest-house " ; *na vale vatu* " a stone-house ".

4. An article *na* is used, as in Florida, before the name of a place in order to denote " belonging to " a place ; *na taovia adira na Judea* " the King of the Jews " ; *ihoe na Galilea* " you are a Galilean ". Bugotu has an article *gna* denoting " of, belonging to, a place ", and these articles *na* and *gna*, in Florida, Vaturanga, and Bugotu, according to Mr. S. H. Ray, are connected with *na* the ligative article in Indonesian languages ; thus *na* in Tagalog *si Jesus na taya Nazareth*

“Jesus of Nazareth” is the same as *na* in the Vaturanga *a Jesus na Nazareth*, or as *gna* in the Bugotu *a Jesus gna i Nazareth*.

5. The personal pronoun *hira*, 3rd pers. pl., is used preceding the singular article *na* to denote the plural: *na ome* “a thing”, *hira na ome* “things”. Ray regards a similar use of the pronoun in the Tasiriki language of Espiritu Santo, *MIL.*, pp. 371-2, as being a case of apposition rather than a plural sign. In a letter he states that when the personal pronoun, 3rd pers. pl., is used as a plural sign in certain languages of the New Hebrides, cf. *MIL.*, pp. 247, 274, 285, etc., it follows the noun and does not precede it.

6. A plural is shown by the doubling of a phrase with the copula *ma* “and”: *na ome* “a thing”, *na ome ma na ome* “things, many things” (this is probably the *metonymie* of Codrington’s grammar, p. 541): *na varata ma na varata* “generations, from generation to generation”. The Longgu language of Guadalcanal has a similar use, as also has Bugotu.

7. The personal article *a* is used with the names of males only; it also personifies: *a Basdei*: *a John*: *a ngquqqtre* “the tempter”; it is used with the relationship terms to denote a specific person: *a dale* “the son”, *a tina* “mother”, *a mama* “father”, *a tasima* “your brother”, *inau a tamana* “I (am) his father”; it may be preceded by the pronoun *aia* “he, she”: *aia a tamana* “his father”, *aia a tinanggu* “my mother”, *aia a Lord* “the Lord”; it is used with *mea* “person”, which is equivalent to the Florida and Bugotu *hamu* “person”, and is probably the same as the Maori *mea* “thing”: *a mea* “the male person, he who”, *ko mea* “the woman, she who”, *a ko mea de* “this woman”; and there is the usual Melanesian usage of *a* with the word meaning thing: *na ome* “a thing”, *a ome* “so-and-so, such and such a man”, *ko ome* “such and such a woman”. There is a use of the article *a* with the plural, as in Bugotu: *hamu a mea* “you people!”, *hira nana a mea anaggo* “his workmen”, *hira a tasida* “our brethren”, *kara a dalua* “his two sons”.

The article *ko* is used with the names of females only; *a* may be prefixed: *ko Mary*, *a ko Mary*; *ko ni* “you” is used in address by a child to its mother.

III. NOUNS

8. Both Dr. Codrington and Bishop Steward state that there is the usual Melanesian distinction in the Vaturanga language between nouns that take, and those that do not take, the suffixed pronouns

of possession; but neither of these authorities gives any examples. The names of parts of the body take the suffixed pronouns, as do the words for "name" *soa*, "bed" *nihe*, "house" *vale*, "village" *vera*, "speech" *hoko*, "day" *bongi*, "thing" *ome*, and also all the relationship terms except the vocative *mama* "father"; but the words for "friend, neighbour, enemy" do not take the suffixed pronouns, nor do certain words which denote a man's close possessions, such as "bag, money, bow, spear, shield, arrow, canoe, paddle"; also the names of things to eat, and the names of animals, "dog, pig," do not take the suffixed pronouns: all these latter being used with the possessive nouns *ni* or *ha*, with the pronouns of possession suffixed: while *vale* "house" is used with the suffixed pronouns, and also with the possessive noun *ni*: *ninggu na vale*, *na valenggu* "my house".

9. A word which in form is a verb may also be used as a noun, the article *na* preceding, without any change of form: *ngao* "to desire", *na ngao* "the will, the desire", *hoko* "to speak", *na hoko* "the word", *na hokonggu* "my word"; a noun form, i.e. the article *na* followed by a verb may denote purpose: *na vanaho* "to steal", *ara vano na zabiri* "they are going to do some trading": an object may follow a noun form: *na beku au* "to bury me, my burial"; this gerundival form is used after the verbs *turiha* "to begin", *ngao* "to desire": also as noted above in § 3 it is used after *tangomana*, *jika*, *mole*: *mole aseï na vota ikura* "let no one separate them".

10. The verbal noun suffixes are *na*, *ha*, *ana*; these are added to verbs to make nouns.

na is in common use as a noun suffix: *hoko* "to speak", *na hoko*, *na hokona* "speech": *sere* "to be white", *na serena* "the white one"; *male* "to be tidied up", *na malena* "the courtyard"; *tutuni* "to believe", *na tutuni*, *na tutumina* "belief, to believe"; *loki* "to be big", *na lokina* "the master, chief". Compound phrases occur with *na* suffixed to the last member: *jika na molo takutina* "cease not"; *na totu rahona* "righteousness". *Inakona* also has *na* as a noun suffix.

ha added to verbs may convey a gerundival idea, the pronoun *na*, of the object, 3rd pers. sing., being suffixed: *ke tuwahana na juru* "he will feed the flock", *kamu zajahana* "you will know (it)", *otulahana* "deceit, to deceive" (*otula* "to deceive"), and *zajahana* "wisdom" (*zaju* "to be wise") have both *ha* and *na* suffixed. In Sara the suffix *ha* has a gerundival use, and the pronouns of possession are added to it.

Bishop Steward regards the suffix *ha* in Vaturanga as meaning "full of"; it seems, however, to be the adjectival ending *ha*, Florida *ga*, while *na* is the Sa'a *nga*, a noun ending. The word *sasuliha* (*sali* "bone") is used as both adjective and noun, "strong" and "strength". However, in the case of *titimaha*, *a titimaha kode* "the universal mother", (*tina* "mother"), and *leraha* "middle" (*leca* "side, part"), *ha* is a noun suffix added to words which are nouns.

There are instances in the texts of *ha* being used as a verbal suffix: *kibo* "to transgress", *kiboha* "adultery, to commit adultery"; *hihilu* "to mock", *ara hihiluhava aia* "they mocked him". The transitive verbal suffixes *hi*, *si*, see § 11, are used as verbal noun suffixes: *na veseali* "goodness", *na kibohasi* "adultery". In the later instance *si* is added to an existing noun suffix. In Inakona *ga*, the Vaturanga *ha* is used as a verbal suffix: *toba* "heart", *tobaga* "to love".

ana is used, as in Bugotu, as a noun suffix, being added to both transitive and intransitive verbs: *sasi* "to err", *unaga na sasilahiniana* "my error", *na vano saheana* "ascend", *na ha saheana* "entry", *na dodoniana* "wisdom", *na romponiana* "hearing", *na kibohasiana* "adultery". Its use with intransitive verbs precludes the idea that *ana* is composed of the gerundival form *a* and *na*, the suffixed pronoun.

Three words in the texts, *meta* "coming", *maha* "death", *vanoa* "going", show the use of *a* as a noun suffix, the pronouns of possession being suffixed.

11. In Vaturanga, as in Bugotu, there is a use of the gerundival form *a* with *na* and *dira*, the suffixed pronouns of possession, 3rd pers. sing. and pl.; the suffixing of these pronouns shows *a* to be a noun. The verbs which have this gerundival form *a* suffixed are always transitive, and hence *na* and *dira* are used as objects: *janli* "to reach", *na janliana* "to reach it", *na lutiava* "the forbidding of him"; *na peroaia aia* "to betray him", shows an object following: *na ngiti votaana na bread* "the breaking of the bread, to break bread" shows a compound verb with a gerundival use and with an object following. The second member of such a compound phrase need not, however, be a transitive verb: *labu tobo* "to kill for no reason", *na labu toboana* "to murder him", *na taonidira* "to follow them".

12. Genitive. A genitive relation is shown (1) by the use of the preposition *na* "of": *na rara na hai* "a tree-branch", *vava na aso* "village of the sun", *na tako na tutuuna* "the shield of faith", *hira*

na hoko na sasavo "the words of prayer". No article is used after *na* according to the usual Melanesian custom. Tasiko, New Hebrides has *na* as a genitive. *MIL.*, p. 238; see also *MIL.*, pp. 287, 337, for *ne* as a genitive, and compare the use of *e* in Lau, which may be for *ne* through the loss of *n*; (2) by the use of the suffixed pronouns of possession, 3rd pers. sing. and pl.: *hira na dalena na marawena* "they its children the world", i.e. "the children of the world"; *na liliua na sautu* "the side of the path", *na matadira hira na tinoni* "the eyes of men"; (3) by the use of the possessive nouns *ni, a*, with the pronouns of possession, 3rd pers. sing. or pl., suffixed: *na manabo nina a God* "the peace of God", *hira na hau adira na mane* "the men's knives".

13. Prefix. An instrumental prefix *i* is seen in the words *iko* "crook", *itai* "bond", *tai* "cord". *Tama* is a prefix, as in Florida and Bugotu, used with relationship terms: *tasi* "brother, sister", *na tamatasi* "brethren".

14. Plural. Plurality is denoted by the use of *hira*, personal pronoun, 3rd pers. pl., preceding a noun with the article *na*, see § 5: *hira na mane* "the males, the men folk", *hira de* "these", *hira ngene* "those"; *hira* is used even when the anticipatory object *hira* "them" immediately precedes: *aia na taovia kaputihira hira na tinoni* "he is lord over men"; but the plural article *hira* is not used when the forms *dira, adira* "their" precede: *hira na ome adira na tinoni ngene* "the things belonging to the men", *na tahaadirira na ome* "to take the things".

The word *kode* "finished, all" is added to a noun to denote completion or totality; *kode lalaka* denotes "all, completely"; *lalaka* is a reduplicated form of *laka* "perfect, whole, very good"; *hira na ome kode lalaka* "every thing" (Inakona *lakalaka*); *leleroka* means "all kinds of", and also conveys the notion of plurality: *na ome leleroka* "all kinds of things"; *popono* "to be whole, closed, complete" denotes "all": *na vera popono* "the whole land".

15. Four nouns, *mena, paku, mate, rongo* deserve notice: *mena* means "place, thing, instrument for"; *na mena liu* "the way of going", *mena tete sava* "way of crossing, bridge", *na mena covou* "a stretcher", *na mena bonqi* "an hour", *tana mena* "while, when"; *paku* means "thick end, trunk, the real thing, very, actual, master"; *na*, the possessive pronoun, 3rd pers. sing., may be suffixed: *na pukuna na hui* "a log", *na puku rale, na pukuna na rale* "the master of the house", *pukuna na mana* "its real power, truly powerful", *taho paku* "to inherit", *taho pukaha* "to be free".

Mate and *rongo* are used with all the suffixed pronouns of possession : *mate* means "because, because of, concerning, sake" : *matena, na matena* "because" ; the personal pronouns may be added as well : *mateda ihita* "concerning us, for our sake" , *matenggu inau* "for my sake" ; *rongo* means "cause, reason, because of, on account of" , *na rongoda ihita* "because of us" .

pipi "each, every, all" is a noun : *pipihira na tinoni* "all the people" : *pipi asei, pipi sei* "every one, each" : *ihita pipihita na rarada kode* "we are all members of each other" , *pipi bongi, na pipi bongi* "every day" .

16. Gender. To denote gender, *mane* "male" is added for males, and *kakare* "woman" for females. Bishop Steward says that *na boo na mane* does not mean "a male pig" , but "a feast of pork for males only" , where the second *na* is evidently the preposition *na* "of" .

17. The reduplication of a noun serves to denote an inferior sort : *tinoni* "man" , *titinoni* "wooden image" , *naa* "coco-nut" , *ninniu* "palm" .

IV. PRONOUNS

18. (1) Personal :—

Sing.	1. <i>inau, nau, au.</i>
	2. <i>ihoe, hoe, o.</i>
	3. <i>aua.</i>
Pl.	1 incl. <i>ihita, hita, a.</i>
	1 excl. <i>ihamu, hamu, amu.</i>
	2. <i>ihamu, hamu, amu.</i>
	3. <i>ihira, hira, ara.</i>
Dual	1 incl. <i>kuta.</i>
	1 excl. <i>kuami.</i>
	2. <i>kuamu.</i>
	3. <i>kura.</i>
Trial	1 incl. <i>tabuhita.</i>
	1 excl. <i>taluhamu.</i>
	2. <i>taluhamu.</i>
	3. <i>taluhira.</i>

19. The forms in the 3rd pers. sing. and pl. are used of things as well as of persons. The forms *nau* and *hoe* of the 1st and 2nd pers. sing. are not in very common use.

The forms in the first column may follow the nouns *mate* and *rongo*, § 15, when the suffixed pronouns of possession have been attached to

these nouns ; see instances above ; also *seni* "alone" ; *senina au* "he alone, by himself" ; the dual and trial forms are added to nouns used with the suffixed pronouns of possession when speaking of two or of three people : *ko tobadira kura* "the hearts of the two of them"

The short forms in the third column are used by themselves as the subject : *au vano* "I am going" ; but the long forms of the first column, *inau*, etc., must always be followed in the singular and plural by the shorter forms either of the second or of the third columns, while the forms of the second column must always be followed by the short forms. However, *hoe* is never used with *ihoe*, though it may serve as a subject, being followed by *o*. The forms of the third column when used with those of the other two columns, practically take the place which verbal particles occupy in such languages as, e.g., Mota and Sa'a, but they are definitely pronouns. The dual and trial forms are never used alone as the subject, but are always followed by the short plural forms of the third column.

The use of the forms with *i* prefixed conveys a certain amount of emphasis ; the copula *ma* may often precede : *ihoe ko totu* ; *minau ku vano* "you will stay ; I shall go"

au is composed of *a*, the personal article, and *u*, the true form of the pronoun, 1st pers. sing. (*ML.*, p. 118) ; in Bugotu and Florida and Longgu *u* is used by itself as the personal pronoun, 1st pers. sing. ; *au* is compounded with the verbal particle *ke* in the form *kau*. The *h* which appears in *ihoe*, *ihita*, etc., is for the *g* of the Florida forms. *o* is for *go*, through the dropping of the consonant (*ML.*, p. 118).

o used with a verb may denote an imperative ; but *o vano*, with a rising intonation, may denote the question "Are you going?" *o* is compounded with *ke*, the verbal particle, in the form *ko*.

aia is composed of *a*, the personal article, and *ia*, the common Melanesian pronoun, 3rd pers. sing. ; it is used with the verbal particles *e*, *ke* : *aia e hoko nina* "he spoke for his part", *aia de* "he, this person", *maia (ma aia) na soana* "and this is his name", *aia mumu* "this, this person, he who, I mean", *aia a tamana* "his father", *aia na mane* "the man, he who", *aia na aso* "the sun", *aia na tinoni aia a Lord e ba reseali aia* "the man whom the Lord blesses"

a of 1st pers. pl. is for *ta* (cf. *ta* in the dual form *kuta*, and in Florida *gita*) through the dropping of *t* ; Api has *ita*, Raga *ta*, Oba *da* (*ML.*, p. 113) for "we" incl., and Florida has *a*, and Bugotu *ati*, 1st pers. pl. incl., while Duke of York has *diat* "we". The *ti* of the Bugotu form *ati*, has been shown to be part of *vati*, the numeral for

“four”,¹ so it may be concluded that the Vaturanga and Florida *a*, as above, and the *a* of Bugotu *ati*, are for the personal pronoun *ta*, “we” incl., through the dropping of *t*.

The forms *ami*, *amu*, are shortened forms of *hami*, *hamu*, i.e. *gami*, *gamu*, through the dropping of *g*; *hamu* is used as an imperative and also as a vocative: *hamu vano* “go ye!”; *hamu, hira na baka* “you boys!”; but *bakamiu* “you boys!” is a colloquial use.

ara is composed of *a*, the personal article, and *ra*, the common Melanesian pronoun, 3rd pers. pl., “they”; *ara* may be used by itself as subject, or it is used following the longer forms. The forms *a*, *ami*, *amu*, *ara* are compounded with the verbal particle *ke* in the forms *ka*, *kami*, *kamu*, *kara*.

The *ku* of the dual forms is paralleled by *ka* of Sa'a *kara* “we two” incl., and also by *ko* used with the dual, see § 22.

The prefix *tabu* of the trial forms is evidently a form of the numeral *totu* “three”; and the trial forms are composed of *tabu* used with the plural forms *hita*, etc. The trial number is used of three persons.

20. There is a form *ko* which is used with the dual forms, following the governing pronoun or pronouns: it expresses the idea “two people”, and is used thus before possessive nouns or prepositions to which the pronoun *dira* is suffixed: *uara ko kotza a James na a John* “as also did James and John”, *kuama kama ko tarapometua* “you two are able”, *ti kura kara ko sasaro* “that they two might pray”, *kura ko dira na raho* “their nets”, *tana ko calodira* “in their house”, *a ko tinadira kura* “the mother of the two”, *ko kamadira kura* “the hands of the two”. This *ko*, and also *ku* of the dual form above, may be a change from *ra* (*rua*) “two”, through *l*. Inakona has the forms *tako*, *moko*, *muko*, *ako*, in the dual, where *ko* is evidently the *ko* of Vaturanga.

21. *tabu* is used of three persons just as *ko* is used of two persons: *kara tabu totu* “they three will sit”, *ara tabu sesake* “they three went up”, *e visu mai tabu konidira* “he returned to the three of them”, *ko, tabu, dalemiu* “the children of you two, of you three”. The forms *tabuhita*, etc., are composed of *tabu* and *hita*, *hamu*, etc.

22. (2) Pronouns suffixed to verbs and prepositions as the object:

Sing. 1. *au*.

2. *ho*.

For the 3rd pers. sing. the personal pronoun *aiu* is used as the

¹ See *Bugotu Grammar*, Ivens.

object ; in the plural number the personal pronouns *hita*, *hami*, etc. are used as the object, and in the dual and trial numbers also the personal pronouns are used as the object. The form *ho* is paralleled by Florida *go*, Sa'a 'o.

aia and *hira* are used as anticipatory objects following a preposition or a verb, but only in the case of persons : while *hira* is regularly used in this way, the use of *aia* as an anticipatory object is more or less confined to prepositions : *vaniaia ninggua a Lord* "to my Lord", *kau labuhira ara hini jika aia* "I will destroy them that hate him".

In Vaturanga there is no plural ending in *i* such as is used in Florida to denote the object when things are in question.

The pronouns of the object are suffixed to *taile* "in vain" : *taileau*, *taileiaia*, *tailehira*, in agreement with the person or persons.

23. (3) Pronouns suffixed to nouns to denote possession :

Sing.	1. <i>nggu.</i>	Pl.	1 incl. <i>da.</i>
	2. <i>mu.</i>		1 excl. <i>mami.</i>
	3. <i>na.</i>		2 <i>miu.</i>
			3 <i>dira.</i>

These forms are the same as in Florida, except in the 3rd pers. pl. where Florida has *dia*, *dira*, with *ni* used of things.

For the nouns that take these suffixed pronouns see § 8. The suffixing of *na*, *dira*, to nouns may convey a genitive idea, see § 12 : *na papasana kokoji* "the dust of the earth", *na lorana na tinoni* "a man's head", *na madoalira hira na tinoni* "men's right hands" : also *na* and *dira* are suffixed to prepositions as anticipatory objects : *i polina na kema* "on the sea", *i komidira hira na tabu* "among the saints". Certain verbs have the pronominal form *na* suffixed as an object, or used as an anticipatory object : *ara titibongina matena* "they made a promise about it", *e rei papalana* "he perceived it", *ara papada zajana* "they were aware of it", *na malobuna na susuba* "to keep the commandment", *ke tarahana na jupu* "to feed the flock" ; *veihalure* "to have pity on" is used with all of the above forms of the pronouns suffixed as object ; *talao* "to be angry", *tamani* "to own" have the pronominal forms suffixed in agreement with the person or persons : *aia e talaona* "he is angry", *e tamanidira* "he is their master".

The personal pronouns *inau*, *hita*, etc., may be added to nouns to which the above pronouns have already been suffixed : *na matela hita* "on our account", *na kimanggu inau* "my hand", *na rongoda ihita* "because of us".

The plural forms *mami*, *miu*, *dira*, are used with the article *na* : *na mami* "our", *na miu* "your", *na dira* "their"; these precede the noun; for the 1st pers. pl. incl. *na nida* is used: these forms are also used following the verb, but without an article and meaning "for our part", etc.

24. (4) Possessives: *ni*, *ha*. These are nouns and are used with the pronouns *nggu*, *mu*, *na*, etc., added to the possessive form.

<i>ni</i> :	Sing.	1. <i>ninggu</i> .	Pl.
		2. <i>nimu</i> .	1 excl. <i>nimami</i> .
		3. <i>nina</i> .	2. <i>nimiu</i> .

There is no *a* added to the forms in the 1st and 2nd pers. sing., as occurs in Florida and Bugotu.

ni denotes (1) "my, mine", etc., (2) "for my part", etc.: in the former case it either precedes or follows the noun with which it is used, and the article *na* may precede it: *na nina na pui* "his dog", *na nina ome na tinoni ngene* "that man's things", *na halure nina dida a God* "the mercy of our God": in the latter case it follows the predicate and is not preceded by *na*. Nouns which do not take the suffixed pronouns are used with the possessive *ni*; see also *ha* below.

In the plural *dida* is used for the 1st pers. incl., and *dira* for the 3rd pers. The forms in Florida for the same persons are *dida*, *didira*. Codrington states (*ML.*, p. 528) that this is probably due to the attraction of *d* to *n*; but in Vaturanga the plural pronominal forms, *dida*, *mami*, *miu*, *dira* are used as meaning "our, you, their", and it will be noticed that these, with the exception of *dida*, are the forms which are suffixed to nouns to denote possession. (In the Longgu language the form *mami* occurs in the existing texts with a similar use.) It would seem, then, that in Vaturanga, the plural forms in § 23 are also used to denote possession without being suffixed to a possessive form. In this case *dida* may be a reduplicated form of *da*, with the vowel changed to correspond with *i* of *hita* "we" incl.: while the Florida *didira* may be a reduplicated form of *dira*, rather than a change from *nidira*.

ha. The pronouns which are suffixed to *ha* are those of § 23: *ha* denotes close relationship, and is used also of things to eat and drink; it is not used, however, of the relationship terms, but it is used with the words for "companion, neighbour, enemy": *hana udu* "his friend, companion", *hamu na vera kolu* "your neighbour",

hanggu na lina mate "my enemy", *hana ko* "his water to drink", *hana muza* "his food", *hadira* "their food". A prefix *a* is added to the forms *ninggu*, *nimu*, *nina*: *aninggu* "for my part", *aningna* "for his part, his doing"; there are no instances in the text of the forms *animami*, *animiu*, but they doubtless occur. This *a* is also prefixed to the forms *mami*, *müu*, *dira*: *amami* "for our part" etc. There is a form *adida* "for our part, our doing", which shows *a* prefixed to *dida*. These forms with *a* precede or follow the noun and are not used with the article *na*.

25 (5) Demonstratives. "This, here," *de*, *ade*, *iade*: "these," *hira de*; "that," *ngene*, *angene*, *iangene*; "those," *hira ngene*; "that person," *a mea ngene*. It is probable, as Codrington says, that *de*, *ngene*, primarily mean "here, there".

ade is composed of *a*, personal article, and *de*: *iade* shows the presence of the *i* which is used with the pronouns *inau*, etc., in Melanesian languages; *de* may be added to *kouza* "thus": *kouza de*, *e kouza de* "thus, in this fashion".

A demonstrative *di* denotes "this very", and has an explanatory use as well; it also serves to enliven the diction; it follows the word with which it is used: *inau numu di* "it is I indeed", *e kouza di* "just so", *kura di* "we indeed", *aia ke rongomi di* "let him then hear"; *di*, like the Bugotu demonstrative *ri*, is used of a preterite: *aia e totu noho di* "he has sat down".

26. (6) Interrogatives. *asei* "who?" plural, *hirasei?* *hua*, *na hua* "what?" *asei nasoamu* "what (who) is your name?" *hirasei ngene*, *mara panete na hua* "who are those (they) and what are they doing?" *e hua*, *ke hua*, *koi hua*, *laka ke hua* "how?" *o hua* "what are you doing? how are you?"

The interrogatives are also used as indefinites: *asei na lina mutu* "some enemy".

27. A distributive meaning is conveyed by *pipi*, see § 15. *visa*, *visana* denote "other, another, some": *mara visa* "others", *visa muza* "any, some, food", *na visana* "another, the other", *hira visana*, *hira na visana*, *hira e visana* "others". The numeral *kesa* "one", is used to denote "the one . . . the other": *e kesa . . . e kesa*.

28. Relatives. There are no relative pronouns. A relative sense is conveyed (1) by the addition of *a mea* "the person, he who" to the name of a person: *a Judas ngene*, *a mea e pero aia* "that Judas (it was), the person who betrayed him"; (2) by the use of the pronoun

ara "they": *amu dodoni hirasei ara vano* "you know them they are coming", i.e. "those who are coming": (3) by the use of a dependent clause: *a Judas ngene, maia e pero aia* "that Judas (it was), and he betrayed him".

29. A word *seni* "alone, by oneself, of one's own accord", is used with or without the suffixed pronouns of possession: *inau seninggu* "I alone", *senina aia* "he alone", *e kesa seni* "different, a different thing", *hita seni* "we ourselves".

V. ADJECTIVES

30. Words which qualify nouns are used in a verbal form, i.e. they are used with a verbal particle: and all so-called adjectives, except those with a definite adjectival form, are really verbs.

Adjectival suffixes: *ha, a*.

ha (Florida *ga*) is used (a) with nouns: *habu* "blood", *habuha* "bloody"; *mangu* "dirt", *manguha* "dirty"; *kakaru* "thorn", *kakaruha* "thorny"; (b) with verbs: *bau* "to be dirty", *bauha* "dirty"; *bule* "to be foolish", *bubuleha* "foolish"; *matahu* "to fear", *matahuha* "fearful".

Adjectives, with or without an adjectival ending, are used with the verbal particle *e*: *na Taranga e Tabu* "the Holy Ghost"; *na manu e vesea* "a good man". In the latter case the particle may be dropped.

The adjectival suffix *a* is seen in *sai* "always" (*sai* "to join"); *hanoa* "grown up" (Bugotu, *gano* "to be full grown").

The verbal suffixes, *li*,¹ *si*, may take an adjectival meaning: *na ome bubulehasi* "a foolish thing", *maturu veseali* "to sleep well", *me pado kaso sosongoli na tobana* "his mind was much grieved". For a different use of *li*, *si*, see § 10.

Adjectival prefixes: *ma, ta (tata), tapa, tara*.

ma: *madeli* "smooth, slippery" (Lau, Mala, *afe-dali* "smooth"), *manguha* "burdened" (Lau *gulu* "to be heavy"), *matulu* "thick", *maluka* "soft, gentle", *maderi* "thin".

ta is used of condition, and is prefixed to verbs: *tanggoti* "broken", *takuti, tatakuti* "to break off, broken off", *kuti* "to cut", *taraji* "to break, broken", *raji* "to rend", *tatavota* "separated", *vota* "to divide".

tapa is used of spontaneity: *tapatuhuru* "to leap upright".

tara is also used of spontaneity: *taranusi* "untied, to come

¹ *li* is used in Fiji as an adjectival suffix. *JL.*, p. 168

undone", *nusi* "to loose", *tavakeji* "to depart", *tavatuhuru* "to get up".

31. Comparison of Adjectives. Comparison is expressed by the use of *ba* following the verb and carrying the meaning of "rather, very", and denoting degree: *e veihaluve ba* "very miserable", *me kara taho pabo ba* "and they shall receive more", *e loki ba* "rather big, too big"; to denote comparisons, *ba* is used with the preposition *koni*, *i koni* "with, from": *ara avo ba i konidira* "they are more than they", *na boo e loki ba i konina na bohu* "a pig is bigger than a rat".

There is also a use of *ba* with *tana* "in, from" to express comparison. It would seem that *tana* is used properly of things only, while *koni*, *i koni* is used properly of persons.

This *ba* is evidently the verb *ba* meaning "to go", see § 37; and its use as both verb and a means of comparison is paralleled by a similar use of *va* in Florida.

The verb *puji*, "to pass by, farther on", is used with *ba* or with *kae* "up" following, to denote comparisons: *puji ba*, *e puji ba*, "greater", *e puji kae i konidira* "is great among them", i.e. "is greater than they", *e puji kae ba* "it is greater, greatest". A superlative is expressed by *sata* "very, numerous": *e loki sata* "very big, too big".

VI. VERBS

32. Verbal Particles. The verb in Vaturanga is conjugated by means of verbal particles or of pronominal forms; any word used with the verbal particles is a verb, whatever be its form.

The verbal particles precede the verb and may be used with or without a subject expressed. The particles in use are *e*, *ke*, the former being without temporal significance and the latter being used of the future. The verbal particle *e* is used of 3rd pers. sing. only. Apart from its use with adjectives, § 30, *e* is used without a subject expressed when the meaning is "there is, it is": *e tahara* "it is not, no", *e reseva* "it is good", *e manana* "it is true, verily", *e koaza* "thus, saying"; *e* may be used with a subject: *na aso e aso* "the sun shines", *na usa e usa* "the rain rained"; a subject may be understood: *e hoko vaniau* "he spoke to me". There is a use of *e* with a plural subject which is used collectively: *hira na ome nina a Lord e puji kae* "the things of the Lord are great"; *e* is used in the expressions *e hua* "how?" *e ngisa* "how many?" The numerals from "one" to "ten" are preceded by *e*: *e kesa* "one".

The verbal particle *ke* is used in an uncompounded form of the 3rd pers. sing. only : it is used without a subject when the meaning is "there will be, it will" : *ke usa* "it will rain", *ke aso* "it will be fine weather", *ke mate* "almost dead", *ke jikai* "only one, if one", *ke ruka* "only two, if two, let it be two" : it may be used with a subject : *na kokoji ke hini vura ha mai na mouza* "the earth shall give her increase". Also it is used in certain phrases in an uncompounded form : *ke ba me ba* "for ever and ever", *ke ngeni* "to-day, of time to come", *ke dani* "to-morrow", *ke hua* "how will it be ?"

ke is compounded with the short pronominal forms *au, o, a, ami, amu*, and also with *ara* : the resulting forms are *kau, ko, ka, kami, kamu, kara*. These forms are used of the future or the subjunctive, or with a conditional force : *ko* and *kamu* are also used of the imperative. The compound forms are used either by themselves as the subject, or they follow the longer pronominal forms *inau, ihoe, ihita*, etc. The Florida forms *u, o, a, ai, au* (*ML.*, p. 530), to which the particles *te* and *ke* are prefixed, are evidently pronouns, *u* and *o* (*ML.*, p. 118) being the true forms of the pronoun, 1st and 2nd pers. sing., while *a, ai, au* show the loss of *t* and *m*, since the forms *ta, ami, amu* occur elsewhere in Melanesia. Longgu has the forms *u* and *o*.

The past tense. A definite past is shown by the use of the adverb *noho* "already" (Maori, *noho* "to sit") following the verb ; a sentence such as *hirasei ara kavi hira* may be rendered as "those who carve them" or "those who carved them". The particle *na* is used following the verb, as in Longgu, to denote a preterite : *na hua o hoko na* "the thing which you said". See also the use of *di*, § 25.

33. Imperative. For the imperative the verb is either used directly and without a pronominal subject, or else it is used with the pronouns of the second person either singly or with the addition of the particle *ke* : *atu* "be off !", *amu mai, kamu mai, amu ke mai* "come here !"

34. Conditional. Conditional clauses or sentences have the particles *e, ke*, used with the conjunction *ti* preceding : *ti e, ti ke*.

ti denotes "if, supposing that, haply, in order to, to" : *ti ko rerei aia* "if you see him", *ti e tabara* "if not, or else", *(ti) ke tau* "lest", *ti na hua ke tau nanga* "lest anything be lost", *e tahara tau ti ke sanga au* "there is no one to help me", *na prophet namu di ti ke mai* "that prophet who should come", *ti hoc ko tau teri na tuamou* "lest thou strike thy foot".

35. Negatives. The negative used with verbs is *tau* : both the verbal particles are used with *tau* : *aia e tau zajahana* "he does not

understand", *ti aia ke tau molo luaniho* "lest he deliver you"; no particle is used when the past tense is in view: *au tau rei* "I did not see". A word *tahara* denotes "not to be, not": *e tahara* "it is not (so)", *tahara tau* "not at all", *tahara pipizu* "certainly not, by no manner of means". Inakona has *tagaru, tara*, thus used.

Dehortative. For the dehortative or prohibitive *jika* and *mole* are used; these are both verbs: *jika* means "to hate, reject, avoid" (Florida, *sika*), and *mole* means "leave alone, leave off"; both are followed by a noun form, and the pronouns of the second persons may precede, being compounded with the verbal particle *ke*: *jika na totu sivo* "don't sit down!", *jika na varano* "don't go!", *ko mole na papadana* "don't think of it!", *mole na matahu* "don't fear".

36. Illative. The illative is *visi, visini* "then, thereupon, immediately, just now"; it precedes the verb and is used with the verbal particles.

37. Verbal Prefixes. The causative prefix is *ba* "to make, cause to be"; *ba* may be used with an intransitive verb, making it transitive, or it may be used with a transitive verb, thus increasing its active sense: *mate* "to die", *matesi* "to kill", *ba matesi* "to kill", *na ba matesiana* "the killing of him", *sori* "to bind", *ara ba sorihira* "they bound him", *ke ba hini soadato na soamu* "thy name shall be glorified", *o ba tuji paepanete* "make ready", *ba kakaisi* "to make straight", *ba jijili* "to make red". So far as the texts are concerned, it is difficult to distinguish between the use of the causative *ba* and the verb *ba* "to go"; and since it is hardly likely that the causative *ba* is a form of the common Solomon Island causative *va*, it may be that *ba* "to go" is also used as the causative in Vaturanga.

There is a frequent use of the verb *ba* "to go" before another verb as a kind of auxiliary: *mara ba jau* "and they came, reached", i.e. "they reached": *a Hoko e ba tinoni* "the Word became man", *me ke ba e kesa na bara* "and there shall be one fold", *ba vano* "to go", *ba dato, ba sahe* "to go up, ascend", *me ba panete* "and it came to pass"; compare the use of *lae* "to go, to be" in Sa'a: *e lae i diana* "it went good", i.e. "it is good", *nou lae oto i manataine* "I go to knowing it", i.e. "I know it"; and the use of *la* "to go" in Longgu: *ara la varara itana* "those who (go) trust in him"; and of *pa* or *ba* in Sesake (*ML.*, p. 166): also of *va* in Florida (*ML.*, p. 532). Instances are found in the texts of *va* used as a causative: *valaka* "to make tidy", *varuro* "to turn round", *ravarongo* "a listener". These may perhaps be due to a Florida translator.

38. A prefix *hi* is used to denote consequence of action. "thereupon, then, and, next, again, in turn, at all": *ko jika na hi mataku* "have no more fear", *me ke hi na rukaniina na bojana mai* "and be born the second time", *ke tau hi inuwi hoto* "will not drink it again", *ke hi saheli na sahorena na dani* "and then put on the armour of light", *ti ke tau hi puka* "that I fall not again", *ke ba hi kujapili joni na maramana* "before the foundation of the world". The use of *hi* corresponds in a measure with that of the Sa'a *hau*, which is used of repetition or continuance.

39. A prefix *hini* also denotes consequential action: *maia e hini poro aia* "and he (then) touched him", *mau hini bulu tana vina na veila* "and I continue in his love" "to *ke ba hini hotoli hami* "to justify us", *au hini sabuni a mia, me hini rarano* "I then sent so-and-so, who thereupon went", *maru hini recesu aia* "and then they questioned him".

hini has an additional meaning of "thereat, about, concerning" (Longgu *vini*): *e tuji hini molobongi* "he first made a promise about it", *jika na hini tutumina* "believe it not", *ko jika na hini hoko rani ase* "tell no one about it".

hini is used with certain verbs in the way that *ni*, the "prepositional verb", is used in Florida and Bugotu: in these cases the pronoun of the object is not suffixed to *hini*, as it is to *ni* in the other two languages, but follows the verb in the ordinary way: *hini dodoni* "to think", *hini jika* "to hate", *hini kate* "to declare", *hini kesi* "to harm", *hini liu* "to change", *hini sore* "to be unwilling", *ara hini jika hita* "they hated us". It is probable that this *hini* is *hi* the verbal prefix, and *ni* the "prepositional verb". It certainly is not the instrumental preposition *hini*, q.v. below.

40. Reciprocal Prefix. The reciprocal prefix is *vei*, *vevi*, *veivi*: the transitive suffix *hi* is generally added to a verb which is used with the reciprocal prefix: the suffixing of *hi* does not necessarily cause the verb to become transitive: *veivatahi* "to be divided one against the other", *veipumiki* "to run a race", *veisoasoahi* "to call one another": in some cases the reciprocal form, with or without *hi*, is used both as noun and verb: *veisuhuradibi* "a dispute, to dispute", *veihalure* "mercy, to be merciful", *veizaza* "distress, to be in need". There is a form *vehi* which follows the verb and has a reciprocal meaning: *kamu veihoko veibi* "speak to one another". This form may be compared with the Bugotu *vevigi* "mutually".

41. Verbal Suffixes. The suffixes which are added to verbs to make them transitive are:—

- (1) Simple : *hi, ki, li, mi, ni, ngi, ri, si, ti, vi.*
oli “to change”, *olih* “to change something”.
tuji “to be first”, *tujiki* “to do a thing first”.
aca “to be equal”, *azali* “to liken, to equalize”.
lubu “to drown”, *lubumi* “to drown a thing, to be drowned”.
matahu “to fear”, *matahuni* “to be afraid of”.
mana “to be powerful”, *manangi* “to empower”.
tapo “to slap”, *tapori* “to clap (the hands)”.
mate “to be ill, to die”, *matesi* “to kill”.
luba “to loose”, *lubati* “to loose something”.
inu “to drink”, *inuvi* “to drink of”.

In compound verbs the second verb is used with a transitive suffix even when the first verb has a transitive force, or is used itself with a transitive suffix; the second verb often carries an adverbial sense: *maturu reseali* “to sleep soundly”, *turuvahini kakaisi* “to set up firmly”, *me pada kaso sosongoli na tobana* “his heart was grieved”, *ngao lokisi* “to desire earnestly”; *labati* “openly” (*laba* “to appear”), *vulahi* “openly” (*vula* “to appear”), are used as adverbs. In some cases a compound verb, the second member of which is used with a suffix, may be used as a noun: *na hoko reseali* “praise”, *na reseali* “goodness”.

A verb with a transitive suffix is sometimes used as a noun: *mate* “to die”, *na matesi* “death”; *tangi* “to cry”, *tatangisi* “to bewail”, *na tatangisi* “wailing”; *kibo* “to be at fault, to commit adultery”, *kibohasi* “to commit adultery, adultery”. In the latter example the transitive suffix *si* is added to *ha*, see § 10.

The transitive suffixes may be used with a verb which is preceded by *ba*: *ba lokisi* “to increase the size of”, *ba matesi* “to kill”.

These transitive suffixes are not used according to any particular rule; it merely happens that a particular suffix is attached to a certain verb. Some verbs take two different suffixes: *nanggu* “to be dirty”, *nanguhali, nanguhasi* “to defile”, where *li* and *si* are attached to the suffix *ha*.

hini (Florida *gini*) is also used as a transitive suffix: *tubula* “to stumble”, *tububuhi, tubulahini* “to cause to stumble”, *soa* “a name, to name”, *soahini* “to give a name to”, *daovi* “to rub, anoint”, *daovihini* id.; *voli* “to buy”, *na volihiniana* “to buy him”.

(2) Compound: *kahini*, *lahini*, *ngahini*, *rahini*, *sahini*, *tahini*, *vahini*.

These suffixes convey a *definite* transitive force to the verb, and are perhaps more recognizable as transitive suffixes than are the simple forms. Some verbs use both simple and compound suffixes: *nanga* "to be lost", *nangali*, *nangalahini* "to lose".

ara "to swing, to disperse", *arakahini* "to throw away, to disperse".

loro "to fly", *lorolahini* "to fly off with".

kada "to be heavy", *kadangahini* "to be too difficult for".

jimi "to drizzle", *jimirahini* "to sprinkle".

labu "to strike", *labusahini* "to strike a person".

vose "to paddle", *vosetahini* "to paddle a canoe".

ngora "to lie down", *ngorarahini* "to knock down".

The suffix *tahini* also means "away". A verb with a compound suffix may be used as a noun: *sasi* "to err", *na sasilahini* "error".

42. Reduplication of Verb. A verb is reduplicated by the doubling of the first syllable: *anggo*, *angganggo*; *vano*, *vavano*. The reduplicated forms, *paepanete* (from *panete*) and *veivei* (from *vei*) are irregular.

The reduplication of a verb signifies continued or intensive action, and also changes or modifies its meaning. Some verbs exist only in a reduplicated form. The mere repetition of a verb may signify continued or intensive action: *aia e vano me vano me vano* "he went on and on".

43. Reflexive. A reflexive sense is conveyed by the use of *visu* "to return, back", following the verb: *aia e labu matesi visu aia* "he killed himself"; *tubu* "to exchange" may be added to *visu*.

44. Passive. There is no special way of forming the passive; but *ba* may denote a passive, the verb being used without a subject: *me ba panete* "and it was done, it came to pass", *me ba mare* "it is written", *a mea e ba voli aia* "the person who was bought": in some cases the subject may be expressed, a transitive suffix being added to the verb: *e kakaisi na laonggu* "my heart is strengthened". A passive sense is given by the use of the 3rd pers. pl. of the pronoun: *ara joko saiau i konidiri* "they numbered me among them", i.e. "I was numbered".

45. Order of the Sentence. The subject frequently occurs at the end of the sentence, though not necessarily so: *na mena e sunu na aso* "when the sun was setting", *e visu mai a tasimu* "your brother has

returned", *na rara na hai ke tau vua* "a branch that does not bear fruit".

The sentences are rather balanced than made dependent the one on the other, and the copulative *ma* "and" is often introduced where in English no copula would be used: *pipi rara ke vua, maia ke vingge malesi na rara ngene* "every branch (that) does not bear fruit, and he purges that branch".

46. The anticipatory object. The pronouns of the 3rd pers. sing., *aia* in the case of persons, and of the 3rd pers. pl. *hira*, in the case of both persons and things, are used as anticipatory, or extra objects of verbs and prepositions: *vaniaia na tidaonggu* "to my soul", *kau labuhira hira ara hini jika aia* "I will destroy them that hate him"; but this is not always done in the case of verbs, see § 22: *kau turuvahini hira na tutungamu* "I will set up thy descendants".

VII. ADVERBS

47. Time. *mu* "yet, still" (Florida *mugua*) follows the verb: *tau mu* "never", *tahara mu* "not at all", *kesa mu* "only one", *mole mu* "wait a while!"; *vati, viti* "yet" precede the verb: *e tau viti boja mu* "he was not yet born", *e tau viti visu mai* "he has not returned yet"; *tujì* "first, before all", precedes the verb: *hoto* "again, also, moreover", follows the verb; *noho* "already", follows the verb, and is used as a preterite: *saia* "always, for ever", follows the verb: *poi* "until": the verbal particles *e, ke*, may follow: *poi jauhi, poi ke jauhi* "until, as far as", *poi kau vano* "till I come", *sau ba* "in a little while, soon", *kalina de* "this time, now", *i ngeni* "to-day", of present or past time: *ke ngeni* "to-day", of part of the day to come: *ke dani* "to-morrow", *ke dani ke hira* "by and by, in the future"; *hira* in this phrase is perhaps *hi* the verbal prefix, § 38, and *ra* "to shine", *kisa* "soon", *na dani* "by day", *na bonqi* "by night", *i no* "yesterday", *nona de* "the day before yesterday", *i ngari* "of old", *ke ngari* "hereafter", *volungana* "a little while ago, the day before yesterday", *i ngisa, ke ngisa* "when"?

Place: *ile* "here, there", *tade* "there, here", *tabani de* "on the other side", all show *de*, a demonstrative pronoun: *itana* "here, there, there it is!", *ngge* "there", *i ngge mi ngge* "here and there", *i ara* "where? anywhere", *popoli* "above, around", *i popolina* "above, above it, on top", *mai* "here, hither", *atu* "away"; these last two words are verbs meaning "come here!", "be off!"; the

words *dato*, *puji*, *kae*, all meaning "up", and *sivo* "down", are also verbs; *i koji* "outside", *i hotu* "above", *i vava* "down east", *i longa* "ashore, inland, south", *na mau* "south", *i ata* "west", *i tasi* "north". The last six examples, except *na mau*, all contain the locative preposition *i*.

Manner: *le*, *lele*, *mu*, *le mu* "just, only, merely, at all, any how" (Florida *lee*); *kodasi* (a verb) "thus, in this manner"; these all follow the verb: *koaza*, *koaza de* "thus", *e koaza* "as follows, saying", *laka* "saying", of reported speech: *mumu* "forsooth, that is to say, I mean", is used in explanations and follows the word it qualifies: *au mare mumu di* "I mean, I wrote"; *ngazu* "perhaps", follows the verb; *na hua*, *ke hua*, *koaza na hua*, *laka ke hua* "how?"; *o hua* "what did you do?"; these are also used as indefinites meaning "what?"; *sata*, a superlative, *soana* "very"; both of these follow the verb: *pizu*, *pipizu* "entirely, completely", is only used with the negatives: *tahara pipizu*, *jika pizu* "not at all"; *tau mate pipizu* "not quite dead".

48. The negative adverb is *tahara* "no": *e tahara* "it is not"; *eo*, *ino*, *iso*, all express affirmation; *ni* asks a question, "is it so?" (Sa'a *ni*); *ko ni* "mother" is used in address to a woman by a small child.

VIII. PREPOSITIONS

49. Locative: *i*.
 Rest at: *ita*, *ta*, *tana*, *itana*, *koni*, *i koni*.
 Motion to: *kaputi*.
 Motion from: *ni*, *tani*.
 Dative: *rani*.
 Genitive: *na*.
 Instrumental: *hini*.

The locative *i* is used with place names: *i Vera na aso*: *ita* means "at, on", the pronouns of possession may be added: *ita kokoji* "on the earth"; *ta* is of general significance, and denotes "at, in, from, to" of place: *ta ninggu na mena mamao* "in, from, to, my resting place", *me bunguti tatarata ta na parako* "and gazed steadfastly up into heaven", *ta na cale* "in, to, from, the house"; the pronouns of possession are not suffixed to *ta*, except in the case of *tana*; *tana* denotes "in", and is used with or without the article *na* following; it is composed of *ta*, with *na* the suffixed pronoun, 3rd pers. sing.; it denotes "in, with, belonging to, from": *tana soana*,

tana na soava "in his name"; *tana* is used of comparison, § 31; *itana* denotes "to, in, on, from, here, there, there it is!" There is a use of *itana* in the translations meaning "concerning it". This is probably incorrect, being a rendering of the Mota *apena*; *koni, i koni* denote "with, at, to, from, among"; it takes the place in Vaturanga that *ta* does in Florida; the pronouns of possession are suffixed, and the personal pronouns may be added also: *i konimami hami* "with us", *e turika dato i konidira (hira)* "it began with them"; *ara mai i konimu* "they came from you"; see the use of *saa, see*, in the Sa'a language.

kaputi denotes "against, in the way of, over against"; *na taoria kaputi hira* "the ruler over them", *mole kaputi na table* "put it over by the table". In the translations there are several other uses of *kaputi* which would, incorrectly, make it equivalent to Mota *goro* in all its uses.

ni denotes "belonging to a place", and so "from a place", after the usual Melanesian idiom: *na vaka ni javo* "a Savo ship". Inakona has also this *ni*.

tani means "from", of persons or things; it may be followed by the article *na*, and the pronouns may be suffixed: *ko vano taniau* "depart from me". Codrington regards *tani* as the same as the Florida word *sani*.

vani means "to", and is used of persons only: *ko tusu vaniau* "give it to me"; *vani* is actually a verb with the meaning "to come, to go", and also "to say to, speak to": *e vanihami mai* "he came to us, spoke to us".

The genitive *na* not followed by the article *na*; for examples of its use, see § 12: *ni* is not used as the genitive, though it may occur in certain phrases, e.g. *rau ni dalo* "a fishing-kite", the use of which kite is shown thus to be of Florida origin: *hini* precedes the word it qualifies, and means "by, with, thereby, therewith": *me lalave na hani ke hini ba matesi na boo* "he looked for a knife to kill the pig with", *ke hini ba zajahali hami* "to instruct us therewith", *ke mamare hini na pen* "to write with a pen". There are a few instances in the Vaturanga texts of the use of *hini* meaning "with", of accompaniment: *hini boja, hini rasu* "to be born with": this may be due to a Florida translation.

Codrington equates *hini* (*ML.*, p. 544) with *gini* of the New Hebrides and of Fagani (San Cristoval); it may well be divided into *hi + ni*, for Maewo has both *gi* and *gini* (*ML.*, p. 417), and Gog has *ni* (*ML.*,

p. 375) as instrumentals, and Florida and Bugotu have *nia*, instrumental, and *ni* the "prepositional verb" which is used before certain verbs. See also *hini*, § 39.

Compound prepositions like *i lao* "inside", *i laona* "in it, inside", *i poli*, *i polina* "upon", *i vavana* "underneath", are made up of nouns preceded by the locative *i*.

kolu, a verb meaning "to collect", is used to denote "with": *kolu hita* "together with us", *kobuho* "with thee".

IX. CONJUNCTIONS

50. Copulative: *ma*; *ti*.
 Disjunctive: *ma*, *ma ti*; *diava*; *de*.
 Conditional: *ti*.

The copula *ma* shifts its vowel to e, i, o, to agree with the first vowel of the word following, but *mi* is commonly used whatever be the succeeding vowel; the vowel of *ma* drops before the initial vowel of a succeeding pronoun and also before the verbal particle *e* *maia*, *minau*, etc.; *ma* also denotes "or"; *ma ti* is "but"; *diava* "but" raises a counter idea; it is composed of *de* "or" and *i ava* "where"; *de* is "or"; its vowel drops before *a* and *i*: *dihoe*, *da mea*; for the use of *ti* see § 34; further examples are: *jari vaniaia ti ke mai* "tell him to come", *ti ke tu na hokona* "that the word might be fulfilled".

X. NUMERALS

51. (1) Cardinals:—

<i>kesa</i> "one".	<i>ono</i> "six".
<i>ruka</i> "two".	<i>vitu</i> "seven".
<i>tolu</i> "three".	<i>alu</i> "eight".
<i>vati</i> "four".	<i>siu</i> "nine".
<i>jehē</i> "five".	<i>sangavulu</i> "ten".

These are the ordinary Solomon Island numerals, except *jehē* "five"; *kesa* "one" shows *sa* "one", which appears so commonly in Melanesian languages (*ML.*, p. 243): *jehē* is Inakona *cege*.

The verbal particle *e* is used before all the cardinal numbers, including *kesa*; it is sometimes omitted. *e kesa . . . e kesa* means "the one . . . the other", *e kesa seni* "different, not like any other", *kesa lele mu* "one and one only", *kesa mu* "the same, one and the same", *sai kesa* "together"; *tasa* "one at a time, from time to time", *tasahana* "one at a time, simple". *jiki* (Florida *siki*) means a "single one", generally with a negative sense, "not one"; *jikai* (Florida

sikai) means "one and no more", *e tau jikai lele* "not even one", *jikai mu* "only one"; *ke*, see § 22. is used of two people: *ko hadira ndu* "his two friends", *ara ko ruka* "they two"; *talū*, see § 21. is used similarly of three people. A word *patu*. is used meaning "ten", but only in the phrase *e ruka patu* "twenty"; *e ruka patu kesa* "twenty-one"; "thirty" is *e tolu sangarulu*: "fifty-four" is (*e*) *jehē sangavulu vati*: *laka* "perfect" is added to *sangavulu* to denote "a full ten".

"Hundred" is *sangātu*, i.e. the Florida *hangalatu* with the *l* omitted; it is used with the article *na*: *e kesa sangātu ruka patu jehē* "a hundred and twenty-five". A "thousand" is *toha* (Florida *toga*), which is also used of a great number, a multitude: *mola* (Sa'a *mola*) means "ten thousand, a vast number"; both of these are used with the article *na*.

jara (*zara*) is used of numbers over ten; the word means "to be in addition, over and above", and its Florida and Bugotu equivalent is *sara* "to go on, reach": it is used of the numbers over ten and a hundred: *sangavulu jara e ruka* "ten, two in addition", i.e. twelve; *e kesa na sangātu jara e ruka patu* "a hundred and twenty"; *mi jara* "and some over the ten"; *dangali jara* "to be in excess, abundance"

A prefix, *tango*, denotes "a party of, apiece": *tango ruka* "in pairs, two by two"; *tango ngisa* "how many each?" There are certain words which denote a specific number of things: *juju* "ten bread-fruit", *pinggu* "ten coco-nuts", *tai* "ten fish", *tai* "a string", *talina* "six shell-monies, of six strings each", *tali* "rope, line".

52. (2) Ordinals. The ordinals are formed, except in the case of *ngidana*, *na ngidana* "first, the first", by adding *nina* to the cardinals: *rukanina*, *tolunina*, *sangavulunina*, *sangātunina*. This *nina* is evidently a compound of *ni* and *na*, noun endings, the former being used to make the ordinals in Bugotu, while the latter has a similar use in Sa'a. The ordinals are used with the article *na*.

53. Distributives. The idea of "at a time, apiece" is conveyed by the reduplication of the first syllable of the cardinal numbers: *kekesa* "one apiece, one and the same", *kekesa hira* "each one of them", *kekesaminu* "each one of your"; *ruruka* "two at a time, two apiece", *papada ruruka* "to be of two minds, to doubt"; *varati* "by fours"; *onono* "six apiece".

54. Multiplicatives. *kalina* "time, occasion", is used with the cardinals to denote "once, twice", etc.: *e kesa kalina* "once", *e aro kalina* "often"; "how many?" is *e ngisa*; *ara ngisa* "how many soever they are".

XI. EXCLAMATIONS

55. *aia* "there ! there !"

ai koi, pain ; *ai rei*, grief.

aluo, surprise.

alele "tut ! tut !"

alova, lova, surprise.

ba, satisfaction.

eki "oh !"

kadasi, satisfaction.

kiki "so ! well then !"

mazi "can't say ! don't know !"

pile dissent : *pile tahara* "not so !" *apile* "alas !"

sasi. savi "wrong !" of disgust.

tasinggu "my brother !" *tinanggu* "my mother !" *tinanggu kakave kode lalaka* "all my female mothers !" are exclamations of astonishment.

vata "wait a while ! in a moment !"

Some Swahili Nautical Terms

By B. D. COPLAND

THESE words were collected at Bagamoyo and Tanga and on trips between Zanzibar and the mainland. Most of them do not occur in any of the standard dictionaries, that is. in Krapf, Steere, and Madan. In cases where a word has a specialized meaning or a different meaning from that given by the authority, the fact has been noted.

The following abbreviations are used : Kr., Krapf, *Suaheli-English Dictionary*; St., Steere, *Handbook of the Swahili Language*; M., Madan, *Swahili-English Dictionary*.

A

- Arigamu* . . . Slightly curved central rib of hull (Halgam (R.) = on a boat or ship, Kr.).
- Ayari* . . . Shroud, and particularly the central running gear made fast to a rope (*shumti*) and block from the mast-head, and to a rope loop (*shiraka*) on the ship's side.

B

- Batali* . . . (= Ship's log, Kr., St., M.) Rope dependent from the foot of the sail used to make it fast when running before the wind.
- Bau* . . . Outrigger.
- Bitana* . . . (See *Fashin*.)
- Bosa* . . . Make fast with a hitch (= to affianced one, Kr.).
- Bumia* . . . (See *Fashin*.)
- Bunda* . . . Heavy shore used to support the hull in building (= pack, a bale of goods, Kr.).

C

- Chande* . . . Flat stern.
- Chipi* . . . Gunwale (of outrigger canoe).

D

- Dafurai* . . . Fender (Arabic دفع = push).
- Dauli* . . . Line of planking above the *Uba wa Mariki* (q.v.).
- Dosari* . . . Boring worm.

F

- Farasi* Raised cross-bar right aft on which the yard rests when down.
- Fashin* (= Prow of the vessel, Kr.; = sternpost, St.; = block of wood fastened to the sternpost (*bumia*) in a native-built vessel, and carrying the rudder, M.) A boat-builder explained the situation to me as follows: Both bow and sternpost are in two parts. The bowpost consists of the prow (*fashin ya mbele*) and a second member parallel to it inside (*bitana*) to which the hull planking is attached. (*Bitana* = double, lined, Kr., St., M.) The sternpost consists of two parts also, the inner (*fashin ya nyuma*) and the outer (*bumia*) to which the rudder is made fast. (*Bumia* = sternpost, St.)
- Fundo kubwa* . . Main cross-beam immediately forward of the mast.

G

- Gidamu* Bows (Arabic = *قدم* precede) (= sandal-strap, Kr., St., M.)
- Giyami* Bollard.
- Gorati* Temporary ribs used in shaping the hull.

H

- Hamlau* Rope leading from the forward end of the yard. (*Hamarawi*, M.)

J

- Janja* Painter.
- Jungu* V-shaped ribs of the hull at bow and stern.

K

- Karna* Elbow-piece strengthening the cross-members (*fundo*) of the hull.
- Kasama* Massive wooden block in the angle of the bows. (Arabic *قسم* = divide.) Krapf describes it as a cutwater, but it is inside the bowpost.

- Kifungo cha sarama* . . . Rope lashing passing through the sternpost (*bumia*) and holding the rudder down on its hinges.
- Kipaa* . . . Roofing amidships.
- Kiwaro* . . . Bowsprit lashing on outrigger canoe.
- Kiwinda* . . . (See *Nanga*.)
- Kwesi* . . . (*Msumari wa kwesi*) flat-headed keel-nail.

M

- Magendo* . . . (*Mali ya magendo*.) Smuggled goods. Originally applied to slave-running. N.B.—*Mali* is the term commonly used for cargo on the *Mrima*. *Shehena* is rare.
- Mantiro* . . . Rope leading from the after-tip of the yard through a block at the mast-head to the deck. The *shebaha* is a similar rope made fast to the forward tip of the yard.
- Mariki* . . . Lay the keel, start building a ship. (See also *Ubau*.)
- Marahamu* . . . Seam.
- Mbela* . . . Short outrigger supports lashed to the main cross-members.
- Mrengu* . . . Main out-rigger cross-members.
- Mtwana* . . . Short spar, set in the keel, which braces the main mast.

N

- Nanga ya mbele* . . . Bow anchor.
- Nanga ya kiwinda* . . . Stern anchor.
- Nyungu* . . . Hole in the *mstamo* (see *Madan*) into which the mast is stepped.

P

- Pua* . . . Large cringle through which runs the *shárutí* (q.v.).

S

- Samaki* . . . (See *Ubau*.)
- Sarama* . . . (See *Kifungo*.)
- Sayari* . . . Curved side-ribs of the hull.

- Seremani* . . . (See *Ubau*.)
Sharuti . . . Rope made fast to the middle of the yard, holding it close against the mast and serving as an extra stay rope in the outrigger canoe. (Arabic شريط = rope.)
Shaurisi . . . Heavy splitting chisel used in shipbuilding.
Shebaha . . . (See *Mantiro*.)
Shiraka . . . (See *Ayari*.)
Shungi . . . (*Shungi la mlingoti*.) Mast-head.
Sugua . . . Careen.

T

- Teku* . . . Roughness (*bahari ina teku* = the sea is rough). Compare *kutekua* = to toss, St.

U

- Ubau wa mariki* . First plank above the keel.
Ubau wa samaki . Small planks, projecting aft of the *fashin* below the water-line, and gripping the *bumia*.
Ubau wa seremani . Raised planking round the poop.
Ubau wa zinara . Top line of hull planking, or line of planking just above the water-line. (Arabic زنار = girdle.)
Ulimi . . . Heel of the mast.
Ushanga . . . Wooden block (one of four or five) through which runs the *sharuti* (q.v.).

V

- Vitabamba* . . . Flotsam.

W

- Wadira* . . . Groove in the keel into which the *ubau wa mariki* is set.

Z

- Zinara* . . . (See *Ubau*.)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Linguistica

By R. L. Turner

DÉMONSTRATION DE LA PARENTÉ DES LANGUES INDO-EUROPÉENNES ET SÉMITIQUES. By M. HONNORAT. 9 × 11. pp. 398. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1933.

In this attempt to prove the relationship between Indo-European and Semitic Mr. Honnorat appears to neglect entirely the generally accepted principles of linguistic science. Most of the book (pp. 100-397) consists of what purports to be a comparative vocabulary of Semitic and Indo-European. Resemblances of vocabulary alone are of little probative value ; but such a vocabulary as this is completely worthless. Not only are the most bizarre and impossible combinations set forth, but the forms quoted from a score or more of languages appear to be quite untrustworthy, if the alleged Sanskrit words may be taken as a sample : e.g. on the first three pages we find Skt. avuk 'father', abik 'husband', caraba 'black', carabha 'bird', papa 'father', mama 'mother', gabas 'give (?)', sanat 'year', hana 'old', da, kaza, kasta, kaya 'hand', yuda, yoda 'help'. These words have no existence outside Mr. Honnorat's mind and the covers of this book. On the same pages : Latin hannus 'year', yudo, adyudo 'help', bheredo 'mule'. Quid plura ?

STUDIA INDO-IRANICA. EHRENGABE FÜR WILHELM GEIGER ZUR VOLLENDUNG DES 75. LEBENSJAHRES. Edited by WALTHER WÜST. 6½ × 9¾, pp. xii, 327. Leipzig : Otto Harrassowitz, 1931. M. 20.

This volume, edited by Professor Wüst, containing articles by thirty-six scholars, is a worthy tribute to the veteran scholar whose name is famous in the domains of both Iranian and Indo-Aryan. The very number and variety of the contributors make an adequate review of such a collection of good things almost impossible. Witness the list itself. Buddhadatta, Hocart, Zachariæ, Jules Bloch, the late Ernst Leumann, Bachhofer, B. C. Law, R. Fick, Mrs. Rhys Davids, Winternitz, Hommel, Scheffelowitz, Schick, B. K. Ghosh, Hauer, Oertel, Betty Heimann, Edgerton, Renou, Walleser, H. K. Deb,

Wüst, Nyberg, Benveniste, Wackernagel, Meillet, Tavadia, Reichelt, Konow, Aurel Stein, J. J. Modi, Morgenstierne, O. Paul, Williams Jackson, Dombart, Merkel. These articles cover questions of Literature, Religion, Folklore, and Language. The last are the most numerous. To mention but a few of these: Jules Bloch considers the change of gender in Skt. *vārtman-* n. > Pkt. *vattā* f., and connects it with the general IE. tendency to give animate gender to the word for 'road'. F. Edgerton maintains, against Wackernagel, that the pronominal stems in *-d*, *mad-*, *asmad-*, etc., rare in Vedic, and having no parallel in Iranian, are analogical formations after *tād*, etc. L. Renou contributes an illuminating and suggestive article on some aspects of the suffix *-k-* in Sanskrit. In the domain between Iran and India the editor himself, in a masterly treatise, sees in RV. *ālaka-* an Irano-Scythian proper name. On the Iranian side Nyberg deals with two problems of phonology, IE. *-(s)sk-* in Persian, and the appearance of *fr-* as *hr-* in Iranian loanwords in Armenian. Benveniste studies some differentiation in the Avestan nomenclature of animals which he ascribes to the difference between popular and learned language. Meillet shows also that Avestan *ikaśa-* by reason of its initial belongs to the popular vocabulary. Wackernagel writes on the Indo-Iranian type of formation seen in Av. *vaēdayanā*. Reichelt discusses two problems of Sogdian grammar, the augment and the infinitive and passive participle: and Konow establishes the existence of the neuter gender in the Sakian of Khotan.

ESQUISSE D'UNE HISTOIRE DE LA LANGUE SANSCRITE. By J. MANSION.

5 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. ix, 188. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1931. Frs. 50.

The history of the Indo-Aryan languages is known to us through documents of one sort or another over a longer period than that of any other branch of the Indo-European family. In attempting an outline of this history Professor Mansion has provided a much-needed book. Designed primarily for the beginner in Indian Studies and for any generally interested in linguistic problems, it can nevertheless be read with interest and profit by all Indologists. For the previous, and especially the subsequent, history of a language of such great cultural and linguistic importance as Sanskrit cannot be a matter of indifference to the student of any of its aspects. Unfortunately, despite its long history, we have not the same wealth and precision of facts as enabled Meillet, for example, to write what were perhaps the source of Mansion's inspiration, his two histories of Greek and Latin. Nevertheless, the

author has struck a happy mean between leaving the reader in a fog of hypothesis and recording as facts what are often only probable theories. The work deserves success, and (unless the rather high price for a book of this size proves deterrent) should soon run to a second edition. A few suggestions as to detail may then perhaps be permitted. The accent formed an integral part of Sanskrit (with Vedic and, as the author points out, Bhāṣā) : it should, wherever known, be marked. The history of Sanskrit, even in a modest volume of this size, cannot be considered complete without some account of its extension beyond the borders of India and Ceylon, both to the North and the East. In Chapter VII on Indo-Iranian some mention might be made of the peculiar problem raised by the Kafiri group of languages and its discussion by G. Morgenstierne in his *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, pp. 50-69. The chapter on New Indian is incomplete without some reference to the Dardic group of languages, which a development to a large extent independent of the main body of Indo-Aryan languages in India proper renders particularly interesting to the linguist. Thus the complete disappearance of intervocalic unaspirated stops or the assimilation of *r* in consonant groups ascribed to New Indian on p. 101 does not apply to all the Dardic languages, some of which maintain *-k-* and *-t-*, and perhaps *-g-* as consonants in one form or another, while groups containing *r* as the second member remain intact generally in the North-West and even as far south as Gujarat. On pp. 65-6 the full implications of the phenomena of Sandhi are not brought out. These phenomena, as far as consonants are concerned, are based on the fact that all final consonants were unexploded. This accounts (1) for the complete disappearance of final consonants in Middle Indian : and (2) for the parallel treatment of final consonants and of interior consonants in positions in which they too were unexploded. Thus on p. 62, the description of the development of so-called final *ś* as *-t* and *-k* does not take into account the different developments of final **-k̄s* and intervocalic *-k̄s-*.¹ In the first, **k̄* before unexploded *-s* is itself unexploded and like interior unexploded **k̄* or **g* before stops other than dentals becomes *-t* (*-d*), while **-k̄s-* with exploded *s* and *k̄* became *-ks-*. Thus *vīt* < **vik̄s* as *viḍbhīh* < **viḍbhīs* (after which *vītsū* instead of earlier *vik̄sū* < **vik̄su*) : and *dik̄ṣū* < **dik̄su* like *vāk̄ṣi* < **vek̄ṣi* (after which *dīk* instead of **dīt*, etc.).

¹ Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, §§ 116, 149, does not envisage the possibility, if not probability, of a different development of *-k̄s-* and *-k̄s*

A few small points : p. viii, *m̄* is not a mere nasalization of the preceding vowels, as I have elsewhere shown from the evidence of its development in New Indian. P. 60, the inclusion of *jh* among the palatals derived from gutturals is a slip. P. 61, the existence of affricates in Kafiri corresponding to the IE. palatal series, *k̄*, etc., renders it doubtful whether these had reached the stage of *ṣ*-sounds in common Indo-Iranian. And, indeed, the development of the voiced *j* is more easily explained as from an Indo-Ir. *g'* or *d'* than from an intermediate *ž*. In Sindhi *j* < Skt. *j-* is still a strongly palatalized *d'* (*BullSOS.*, III, 301). The MI. change of Skt. *jñ* > *ññ* points to a pronunciation *g'ñ* or *d'ñ* rather than $[\widehat{d}_5\mu]$ which in the area where *j* had moved to $[\widehat{d}_5]$ gave the development *jj*. P. 82, what is the authority for the pronunciation of Skt. *ā* as $[\alpha:]$? On the same page it might be more correct to substitute 'un Français' or 'un Belge' for 'un Européen', as one who confuses the first vowels of *bala-* and *bāla-*. P. 113 'singh. *āg*, feu' is perhaps a slip for Hi. *āg*. In Singhalese the descendant of Skt. *agnī-* is *aga*.

TRUTHS OF LANGUAGE. Or Comparative Philology of the Sanskrit, Bengali and incidentally other Prakrits. By SRINATH SEN. pp. 336. Calcutta, 1928.

This book would be better named 'Untruths about Language'.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE VÉDIQUE. By L. RENOÜ. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$. pp. v + 339. Paris : Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1931. Frs. 100.

In this *bibliographie raisonnée*, Mr. Renou has produced an incomparable instrument for the use of students of any department in Vedic study. It is as far as possible a complete list of books (including references to reviews of them) and articles dealing with Vedic studies. The term "Vedic" has been used in a large sense, to include the *Saṁhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Upaniṣads*, *Sūtras*, and the annexed texts. The work is divided into two parts. The first contains all references to texts and works directly dealing with them. The second, concerned with more general studies, is divided into seven sections : generalities, history, religion, philosophy, music, sciences, language. Numerous cross references and full indexes of author's names and of words add greatly to the convenience with which the book may be used. The author expresses the fear that some foreign publications, especially

those appearing in Indian periodicals, have escaped notice. But his hope that nothing of importance has been omitted appears justified. Once more Mr. Renou, with his wide and deep knowledge and accurate scholarship, lays all Sanskritists under a debt of gratitude.

VEDIC VARIANTS. By M. BLOOMFIELD and F. EDGERTON. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$.

Vol. I: The Verb, pp. 340. Vol. II: Phonetics, pp. 570.

Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, 1930-2. \$9.75.

Bloomfield's monumental *Vedic Concordance* made available the variant versions of the Vedic texts. At the time of his death he was engaged in collaboration with Professor Edgerton in arranging the linguistic material deducible from the variants. The work, far from finished, was continued by Edgerton, and we now have these two volumes (a third is promised shortly), the result of those labours. This great mass of material, so clearly sorted and arranged, bears witness to the scholarship of both its authors. It will be a work of reference invaluable both for the Vedic specialist, and in particular for the historian of the development of Sanskrit. Throughout, as the authors clearly recognize, we see in the variants of the later texts the influence of a younger stage of the language. This is very clear, for example, in the case of the verb, in which the later texts often show thematic stem forms beside the athematic of the older. It might be expected, however, that the variants besides giving evidence of the existence of younger forms might also betray some distinctions of local dialects. This is a matter on which further light is urgently required for the Indo-Aryan languages. It is possible that the variation between the two present stems *kr̥no, u-* and *karo, kuru-* may be not so much a distinction of hieratic and popular language as of local dialect. *kr̥no/u-*, as the authors point out, has its counterpart in Iranian, and may therefore belong to the dialect area of the North-west, which, as shown by Tedesco and Morgenstierne, shares several isoglosses with Iranian as opposed to the more eastern and southern Indo-Aryan dialects.

Volume II consists of a lucid and penetrating analysis of the variants in so far as they involve phonetic changes. Though we must undoubtedly agree that many of the variants attest younger linguistic forms, it would be a mistake to use the term 'Prakritic' too easily. Thus (p. 34) to call the variant *jakṣur* for *caḥṣur* 'a Prakritic anomaly' explains nothing, for the change of *c* to *j* is peculiar to the intervocalic position. Again, the term 'spontaneous lingualization'

(or cerebralization) is dangerous, for it is too readily used by some merely to cloak our ignorance; and in this particular case (p. 87) it is not required for an explanation of *avaṭá-* beside *avatá-*. The authors reject the connection of *avaṭá-* with *avár* on the ground that such connection could not explain *avatá-*. But if we hypothecate a form **avṛ-ta-* to explain *avaṭá-*, then *avatá* is the expected form of the South-west dialect. in which *-ṛt-* > *-at-*. For the variants containing *-gm-* for *-jm-* the authors offer no explanation (p. 72). Is it not possible that here, too, we have a local difference of pronunciation? I have above (p. 384) suggested a pronunciation according to dialect of *jñ* as *g'ñ* or *d'ñ*, on the one hand, and as *jñ* [d̄ñ] on the other. Is it not possible that in *jm* the *j* may have preserved the pronunciation as *g'* in some area? The variation *khy* with *kś* may have a similar explanation, for if in MI. *kś* becomes *k̄kh* it would be in agreement with the system that *kś* should become *(k)k̄hy*: and it would be tempting to see in *khyā-* a dialectal development of *kśā-*. Then supposing *kśā-* to be a form of *kāś-* of which *caḥś-* is assumed to be a reduplicated present stem,¹ Pāṇini's rule, II. 4. 54-5. prescribing *khyā-* for *caḥś-* in the nomen agentis, the infinitive and gerundive, and optionally in the perfect is explained. The variation of *-bh-* and *-h-* from the purely phonetic point of view appears to be confined to the root *grabh-* *'grah-* (p. 65). I have pointed out elsewhere that the early opening of the plosive may be a particular development in this verb, and is paralleled by the similar early opening of *-bh-* in the verb *labhatē*, which already in Aśoka has the form *lah-* (*Gavīmāth Inscr. of Aśoka*, p. 11, note 1). But a 'phonetic reduction of *rḡh* to *rh*' (p. 68) appears to be impossible: the variation of *argh-* with *arh-* depends surely on the historically regular variation of the types *arghā-* and *árhati*.

We shall await with eagerness the appearance of Volume III. for that can but add to the debt under which the authors have placed all Sanskritists and all students of language.

GRAMMAIRE SANSCRITE. By LOUIS RENOU. Two vols. 6¼ × 10, pp. xviii. 576. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve. 1930. Frs. 235.

There was need for a grammar of Sanskrit written in French. That need exists no longer. Even though Mr. Renou's *Grammar of Classical Sanskrit* may not replace that of Whitney (which includes Vedic material) or cover the ground of Wackernagel's (which is historical and comparative as well as descriptive), neither is it in any

¹ Better reduplicated present stem with suffix *-s-* — **qeqk'-s-*

way a mere repetition of existing works. Throughout it is personal, full of new points of view, and much new material, for both the native grammarians and the texts have been used with a sureness and a maturity of scholarship which belie the years of this brilliant Sanskritist. It is a grammar of post-Vedic Sanskrit from and including the Upaniṣads. In this sense it is historical as well as descriptive, for during the period thus covered the language underwent considerable change in its usages. But as a whole the work is envisaged as a descriptive grammar pure and simple, in which the actual facts of the language as established from the native grammarians, the lexicographers and, before all, the texts are set out with an insight and an analytical power altogether admirable. Renou deliberately abstains from explaining the facts, if the explanation lies outside the period of his description. But it is only an accomplished and brilliant linguist, such as he is, who could have kept to this intention without falling into the pitfalls besetting the grammarian who tries to explain his facts without being at home with the methods of historical and comparative linguistics.

Even in the hands of so accomplished a linguist, some inconveniences of this method may be observed. For occasionally phenomena, for which an explanation or partial explanation is offered from contemporary conditions, are more accurately explained by the methods of comparative grammar. It might be better to omit all explanation. Thus, on p. 16 it appears to be suggested that the change of *s* to *ṣ* in compounds of ^o*sah-* was due to the assimilatory effect of *-t* in the nom. *-ṣāt* ; nevertheless, in view of the fact that it is especially the sibilants which assimilate each other at a distance, is not this assimilation to be referred back to a stage **-sūṣ* (-, **-sūṣh-s*), in which later unexploded *-ṣ* was replaced by unexploded *-t*. Similarly *aṣāḍha-* < **asāḍha-* rather than < *asāḍha-*. This belongs then to the type of assimilation seen in *śuṣka-* < **suṣka-*, with *ś-* rather than *ṣ-* in the initial position. P. 22, *dehi* < **daḍhi* < **dadḍhi* or **dedḍhi* rather than < **daddhi*. To say (p. 22) ' *r* tombe devant *u* au redoublement du parfait des racines (alternantes) en *ra-* : *uvāca* : *vac-* ' seems to imply an older **rvuvāca*, whereas from the historical and comparative point of view we have the continuation of the alternation of the syllables *ve* : *u*. P. 23, it is misleading from the strictly historical point of view to say that *ai* derives from *ā + e*, instead of considering it as the form taken by an earlier **āi* < **ēi*, **ōi*, **āi*. P. 41, the form *sa* before words beginning with a consonant is probably the direct descendant

of an earlier IE. *so, rather than < saḥ with a special treatment of -h, while so possibly represents sa u rather than *saz. So, too, saisa(h) may perhaps represent the normal sandhi of sa esa(h) rather than elimination of secondary hiatus (p. 45). P. 45, the type of sandhi, ka ṛṣah, would seem to be derived from *kaz ṛṣih (with unexploded -z) rather than from ko ṛṣih. gīh is better explained as < *gīr + s (rather than < *gīr - s, p. 64), where -īr represents the IE. *erā* and the alternation *ir* : *īr* is exactly parallel with *uv* : *ū* in *bhuvah* : *bhūh*, with which it might have been brought into relation. P. 19, may not the *ṇ* of *anulepaṇa-* depend upon an **anurepaṇa-*, rather than be an example of 'spontaneous' cerebralization? P. 62, that in the paradigm *kurvaḥ karmah* only 'le type "syncope"' is in use depends perhaps on the fact that the verb 'to do' has in most languages a particular phonetic development (*BullSOS.*, VI, 531). P. 19, even if the form *skuptā* is unauthentic, the existence of a **skup-*,¹ on which it might depend rather than on *skubh-*, appears to be well attested in Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan (*Nepali Dictionary*, p. 184 b).

But once beyond the sections on phonetics we are free of such inconveniences, and the full clarity of the author's purely descriptive method can be appreciated. Renou's Grammar will be an invaluable instrument for all Sanskrit students, whether of literature or language.

THE USE OF THE CASES IN VEDIC PROSE. By SUKUMAR SEN. Reprint from the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vols. VIII-X. 6½ × 9½, pp. 176. Poona: 1930.

VEDIC STUDIES. By A. VENKATASUBBLIAH. 6½ × 9¾, pp. 292. Mysore: Surabhi and Co., 1932.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SOME DOUBTFUL WORDS IN THE ATHARVA-VEDA. By TARAPADA CHOWDHURY. Reprint from the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVII. 6¼ × 9½, pp. 100. Patna, 1931.

These three books all represent the work of Indian scholars who, imbued with the traditional scholarship of their homes, have entered upon new lines of research under the inspiration of the newer methods of the West. The combination is one which is likely to be fruitful of good results. And if, as appears sometimes to be the case, the attitude of the National leaders tends to be hostile to the study of their Classical

¹ Also perhaps in Saka *skaut-* 'touches' (Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 181), which is probably < **skupa-* **skupa-*.

languages, the work of such scholars as these should help to show them that Sanskrit studies among the younger generation in India are by no means a stagnant backwater.

Mr. Sen's articles on the use of the cases in Vedic prose originally appeared in three volumes of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. They form a very useful collection of examples : and it is most convenient to have them thus collected in one easily accessible volume.

It is all the more desirable that Mr. Venkatasubbiah's Vedic Studies should have been collected, since they appeared previously in two separate journals, the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. In republishing them, the author has made some slight alterations and has added four new articles. Mr. Venkatasubbiah has investigated a number of obscure words in the R̥gveda, and his method of making a careful comparison of all the passages in which they occur is sound and has led to excellent results. His work should not be neglected by Vedic scholars. The words studied are *nītya-*, *śunām*, *indrasenā*, *śagnā-*, *śrāsara-*, *arati-*, *dān*, *p̥īthak*, *yakṣām*, *ābhva-*, *admasād-*, *nīrekā-*, *smāddiṣṭi-*, *padbhīh*.

Whereas several of the above words occur in a good number of passages, most of the fifty obscure words from the Atharva-Veda which form the subject of Dr. Chowdhury's thesis occur a few times only, while several are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα. As in the case of the *Vedic Studies*, Dr. Chowdhury, too, has referred to the previous discussions of his words, and where possible has followed the same sound method of careful comparison of the passages in which the same word occurs. In the article on *ākṣa-*, to which he assigns the meaning "pole", I would draw special attention to his elucidation of AV. IX. 3, which enumerates the different things used in the construction of a *śālā*, by describing in detail the construction of a modern *śālā* in his own district of Mānbhūm. In a land where ancient customs have lingered so persistently this is a method of exegesis which might be fruitfully used more often. It seems curious that in discussions of *dūrśā-* and *parāsta-* no previous scholars have had recourse to their Pali equivalents, *dussa-* and *pottha(ka)-*, the meanings of which are fairly certain. For the second a reference might be added to my *Nepali Dictionary* s.v. *poto*, where the Sindhi *potho* 'rag for smearing with' is quoted. Dr. Chowdhury has produced an excellent piece of work, and it is to be hoped that he may continue with further studies of the same kind.

THE SAUNDARANANDA OF AŚVAGHOṢA. Edited by E. H. JOHNSTON. Panjab University Oriental Series. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xv, 171. London : Humphrey Milford, 1928. 12s. 6d.

THE NIGHANṬU AND THE NIRUKTA. Edited by LAKSHMAN SARUP. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 39 + 292. Lahore : University of the Panjab, 1927.

THE KĪCAKA-VADHA OF NĪTIVARMAN. Edited by SUSHIL KUMAR DE. Dacca University Oriental Publications Series, No. 1. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$. pp. xxvii, 129. Dacca, 1929.

THE ṚGVEDĀNUKRAMAṆĪ OF MĀDHAVABHAṬṬA. Edited by C. KUNHAN RAJA. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 2. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxviii, 93, clxiv. Madras, 1932. Rs. 3.8.

These editions of four very diverse Sanskrit texts testify to the fortunate interest taken by the Universities of India in the study of India's Classical language : for they all form volumes in University Sanskrit Series. Three of the editions, *Saundarananda*, *Nighanṭu*, and *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī*, have this further in common, that they are the work of pupils of the late Professor A. A. Macdonell. To that great scholar, renowned especially for his own Vedic studies, Sanskritists owe also a deep debt of gratitude for inspiring a younger generation of Indian scholars with the desire to edit in accordance with the canons of modern textual criticism Sanskrit texts hitherto either unpublished or uncritically or inadequately edited. The only previous edition of *Saundarananda*, that of MM. H. P. Sastri in *Bibliotheca Indica*, does not, as Dr. Johnston says, reproduce the MSS. with the fullness and accuracy necessary to settle a text so full of corruptions. The value of a Tibetan translation in establishing the text of Aśvaghōṣa's other poem, the *Buddhacarita*, has been fully explored by Dr. Johnston himself. For the *Saundarananda* unfortunately no Tibetan translation is known, and the editor had to depend on the two MSS. in the Library of Kathmandu. But making use of these Dr. Johnston has most admirably fulfilled his purpose, 'to give a complete description of the material available in the MSS. so as to facilitate further work by others on the text, and to provide as good a text as possible.' But he has done more : for he has added much valuable material both in his Notes and in his Index. On p. 147 *wāṣṭe* should be read *wāste* : but it is doubtful whether Urdu *nām ke wāṣṭe* has directly replaced *nāma* in this sense. On p. 155 Dr. Johnston rightly remarks that *mṛṣṭa-* as applied to food is well authenticated in

Epic and Buddhist Sanskrit : it is, moreover, the source of the words meaning 'sweet' in the later languages : Pkt. *miṭṭha-*, Hi. *mīṭhā*, etc. P. 156, for *aṇumattesu* read *anu*^o. P. 157, to the meaning of *ghṛṇā* as 'compassionate disgust' it might be added that the word survives in the modern languages only in the sense of 'disgust, hatred' (e.g. Nep. *ghin*).

Professor Sarup began his study of the Nirukta at Oxford under Macdonell. On his return he carried into effect the determination to produce on critical lines a new edition of the text. In addition to the twenty-eight MSS. collated by the previous editors of the Nirukta, he collected and collated thirty-seven new ones. In the main, however, the resultant text is the same as that which served as the basis of his English translation. The labour involved in this collation must have been great, but the result repays it.

The Kīcakavadha of the eleventh-century poet Nīivarman was known previously only from quotations by writers on Grammar, Lexicography and Alankāra. Dr. S. K. De is already well known as an authority on Poetics ; and there could be no more suitable editor for a poem such as this which is at the same time both a *yamaka*- and a *śleṣa-kāvya*. Together with the text he has edited the commentary of Janārdanasena, for a commentary is necessary to the understanding of such a text. In addition the editor has given us an excellent introduction and numerous illuminating notes.

The *kārikās* contained in the work which the editor, Mr. C. Kunhan Raja, has called *R̥gvedānukramaṇī* are taken from a commentary on the R̥gveda by Mādhavabhaṭṭa, son of Venkaṭārya. This is the Mādhavabhaṭṭa mentioned by Sāyaṇa. The text will prove of value to those interested in the traditional interpretation of the R̥gveda in India and particularly in the history of that interpretation.

SADDANĪTI : LA GRAMMAIRE PALI D'AGGAVAṂSA. Edited by HELMER SMITH. I. Padamālā. 6½ × 9½, pp. xi. 314. Lund : Gleerup. 1928. 21s.

Mr. Helmer Smith has undertaken the task of editing the *Saddanīti*, the system of Pali grammar dating from the twelfth century A.D., that is to say, from a period about four centuries earlier than the earliest manuscripts of the Pali texts. Since, as Mr. Smith himself says, Aggavaṃsa belonged to a school, whose teaching influenced the successive generations of copyists and emenders of the Pali canon, it is of great importance to know what exactly that teaching was, if the

linguistic facts of the traditional texts are to be properly evaluated. The need, then, for a critically edited text of *Saddanīti* is established. No more competent editor could be found than the present, whose knowledge of the Pali texts and the problems therewith connected is probably unequalled and who is a master of exact scholarship. The work is to appear in three volumes, of which this is the first.¹

JASA HARACARIU OF PUṢPADANTA. Edited by P. L. VAIDYA. Karanja Jain Series, Vol. I. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 220. Karanja (Berar) : Karanja Jain Publication Society, 1931.

ĀYAKUMĀRACARIU OF PUṢPADANTA. Edited by HIRALAL JAIN. Devendrakirti Jain Series, Vol. I. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. pp. lxiv, 210. Karanja (Berar) : Balatkara Gana Jain Publication Society, 1933.

However artificial a language the Western Apabhraṃśa, in which a certain number of Jain works were composed, may be held to be, there is, nevertheless, to be gathered from it considerable information as to the development of the Western and Central Indo-Aryan languages immediately preceding the modern stage. The first complete and critically edited work of this nature to appear was the *Bhavisattakahā* of Dhanapāla, edited by Professor Jacobi in 1918. Since that time MSS. of a number of other works have come to light, especially through the activity of Professor Hiralal Jain, who discovered twelve Apabhraṃśa works in MS. at Kārañjā in the Akolā district of Berar (*Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Central Provinces and Berar*, 1926) Professor Hiralal Jain's energy and enthusiasm led to the foundation of two series for the publication of these and other Apabhraṃśa Jain works, the first being financed by the generosity of Seth Gopal Ambadas Chaware in memory of his father, the second depending at present upon contributions made from time to time. Here we have the first-fruits of this activity, the first volume in each series being devoted to editions of two works by the Jain poet Puṣpadanta, who flourished in the tenth century A.D. The first of these, *Jasaharacariu*, is edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, the second *Āyakumāracariu*, by the general editor of both series, Professor Hiralal Jain. In each case the work is admirably done: there is an informative introduction in English (including in the case of *Āyak*^o a short grammatical analysis); the text with critical apparatus; a number of notes; and (most welcome feature) an index of all words with references to the text and their

¹ The remaining two, *Dhātumālā* and *Suttamālā*, have since been published, but have not yet been received here.

Sanskrit equivalents. One interesting phonetic development to which Professor Hiralal does not draw attention is the regular simplification of the MI. group *-ss-* with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel at a time when other long consonants are still maintained, e.g. *āsa-* < *assa-* < *áśva-*. *sīsa-* < *śiṣya-*, *dūsaha-* < *duḥsaha-*. The only contrary example that I have noted is the geographical name *kassīra-* < *kaśmīra-*, which is a loanword from the NW. (*-ss-* < *-śm-*), precisely the district where long consonants were retained to a later date and in some languages, e.g. Panjabi, to the present day.

It is greatly to be hoped that these excellent editions will be followed by other works in the same series.

TORWALI: AN ACCOUNT OF A DARDIC LANGUAGE OF THE SWAT, KOHISTAN. By G. A. GRIERSON. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vii, 216. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1929. 12s. 6d.

The Indo-Aryan language spoken in the upper part of the Swat valley was previously known from the very short grammar and vocabulary in Appendix D of Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, on which is based the account in *LSI*. VIII, 2, pp. 514-18. Sir Aurel Stein was the first European of modern times to visit this valley, in April, 1926. The linguistic material then collected there he handed over to Sir George Grierson, who with characteristic vigour forthwith used it to supplement the meagre information in *LSI*, with this book. He has analysed the material minutely and arranged it in a form most convenient to the reader. There are sections on phonology and grammar, followed by the folk-tales recorded by Sir A. Stein with a literal interlinear translation and a free translation. A vocabulary with etymological indications follows. Since the appearance of this book, Professor Morgenstierne in *Acta Orientalia*, VII, pp. 294-310, has published additional material recorded during his mission to the North-West Frontier and has added further etymological suggestions and comparisons.

I offer a few more here, with references to the *Nepali Dictionary* if the words concerned appear there.

Sir Aurel Stein did not record the difference between *c j ś ž*, on the one hand, and *ç j š ž* on the other, which is noted by Morgenstierne. *ā* 'peach': < **āṛā*. Nep. *āru*.

ē 'ewe', Morg. *ōi*, with other Dardic forms < Skt. *ēḍi-* (since *-ḍi-* disappears). But possibly < Skt. *āvi-*.

ē 'this', perhaps cf. Sk. *eśā* rather than *ena-*.

abōsa 'to arrive', < pres. stem. *āpnōti* rather than *āpayati*, with
-b- < -p- < -pp- < -pn-, secondary single intervocalic surds
becoming voiced.

ośo, f. *eśe* 'ugly', < Skt. *aśubha*-?

biū, Morg. prob. 'willow', < Skt. lex. *vetā*- rather than *vetasā*-.

būk 'blunt', cf. Nep. *bukunu*.

bolu-di 'to-morrow', cf. Nep. *bholi* id.

banūsa 'to say', < Skt. *bhānati*, *bhanati* rather than *varṇayati*.

bār, f. *bār* (Biddulph), for *bār*? Cf. Nep. *baro*.

bīs f. 'flute', < Skt. *vaṁśī* rather than *vaṁśa*- or *vaṁśyā*- (Morg.),
cf. Ass. *bāhi*, etc., s.v. Nep. *bāsuri*.

cōsa 'to let go', perh. < Skt. *tyajati*.

diū 'he fled' < **dṛta*-. cf. Sk. *ḍrṇa*- in Si. *ḍrīno* 'he fled'.

dur 'mist' (Biddulph). for *dur*? < **dhūḍi*-. see Nep. *dhulo*.

gan 'herd', < Skt. *gaṇā*-.

jagō. *jogó* (Morg.) 'liver' G. cf. *yákr̥t*-. Prob. < oblique *yaku*-. cf.
Waigeli *yǎk* (Morg.).

kū 'valley', < Skt. *kūpa*- 'cave, hollow': for meaning cf. Or.
khola 'cave': Nep. *kholo* 'valley'.

kan 'arrow', G. cf. Skt. *karṇi*-. rather < Skt. *kāṇḍa*-, Nep. *kār*.

loj m. 'light', G. cf. Skt. *ruci*, perh. < **locya*-, cf. Skt. *rocyā*-.

pihīl 'green', cf. Nep. *pahēlo*.

puran-(*gām*) 'old', < Skt. *purāṇā*- or *purātana*-, Nep. *purānu*.

pat 'back, behind': hardly, with G., < Skt. *pr̥sthā*-.

pet m. 'feather', hardly, with G., < Skt. *pāttra*- as a real Tor. word,
if *pūç* (Morg.) < *putrā*-.

sī 'sun', G. cf. Skt. *sūrya*-. Rather < *sūriya*-.

sabā 'prepare', G. cf. Skt. *sambhārayati*. Or < Skt. *sampādayati*,
as Sgh. *sapayanu* 'to make'.

śīs f. 'breath' (Biddulph): for *śīs*? This < **śuṣi*-.

tambā 'copper', loanword from Hindi *tambā*?

ŚRĪ-KR̥ṢṆĀVATĀRA-LĪLĀ. COMPOSED IN KĀSHMĪRĪ BY DĪNA-NĀTHA.

Edited and translated by G. A. GRIERSON. Bibliotheca Indica.
No. 247. 6¼ × 10, pp. xii, 251. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of
Bengal, 1928.

THE KĀSHMĪRĪ RĀMĀYAṆA. Edited by G. A. GRIERSON. Bibliotheca
Indica, No. 253. 6¼ × 10, pp. l, 139. Calcutta: Asiatic Society
of Bengal, 1930.

To Sir George Grierson we owe more than to any other our
knowledge of the Kāshmirī language. We have here two of the texts

which he indexed for his *Kāshmirī Dictionary*.¹ The first of these is a poem in the modern language, with comparatively few archaisms, containing a life of Kṛṣṇa based upon the tenth *Skandha* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The poet is somewhat circumscribed in his choice of forms by the fact that every first and third line of his four-lined stanzas (the fourth line being the same throughout the poem) must end in *-as ta*, preceded usually by a short syllable. This has led to the peculiar use of the dative infinitive in *-anas* (with, as Sir George points out, some form of the verb *lag-* understood) as representing any form of a finite tense, past, present, or future. The translation on the page opposite the text makes the reading of an otherwise rather difficult text easy and pleasant.

The second is the *Śrīrāmāvatāracarita* and the *Lavakūśayuddhacarita* of Divākara Prakāśa Bhaṭṭa, who lived probably at the end of the eighteenth century A.D. The text is based upon fragments of the epic collected by MM. Mukunda Rāma Śāstrī, under the direction of Sir George, at the end of the last century. It agrees fairly closely with an edition also pieced together from scattered fragments and published in Persian script in 1910.² The language in the course of the handing down of the poem has doubtless been modernized, and according to the editor it is now 'a specimen of the purest Kāshmirī as spoken by the Paṇḍits in Śrīnagar'. The introduction contains an excursus on the metre, and a full summary of the poem, which will prove of value to any one investigating the history of the Rāma legend.

GURKHAS: HANDBOOK FOR THE INDIAN ARMY. By C. J. MORRIS.

6½ × 9½, pp. iii, 178. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933.
8s. 9d.

This book replaces the former handbook originally compiled by Lieut.-Col. E. Vansittart and revised by Major B. V. Nicolay in 1915. Although following the general plan of the earlier one and here and there, where there was no reason for change, reproducing sections as they stood, it is for all practical purposes an entirely new work. In addition to his very much fuller and more accurate information, the author is to be congratulated on having adopted a more scientific system of transliteration for Nepali names and words and on having replaced the jejune style of his predecessors with a lucid and readable

¹ The last part of this monumental work was published in 1932.

² Sir George has given a concordance of the two texts in the introduction to his *Kāshmirī Dictionary*.

prose. Captain Morris, who is among those who best know the Gurkhas and their customs, has not only travelled more extensively in Nepal probably than any other living European, but he is also a trained anthropologist. This is what gives his book a much wider scientific value than might attach to a simple military handbook. Two new features are specially valuable : an appendix giving a full table of relationships by descent and marriage, and an exhaustive bibliography of the books and articles that have been written on Nepal. This book, which should be in the hands of every officer whose duties bring him into contact with Gurkhas, will also be an indispensable instrument for all interested in Nepal and its people, until Captain Morris writes the larger work which we may now hope for.

The Government of India were fortunate in their choice of author. The same cannot be said of their choice of printer. The type is bad, broken, and worn, to such an extent that many letters are illegible or altogether missing : the alignment is disgraceful ; the binding and sewing of that peculiarly Indian kind which does not permit of the book remaining open. There are good printers and good binders to be found in India. It is not to the credit of a great Government that a publication of this value should be not only not among the best that India can produce in this respect, but definitely among the worst.

ŚRĪMADBHAGAVADGĪTĀ. Translated into Nepali by KEDARNĀTH UPĀDHYĀYA. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 245. Benares : Hitaishi Co. Sam. 1987 Vi.

RĀMĀYAṆASUNDARAKĀṆḌA OF RAGHUNĀTH UPĀDHYĀYA. Edited by DĪNNĀTH ŚARMĀ. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 70. Benares : Hitaishi Co., 1932. Annas 5.

RĀMAŚĀH KO JĪVAN-CARITRA. By ŚŪRYYA VIKRAM GĒWĀLĪ. 5×7 . pp. 48. Darjeeling : Nepali Sāhitya Sammelan, 1933. Annas 4.

The existing literature of Nepali is not large, but there is a steady increase in the number of texts available. The first of these mentioned above is a well-made verse translation of the Gītā. It will be welcome not only to Nepali speakers who wish to read the Gītā in their own language, but also to students for whom the appended English translation by Lalit Prasād Varmā will make it additionally useful. The Sanskrit and Nepali texts are printed together. Raghunāth was a Nepali poet who flourished before the celebrated Bhānubhakta. A cheap edition of his *Rāmāyaṇasundarakāṇḍa* is welcome. The

Nepālī Sāhitya Sammelan of Darjeeling continues its good work, and we owe this *Life of Rāmaśāh* to its energetic secretary, Mr. S. V. Gēwālī, who based it upon a MS. *Vaṁśāvalī* that came into his hands. Rāmaśāh was the fourth king of the Gurkha dynasty and is said to have reigned from 1606 to 1633: one of his successors, Prithivī Nārāyaṇa Śāh (1742-1774), brought the valley of Nepal under Gurkha rule.

BENGALI GRAMMAR OF MANOEL DA ASSUMPÇAM. Edited and translated by S. K. CHATTERJI and P. SEN. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 260. Calcutta University Press, 1931. 9s.

Sir George Grierson in *LSJ.* V, i, p. 23, mentions the *Vocabulario em Idioma Bengalla e Portuguese* of Assumpçam as the first Bengali grammar and dictionary known to us. It was published at Lisbon in 1743, and was a considerable work of 577 pages. Professor S. K. Chatterji utilized it in his *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* in considering the earlier pronunciation of Bengali. Bengali scholars will therefore welcome the present reprint of the grammar portion of the work, and selections from the vocabulary, provided as it is with an excellent introduction and a Bengali translation of the Portuguese, by Professor Chatterji himself in collaboration with Mr. P. Sen. It is a scholarly piece of work which deserves recognition.

A BRIEF PHONETIC SKETCH OF THE NOAKHALI DIALECT OF SOUTH-EASTERN BENGALI. By GOPAL HALDAR. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 40. Calcutta University Press, 1929.

This is the second of the series of Calcutta University Phonetic Studies inspired and edited by Professor S. K. Chatterji. No greater service can be given to the cause of Indo-Aryan Linguistics than such studies of otherwise unrecorded dialects, or even if recorded, then unprovided with adequate phonetic data. In this excellent study before us there are a few points, where the writer has deserted the purely descriptive method for the historical or explanatory, and where his explanation might perhaps be questioned. P. 8 [bɔddɑ] 'big' is perhaps an example of emphatic consonant lengthening rather than the result of *baṛa* + enclitic *tā*. The retention of the aspirate in [pɔrha] 'to read' is due probably to learned influence. P. 9, I would suggest that the insertion of [g] in [buirga] 'old woman' may be a morphological rather than phonetic procedure, namely a MI. -kk-

suffix. P. 12, § 22. for 'alveolar' read 'velar'? P. 18, [tsunni] *corni* should be given as an example of regressive, not progressive, assimilation. It is to be hoped that the author will continue his dialect studies.

VARṆA-RATNĀKARA OF JYOTIRĪŚVARA-KAVIŚEKHARĀCĀRYA. By S. K. CHATTERJI. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Congress. 6 × 9 $\frac{1}{4}$. pp. 69. Allahabad: The Indian Press. Ltd., 1928.

In this reprint Professor Chatterji gives an exceedingly interesting account of the oldest known work in Maithilī, which belongs to the first half of the fourteenth century. The unique palm-leaf MS. itself dates from A.D. 1507. What changes were made by copyists in the preceding two centuries we cannot say: they were probably considerable; but even the later date is fairly old for a document of a modern I.A. language. Professor Chatterji stresses its importance not only as a linguistic document, but also as giving a picture of social conditions at the beginning of the fourteenth century. A transcript of the MS. was made with a view to publication by the University of Calcutta, but the publication has been delayed. It is earnestly to be hoped that a complete edition will be made, even from the single MS., if no other copy of the work is to be found. In his notes on the language Professor Chatterji makes many interesting observations. It is well known (*Festgabe Jacobi*, pp. 36 f.) that in Bihārī dialects both Skt. *-l-* and MI. *-ḍ-* > *r*. In VR. *-l-* has already become *-r-*, but *-ḍ-* appears as *-l-*. Professor Chatterji inclines to think that this was due to confusion in spellings with *r* and *l*. But his discarded suggestion is probably correct, namely that this *l* (< *ḍ*) represents *!*, which later became *r*. In this case we may perhaps assume a passage from *!* to *r* without an intermediary *l*, since in the neighbouring language of Nepālī original Skt. *-l-* remains *-l-* and is thus distinguished from *r* < MI. *-ḍ-*. P. 46 *lewārī* is from *naipālī* (*Nep. Dict.*, p. 353 a 42) rather than *navamallikā*, which accounts neither for *e* nor for *-r-* (since *-ll-* > *-l-*). P. 60, in noting the forms *achi*, *acha*, *cha* 'is' beside *karāi* 'does', it might be added that the verb 'to be' only shows a change which later affected all verbs. The existence of the three forms side by side, which Professor Chatterji finds inexplicable, is probably due to varying emphasis, and is strictly comparable to the English [ɪz] and [z] which exist side by side in the language. He remarks that 'the first personal form was a strong one apparently', but unfortunately gives no

example. The first person of the present tense seems to be 3rd sing. passive construed with the pronoun, when expressed, in the instrumental, middle Maithilī *-iya*, modern *-i* < *-īyati*. This is parallel with the similar development of 1st plural in Gujarati, where *ame karīe* < Pkt. *amhehim karīāi*. P. 63. whatever the explanation of the type *karāi acha* 'he is doing' (and it is by no means out of the question that *karāi* is here the old present), it is the regular type of Gujarati, *kareche*. P. 65. it is not perhaps strictly accurate to say that the passive suffix *-i-* is from Skt. *-yá-* through MI. *-ia-*. It is rather from MI. *-ā-*, which rests upon Skt. *-īya-* of the type *ḍīgāte, nīgāte*. P. 64, in explaining *calaiti* (> modern *calait*) as derived from **calanti* < Māgadhī Pkt. *calante*, the difficulty is not raised of the mod. Maithilī *kāri* 'black', in which epenthesis has not occurred, nor of the nom. sg. of *-a* stems of the type *cānda* (< Māg. Pkt. *cande*), in which *e* > *a* (through *i* ?) also without epenthesis. It appears necessary to assume that (1) *calaiti* and *kāri* rest upon enlarged *-aka-* stems, Pkt. *calantae, kālae*, and that in the longer type of word such as the present participle *-ae* > *ī* earlier than in the shorter type like *kālae*: this *ī* then affected the previous vowel, a development no longer in operation at the time when *kārae* had become *kāri*: (2) *-i* < *-e* after a consonant (type *cande*) became *-a* before the tendency towards epenthesis manifested itself. An ancient text of this sort obviously raises questions of great linguistic interest, and we owe Professor Chatterji our thanks for having brought the existence of this MS. once more to notice.

LES CHANTS MYSTIQUES DE KĀṆHA ET DE SARAHA. Édités et traduits par M. SHAHIDULLAH. 6½ × 9¾. pp. xii. 234. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1928. Frs. 60.

These texts are of equal importance both for the history of later Buddhism in India and for the linguistic history of the eastern group of Indo-Aryan languages. Mr. Shahidullah places Kāṇha in the eighth century and Saraha in the eleventh. As both have written in both Apabhramśa and Bengali, if the author is right, the Caryās of Kāṇha are the oldest document of any Modern Indo-Aryan language. One must, however, suspect that the language has been considerably modernized in the course of tradition; but the author has established his text with careful consideration of the metre and with reference to the Tibetan versions, which he prints here. The Bengali *caryās* are given

in an appendix, and their language is not studied. It is to be hoped that Mr. Shahidullah will return to them. He shows that the Apabhramśa is not identical with that of Western India : but that is not to say that it is based exactly on the spoken language which developed into the Eastern vernaculars. The author thinks, rightly, that it is an adaptation of a common literary language, used by the Jains on the one side, by the Buddhists on the other. The whole work is careful and thorough and informed with a just linguistic theory, as might be expected from one who was a pupil of Jules Bloch. There are many interesting questions raised in Mr. Shahidullah's section on the language. Here is one. On p. 37 it is stated that consonant groups are sometimes treated like original single consonants, i.e., if plosives, they disappear. But this statement needs further definition. An examination of the material collected by Pischel shows that this is only a frequent development when the group is preceded by a long vowel, and then most common in Ardhamaḡadhī. The examples of such shortening of the consonant group after a short vowel are confined to the numeral *adha-* (< *aṣṭa-*) in compounds, and of several compounds ending in *-sadha-*, the exact relationship of which to *-sṛṣṭa-* appears doubtful. Of the forms quoted here by Mr. Shahidullah *ūha* < *ūrdhvā-* and *dīha-* < *dīryhā-* fall under the apparently regular AMg. change ; *uesa* < *upadeśa-* has obviously been included by mistake, since there is no question of a consonant-group ; *suha-* is from *śubha-* rather than *śuddhā-* ; *uatti* and *uajjai* (*ubajjai*) are not from *utpatti-* and *utpadyate*, but from *upapatti-* and *upapadyate* which survive both in Pali and Prakrit in the sense of 'origin, originate'. The only word left is *ūala* 'lotus' beside Skt. *utpala-*, of which in any case the origin is unknown.

VELI KRISANA RUKMIṆĪ RĪ RĀṬHAURARĀJA PRITHĪRĀJA RĪ KAHĪ.

Translated by JAGMĀL SĪMH. Revised and edited by RĀM SĪMH and SŪRYAKARAṆ PĀRĪK. 6 × 9, pp. 914. Allahabad, 1931.

The Hindustānī Academy is responsible for publishing this fine edition of the Ḍiṅgal poem. The work is written in Hindi, and consists of a good introduction, including a short sketch of the grammar of the language in which the poem is composed ; the poem itself with a Hindi translation ; *apparatus criticus* based on five MSS., the oldest of which is dated Saṁvat. 1673 ; vocabulary with references and Hindi equivalents ; two appendixes containing a Rajasthānī commentary of Saṁvat. 1673, and a Sanskrit one of Saṁvat. 1683.

A SANTAL DICTIONARY. By P. O. BODDING. Vol. I. Parts 1-3. A-CH. 7 × 10½. pp. xvi. 652. Oslo : Dybwad. 1929-1932. 58s. 6d.

The important part played by the Muṇḍā languages in the linguistic history of India has now been recognized, and Przyluski in his study of Muṇḍā loanwords in Sanskrit has demonstrated the probability of early contact between the Muṇḍā and the Aryan languages. The need for recording these interesting languages before they finally disappear from the Indian scene has not been so fully recognized. Fortunately, however, the Government of Bihar and Orissa, within whose boundaries the large mass of Muṇḍā speakers is to be found to-day, has awakened to a realization of its responsibility in the matter, and the more than half-completed publication at the charges of Government of the great *Encyclopædia Mundarica* of Father Hoffmann and other Jesuit missionaries bears happy witness to that awakening. Before that publication the closely related Santali, owing to the work of Skrefsrud and Campbell, was the best known of the Muṇḍā dialects. That work is now to be crowned by the great dictionary of Mr. Boddling, whose name as a Santali scholar is already known from his *Materials for a Santali Grammar*, parts i and ii. This dictionary, which so far in 652 pages has proceeded only to *ch* in the Roman alphabet, bids fair, with its exact and detailed definitions and its great wealth of illustration, to be one of the most complete of any modern Indian language. The author has given brief indications as to the origin of the vocabulary, denoting those words which are found in other Muṇḍā languages (though it is to be regretted that he does not quote the actual forms), and giving, in the case of loan-words from Indo-Aryan, the Hindi or Bengali original (though it must be understood that the borrowing does not necessarily take place from the literary form of these languages). The latter show how thoroughly impregnated present-day Santali is with Indo-Aryan elements. To some words used by races other than Santals, but living in the same country, he applies the term Desi. Further research will probably identify these (as the author suggests) as Indo-Aryan words, e.g. *āiṭḥa* given as Desi *ōiṭhō* certainly depends upon some form represented by Oriyā *āiṭhā*, Bengali *ēto* 'leavings of a meal' (which is perhaps < Skt. **āmṛṣṭa-*, cf. *āmṛṣati* 'touches, tastes' MBh., Pa. *āmatṭha-*, or < **ācaṣṭa-* in Sindhi *āṭho*, Guj. *ethū*).

Recent study of modern Indian languages owes much to Norwegian institutions. The Institut for sammenlignende Kulturforskning

supported the two missions of Professor Morgenstierne in the Northwest and is printing the results of Colonel Lorimer's researches into Burushaski; the *Santal Dictionary* is a publication of the Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo.

R. L. TURNER.

MUNDARTEN DER ZĀZĀ, HAUPTSÄCHLICH AUS SIWEREK UND KOR,
 Bearbeitet von KARL HADANK. Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen,
 abt. III (Nordwestiranisch). Band IV. 1932.

To Oskar Mann we owe the collection of the material here edited by Dr. Hadank. It represents the first full account of the Zāzā dialects. The main part is occupied with the dialects of Siwerek and Kor, but contributions from the villages of Bijaq, Čabakhčur and Kīghi are also included. The editor has introduced the texts with an historical sketch of importance. Then each dialect is treated separately and with great care, so that we have for the Siwerek and Kor a brief account of the sounds, followed by a full morphology, syntax, glossary, and texts. The Bijaq material consists of glossary only. Considerably more is again offered of the Čabakhčur and Kīghi. A sketch-map enables the reader to understand the relative positions of the villages. The editor's task has been by no means easy. It has been excellently accomplished as regards the editing of the material. From this book it is possible to get a clear idea of what the Zāzā people speak. That the vowels are so distinctly divided into long and short we may find hard to believe. Certainly in other dialects in Persia one finds the distinction rather hard to seize. One matter in the treatment, which seems a little disappointing in a book otherwise so important, is the introduction of etymological comparisons which display a rather lawless freedom. It is hard, for example, to see why on p. 20. Kōsā Zāzā *zārī* "Lüge" is compared with West Kurdish *deraú* "Betrug", and in the Siwerek Glossary, p. 173, *zār* "Lüge" is given with the remark: Dagegen Pers. دروغ. Two words are known as distinct as early as Old Persian *zura* and *drauga*. A more exact study of the phonology would have suggested to compare Kor *pēlāk* "purse", p. 295, rather with NPer. *pēla*, *pēl* "purse" پیله پیل than with NPer. پول. On p. 33 Kor *vīnī* "loss" and *zinā* "sin" seem to be connected, and also with *gunā*, cf. on p. 305. Yet *zinā* recalls at once Arabic *zinā* زناه "fornication", while Siwerek *bī-vīnī*, p. 171, suggests that a different

explanation is necessary for *vīnī*. It is also hard to see a reason for comparing Greek *ἱστορία* with *astānīk*, pp. 31 and 148. Nor does it seem necessary to connect *môt*, p. 54. "he showed" (the present is *āz mōzchinānnān* on p. 126) with NPers. *nāmūd*. These and other etymological connections raise grave doubts. It may also be noted that the colloquial Isfahānī has *fārāmūn* for the written Pers. *farāvān*. Hence the Zāzā *ferīmān*, quoted on p. 29, and the Parācī are not isolated.

H. W. B.

BRAHMAN, EINE SPRACHWISSENSCHAFTLICH - EXEGETISCH - RELIGIONS - GESCHICHTLICHE UNTERSUCHUNG. VON JARL CHARPENTIER. I, II. pp. iv + 138. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1932. Programme 8.

In the increasing complexity of Indo-Iranian studies it is of great service to have occasionally a summary of earlier treatments of any particular problem. The articles become easily inaccessible or accessible only with difficulty. New studies may appear reproducing unawares older discussions. In the present work the author has most fortunately thought fit to prefix a careful examination and criticism of all the earlier studies accessible to him of the word *brahman* before offering the justification of his own views. In the course of the study he has had occasion to touch frequently upon the Iranian side of the problem, the side particularly interesting to the reviewer. The full value of the work cannot indeed be gauged till the third part of historical character (Vorwort IV) is published. Professor Charpentier's view of *brahman* is in accord with that of Haug and Hillebrandt among earlier scholars. This view (p. 58) sees in *brāhman* the identical word (both etymologically and semantically) which we have in the Avestan *barəsmān*—"bundle of twigs". Here might be added in justification of the postulated form **barzman-*, the word attested in Aramaic *brzmdn'* that is **brzma-dāna-* "holder of *brzmn*" (the vowel of the first syllable being uncertain: either *barzman-* or *bruzman-* can be read) as recognized by Andreas in *Lidzbarski Ephemeris*, iii, 222. This form has the expected *z* (which may be the Aramaic notation of *z* or *z̄*). For the vowel of the first syllable the earliest evidence is the Arm. *barsmoun-k'*, gen. pl. *barsman-ç* in Eznik fifth century; see Hübsch. Arm. Gram., 119.

Almost fifty pages (10-58) are devoted to criticism of the views on *brāhman* expressed by J. Hertel in *IF.*, 41, 206 fol. and later

publications. With the result of the criticism one cannot but agree, while regretting that so much space should be given to the matter.

The Avestan problems discussed incidentally provide suggestions of interest. On *fšānghya-* (p. 47) and *spənta-* (p. 46), I have proposed new solutions in this *Bulletin*, above, p. 275 ff.

The author has then passed to an examination of the texts to test the meaning of *bráhman-*. The original meaning expressed by "Pflanzen-, Grasbüschel. Opferstreu", p. 85, cannot be strictly proved in any certain passage, although this meaning seems best to explain Rg. III. 8, 2 (p. 76). It is claimed definitely for *bráhman-* in *brahma-cārin* on p. 79. The secondary meaning "Zauberritus", is shown to be the commonest meaning, which best suits also the use of *bráhman-* in association with *kar-* (p. 122). The translation "Hymnus", the equivalent of *mantra-* and *sūkta-*, is rejected as the original meaning (p. 5, fol. and p. 72), but accepted as a later meaning on p. 127.

From p. 124 the subsequent development of meaning is briefly sketched in three directions. (1) One line of change resulted in "heiliger Text". This may have evolved somewhat as follows. The earliest rites, of magic potency, were doubtless accompanied by songs. A great ritual of the offering was developed so that the *bráhman-* rites lost their dominant position. Hence *bráhman-* could express simply "Zauberritus". The songs became more important in the more complex rites. Hence the song as part of the Zauberritus could be called *bráhman-*. (2) The evolution to the cosmogonic *bráhman-* is less clear. Possibly, as Haug and Hillebrandt thought, it derives from the idea of a "Triebkraft der ganzen Natur" (p. 133). But since a word for "magic" might also be used for "magician", possibly a meaning "Zauberwesen" for *bráhman-* existed beside *bráhman-* "Zauber" being then easily identified or brought into contact with primitive cosmogonic deities. (3) As a designation of the "Bráhman class", *bráhman-* appears beside *kṣattra-* and *viś*, either as a collective noun or perhaps from the meaning "Zauberkraft" as possessed by the Bráhman.

The book is instructive and of great interest, and has repaid several careful perusals.

H. W. B.

DAS ALPHABET VON RAS SCHAMRA. Seine Entzifferung und seine Gestalt mit drei Anhängen. Von HANS BAUER. Max Niemeyer, Halle/Salle, 1932.





This short book is of general interest, in view of the existence of other still unknown scripts, for the illustration of the method—essentially combinatory—by which the Ras Shamra tablets were read in the space of a year. The progress of this decipherment is shown by a series of documents in Anhang I. Once assumed as a working hypothesis that the language was Semitic ("Old Canaanite"), since the words were separated by strokes, a study of the prefixes and suffixes supplied the clue. It was soon possible to recognize Semitic words.

Included in this book the author has treated of the representation of Semitic *š* and *ś* (fallen together in Ras Shamra) and *p* (preserved as in Arabic), as also of the presence of *h* beside *ḥ*, as in Arabic.

Anhang III offers a discussion of the position of the language within the Semitic group, and a further contribution to the problem of the divine name *Mut* (*Mōt*). H. W. B.

EIN BRUCHSTÜCK DER ĀFRĪNAGHĀN Ī GĀHĀNBĀR. Mit 10 Tafeln. HEINRICH JUNKER. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächs. Akad. der Wiss. zu Leipzig. Band 84. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1932.

The author has published in this book a short text in Middle Persian remarkable for its alphabet. A specimen had already been published in *Caucasica*, fasc. 2.87, tafel 13. The text shows the attempt of a Pārsī scholar to produce an unambiguous script out of the Zoroastrian Pahlavī alphabet by the use of diacritical marks and the employment of conjunct consonants of the older orthography with the phonetic value of his own time (e.g. *-k* as equivalent to *-ā*). The result is a curiosity. So far, it seems that only the two short passages here published have been preserved in this script. The interesting orthography has been carefully annotated, and to the text is added the translation with important notes.

One observation may be of interest. On p. 35, n. 1, the Pahl.  "solid" is discussed. It is read *tēr*. One would perhaps prefer a different explanation. If we think of IndBd.  = GrBd. 86.16  *purr*, or of GrBd. 86.6 (TD.2 and Paris MS.)  beside (DH)

𐬀𐬀 *Kūr*, name of the Caucasian river, and other cases of 𐬀 for 𐬀, whether as scribal mistakes, or as examples of (old cursive ?) 𐬀 joined to the left. 𐬀𐬀 could represent **tūr* and hence correspond exactly to Av. *tūri-* (cf. Gr. *τῦρός*) which it glosses. Av. *tāyūri-* appears to be a vṛddhi form to *tūri-*, as if **tāuri-*, **tāvuri-* > **tāyuri-* (cf. *zūzuyanam*, where there is no graphic reason for *y* in place of *r*).

It is of great interest to have this document in an excellent facsimile edition.

H. W. B.

DAS WELTBILD DER IRANIER. VON O. G. VON WESENDONK. Geschichte der Philosophie in Einzeldarstellungen. Band Ia. München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1933.

It is a task still beyond realization to give a comprehensive account of Iranian origins. Too much still remains undecided for lack of conclusive evidence: especially in the earliest period inference has to play the most important part. Undeterred by the difficulties, which he fully admits, the author has essayed the undertaking. He has ordered the course of events as he himself had come to see them as a result of a wide reading of the large and still accumulating literature. One misses, however, the master hand of one fully immersed in the subject. As one reads, the impression gained is of opinions adopted from the most varied sources. At times this more external acquaintance with the subject matter appears disconcertingly, as when the Pahlavi fragments of the Psalter are placed under the sources for the Arsacid period (p. 34) as *das bedeutsamste Schriftstück in Pahlavīk*, although they have long been quoted for Pārsīk forms of words.

If allowance be made for such deficiencies, the book presents a mass of speculations and facts, for which the bibliography offers some control. It is of service in bringing together the scattered researches of recent years. In reading it is necessary to keep in mind that many of the statements would or could be contested. It is interesting that the author has had the courage to expound his own views, based on his firm conviction (p. 10), even if he does not always convince.

H. W. B.

LÉGENDES SUR LES NARTES, suivies de cinq notes mythologiques, par GEORGES DUMÉZIL. Paris, 1930.

The author of this study of the Nart legends has had two aims in view in writing, one to make this cycle of Caucasian tales of the

Narts better known, and the other to explain part of the mythology of these tales which bear in their social and mythical traits clear traces of considerable antiquity. He has here again called attention to the fixed characters of the persons, which form accordingly a definite scheme, permitting indeed many minor variations, but on the whole presenting the same development. The larger part of the book is taken up with translations of the tales themselves, usually in the form of a *résumé*, which suffices for the purposes of comparison. The many variants are carefully noted. They form a curious mirror of barbaric life in the mountain or the plain, true in the main to the motifs of the tales, but varying with the different peoples (Ossetes, Tatars, Čecens) who have preserved them. We have here a most useful comparative collection. The second part is represented by five notes. In Note I the resemblance of the manners of the Scyths of Herodotos, the Alans of Ammianus Marcellinus, and the Narts of the tales is brought out largely on the basis of earlier work, but with additional material. This resemblance is striking, but one wonders whether it may not rather belong to the mode of life among nomads than to any particular inheritance. Note II discusses the all too little known story of the Alan princess Sat'nik and the legends of Satana of the Nart stories. Beyond the resemblance of name a likeness of incidents in the lives of both is evident. The conclusion is therefore likely that we have here two variations of an older legend. The frequent connections of the hero Batradz with the sky and storm and of Sozryko with the sun are urged as proofs of origin in storm myths and solar myths. Satisfactory proof of such views is naturally hard to obtain. In Note V the examination of the influence of Persian religion and of Russian tales leads to the conclusion that they have been less interested in the development of the Nart legends than has sometimes been claimed. The tales are certainly of great interest, not least for the reason that they have been preserved by the descendants of the Alans in an Iranian language.

H. W. B.

CAUCASICA. Begründet von ADOLF DIRR. Herausgegeben von GERHARD DEETERS. Fasciculi 8 (1931), 9 (1931), 10 (1932). Leipzig: Verlag Asia Major.

Three fasciculi (6.1 and 2, and 7) have been reviewed in *BSOS*. VI. The present three parts are of equal importance and interest. Fasc. 8 contains a detailed study by N. Trubetzkoy of the consonant system

of the East Caucasian languages, Rutulish, Kürinisch, Tabassaranish, Aghulish, Kubačinish, Lakkish, Darginish, Avarish, Andish, Arcinish, Tsaχurish, Čečenish, Batsish, and Udish, as far as available information allows. With this application of exact phonetics the difficulties of the study are considerably lightened.

An article of the late Professor Markwart is included on the identity of the Hyrcani in Josephus (*Judean War*, vii, 245 Ὑρκανοί) and Johannes Lydos (Ὑρκανή). The conclusion here attained is that, not Iberians, a view expressed by Markwart in *Eranšahr*, p. 155, but the Hyrcanians of the East Caspian region, the later Gurgān, are intended.

J. Friedrich has continued the valuable study of Urartean grammar. In this fasciculus he has dealt with the gen. and dat. sing. and plur. of the nominal inflexion, the relative adjective formed by the suffixes, *-hini* and *-(i)ni*, the 3rd sing. pron. (incidentally showing that *me-i* is probably "and"), the imperative 2nd sing., and an explanation of *suluštibi* "he fell down", hence an intransitive verb with *i*-stem, beside the usual *a*-stems, and an explanation of *burāštibi* "I enslaved".

There is also an article of less importance on vocalic change, in languages outside the Indo-European group, in so far as it appears to be due to accentual shift, by H. Schnorr von Carlsfeld. The examples are of varying value.

Fasciculus 9

E. Forrer has gathered together in an article entitled "Hajasa-Azzi" all the historical and geographical information in the material so far available on the land Hajasa, which he had previously identified with Azzi.

The study of the Lydian language is continued in this part by W. Brandenstein from the earlier articles in *WZKM.*, 36 and 38. The nominal form is here treated, in eleven sections, including pronominal and nominal inflexion, nominal prefixes, compounds, and the use of cases. A brief and cautious account of possible connections of Lydian with other languages leads to no certain results.

K. Bouda has contributed a treatment of the subject and object cases employed with the Avarish verb.

The second part of *Beiträge zur Sprach- und Volkskunde des georgischen Stammes der Gurier*, by R. Bleichsteiner, of which the first part was published in fasc. 7, continues and completes the translation of the texts, and is concluded with a glossary with important comparisons.

A sketch of Basque syntax is given by E. Lewy, and G. Deeters has briefly discussed the Čerkes grammar of Jakovlev and Aščamar, with special reference to the analysis of the Čerkes sentence.

Fasciculus 10

In a paper, "Die Sigynnen," Markwart discussed the origin and localization of this little-known people, concluding that the statement of Herodotos who puts them to the North of Thrace is correct. Later writers confused them with the inhabitants of Sigynnos, probably Zigana, a city to the south of Trebizond. During the course of the proof many related problems of topography are touched upon.

K. Bouda has contributed two articles. The first contains Avar texts translated from an adapted form of the Arabic alphabet with translation. The second brings parallels to the expressions of two Basque words, *ahorpegi* "face", and *urratu* "Zerreißen" as used of day-break.

The journal is throughout of the same high quality and makes available material otherwise very hard to obtain.

H. W. B.

ARCHAEOLOGISCHE MITTEILUNGEN AUS IRAN. Herausgegeben von
ERNST HERZFELD. Band III. Berlin, 1930-1931. 21s.

These Mitteilungen, of which the first two volumes were noticed in *BSOS.*, VI, continue to offer matter of great interest. In vol. iii, Heft 1 has two essays, Dareios Soter and Spendarmat-Demeter. Of these two studies it must be admitted that there is much with which it is impossible to feel in agreement. It is true that one of the leading ideas, that the Achaemenid kings were Zoroastrians, is based by Professor Herzfeld on studies published earlier in these Mitteilungen, but although this is perhaps possible, it cannot be considered proved. A second cause for disquiet is the adoption of the unsatisfactory theories of Hertel, though it is true that the author does not himself translate according to those etymologies. There is here a bold sweep of exposition which omits at times to supply necessary foundation. So the passage GrBd., 92.14 fol. (quoted p. 3), must be treated with GrBd., 171.6 (in any case *aδaβγanna* does not represent the reading either of DH. or TD2). That there is reason to doubt such an explanation (p. 1, n. 2) of *fraša-* as from *fra-esāy-*, has been suggested in *BSOS.*, VI, 595 fol., in connection with *frāšm* (for this word, to the passage there adduced, can be added Dd. 1.12: 36.104).

In the essay Spendarmat-Demeter, the life of the nomad is sketched instructively. The explanation of *ārmaitiš* as a vṛddhi form of **rmatī*- is suggestive, although one might rather propose **ā-rmatī*-, if it may be assumed that the word was first applied to the earth.

It may be suggested that in the problem of Avestan *yaoršti*- mentioned p. 15, note, Sogd. *ywē*- "to teach" and *yγws*- "to learn", with the participles *yγwt*- and *yγwst*-, beside the Munjī *yurs*- "to learn" may be useful. From this one would get a meaning more in accord with the Pahlavi translation.

Pp. 26-8 treat of an elephant, cut in black stone, ascribed to Sasanian times, in its relations with the sculptures of Tāq i Bustān, with four excellent plates.

In Heft 2 is published a new edition of the *Charte de fondation* of the palace at Susa. It corresponds to the importance of the text that so soon after its first publication by P. Scheil, 1929, it should have been studied twice in the *JAOS.* by R. Kent, in the *WZKM.* by W. Brandenstein, as also by König, to which are to be added the interpretations of Benveniste, *BSL.*, 1930, and of Weissbach, all of whom have contributed largely to the understanding of the text. Further fragments found subsequently have but just been published, by P. Scheil (1933), which are important in deciding some of the problems still unsolved. In the rich commentary which Professor Herzfeld has given to the text, there is much of great interest for history, geography, and language. On p. 54 there is a further discussion on *kan*-. It is urged that in *kan*- is contained a word originally referring to earthworks. To this the Ossetic words to which attention was called in *BSOS.*, VI, 593, and the derivatives of *ni-kan*- are additional support.

The treatment of the word *aršniš* will probably not prove acceptable (it is not adopted by Kent). To justify a transcription *ārašnīš*, it is not sufficient to compare Pahl. *asp bālāy* (gloss to Avestan *ārštjō*, *barza*) without also mentioning the phrase *nēzak bālāy* (three times in Pahl. Riv. Dd., cap. 48, § 98). The Akkadian version *ammatu* surely makes "cubit" the only satisfactory rendering.

The proposal on p. 76 to read *arīk* as *ābrīka*- "belonging to Ahriman" is probably the best interpretation of the word so far offered. On p. 81 we learn of a Persepolis inscription with the words *mayū.ra kāsakaina*, of which *mayū.ra* "nail" appears for the first time.

The whole of the text of the Chart is given in the three versions

in cuneiform with the proposed reconstructions of the broken passages.

Heft 3 is devoted to problems of the Old Persian script and orthographic rules and their relation to the presumed existence of verses in the inscriptions. A great part of the new views here urged is based upon a large use of the Elamite version. An attempt is made to prove that this Elamite version in its transcription of Old Persian words and names offers a nearer representation of the actual Old Persian pronunciation of the time of Darius. The facts seem not to bear out this theory to the extent presumed. An examination of the case of *h*, for example, speaks against it. So the word Old Pers. *visadahyu-* (the corresponding word *dih* in Mod. Pers. has a still audible *h*) is represented by Elam. (in Weissbach's transcription) *mi-iš-ša-da-a-hu-iš* with *h*, but Old Pers. *dahyauwā*, *B.*, i. 26. is in Elam. *da-a-ja-u-iš ha-ti-ma*. In *B.*, i. 1. *sunkuk da-a-u-[i]š-be-na* translates *xšāyaθiya dah[yūnām]*. Hence without *h*. The month name Old Pers. *θārawāhara-* (which almost certainly contains a word cognate with NPers. *bahār* "spring") appears in Elam. as *tu-ir-ma-ir*. Initially, Elam. has sometimes *h-*, sometimes an initial vowel, where Old Pers. has initial vowel, as in *ariy*, Elam. *har-ri-ja-ma*, but Old Pers. *haymatāna-* is in Elam. *ag-ma-da-na*. It is impossible to use Elamite for the pronunciation here. This is equally the case for *auramazdā*, *vahau[ka]*, *vahyazdāta*. That *vahu-*, *vahyah-* were ever pronounced by Persians or Medians without *h* is hard to believe. Even now the *h* is audible in NPers. *bih*. The Aramaic Papyrus has *vhemis*, where Old Pers. has *raumisa-*. Foreign transcriptions such as the Greek (for example, *ωχος*) or Elamite do not render Persian with exactitude. This is without doubt also true of the nasal in the Elam. and Akkad. transcriptions of Old Pers. *čissatarma-*. Similarly the nasal in Elam. *da-ad-du-man-ja* need not indicate a nasal in the Old Pers. form, any more than in the Akkad. *ca-tu-a*. Further, the discussion of Old Pers. *vīva n.* p. 89. cannot be considered satisfactory. A derivative of **vavahant-* must surely still have an indication of the *hv* in Old Pers. Nor does it seem altogether acceptable to use Elam. *kam-bar-ma* to prove the reading *Gaubarva*, p. 112, for Old Pers., when on p. 117 Elam. *tar-ma* is claimed as a loanword from Old Pers. *duruva-*. There are other points of this kind. It is doubtful if much certainty can be found in this treatment. But it raises important and difficult problems which will, it is hoped, one day be solved.

NEUE ORIGINALQUELLEN DES MANICHÄISMUS AUS AEGYPTEN. Vortrag . . . von Prof. Dr. CARL SCHMIDT. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1933. RM. 0.60.

In this lecture Professor Carl Schmidt has given a succinct account of his discovery of the Coptic Manichean texts, and of their contents. The same matters have been dealt with, sometimes in the same words, but with far greater detail and with the actual texts, quoted here only in translation, with full commentary by Professor Schmidt and Dr. Polotsky in *SbPAW.*, 1933. To this latter book the reader must turn for the rich mass of new information. The present lecture, however, is of interest to a wider circle. At the end of the lecture the author has indicated his views of Mani's position in regard to the other founders of religions. He recognizes in Mani the last of the Gnostics, to whom Hellenistic philosophy, independently of Gnosticism, was unknown. It is the oriental spirit which is revealed in the Coptic texts. This is in agreement with the views of Professor Schaeder in his review of the fuller treatise of Schmidt and Polotsky (*Gnomon*, 9, 1933). It is, however, too early yet to know to what extent the Coptic texts themselves will reveal developments of dogma.

H. W. B.

SAKA STUDIES. By STEN KONOW. Oslo Etnografiske Museum Bulletin 5. pp. vi + 2 + 198. Oslo, 1932. 25s.

Professor Konow has offered a feast in these *Saka Studies*. Here we find a careful treatment of Saka phonology and morphology, based on all the published material. Some material, indeed, remains unpublished, which will later certainly bring much enlightening information. With what is known, however, a firm foundation has here been laid.

A few points may be noted:—

Mid. Iran. *gōšt* "flesh" is probably *gō-št-* "consisting of *gō* (that is, *gar-*, hence flesh of the ox)". It therefore agrees excellently with Saka *gōšta-*, with older *st* not *št*.

āljsīndi "they sing" attests *ark-* in Iranian. It was earlier known only in Arm. *erg* "song" and Sansk. *ark-* "to sing".

pīr- "to write" would more satisfactorily be explained from **pīstra-* to *paīs-*. It is impossible to connect it with Mid. Iran. Pahl. *dipīvar*, which occurs as *divira* in the Kharoṣṭhī documents.

Besides the examples of *nd* > *n* on p. 29, there are the interesting

cases *pabana*, *van-*, *tran-*. Hence *khanaa* "smile" is clearly from *rand-*, and *gganāmaa* "smelling" from *gand-*. In Saka the treatment of *-nd-* and *-nt-* differs.

vāna- "hall", pp. 35 and 192, is probably **vāhana-*, cf. *āna* "sitting" from **āhāna-* and *hvara* "sister" for the *-h-*. The Arm. word to compare is *van-* (not *vahan*, p. 192).

śśandā "earth" corresponds to Avestan *spanta-*, a view held now also by Professor Konow.

hauta "knowledge", *hautta*, 3rd sing. inj. "know", *hostä* "he knew", provide the explanation of Arm. *hauat* "proof, faith", and Arm. *hauasti* "sure", both from **ha-vat-*.

thalte- in *nāhalte-*, *nūhalte-*, *prahalte-*, *hamthalte-*, *hamthrrīsāmata*, *thargga*, suggests rather Avestan *θruxta-* "pressed together" and its cognates.

anaulsa "free from desire" is perhaps to be compared with Oss. *varzun* "to love", then *-ǰ-š-* > *s*. To this may belong also Turfan Mid. Iran. *vřžrg* **āvaržūγ* and Pahl. *ārzūk*, NPers. *ārzū* "desire".

bitcūśśā, 2nd sing. "you adorn", suggests the **cauk-* of the Arm. loanword *paçoiç* "adornment" from **pati-cauc-*. The Saka form would then be "inchoative", as *nyhīśś-*.

brraṣṭa- is like Old Pers. *frašta-*, *frusta-*, rather than **pṛsta-* (p. 58).

ājum- "to lead" looks like Pahl. *gumb-*, NPers. *ǰumb-* "to move".

kuṣṭa "palace" offers a means of explaining Av. *kuošta-*.

staura agrees exactly with Pahl. *staβr*, NPers. *istabr* "firm".

rahīndā "he sinks" is probably **ava-hr-n-ati* to Sogd. *γr-* "to go", that is, *har-*, Skt. *sar-*. The form will be like *gīndā* "he makes" **krnati*.

vahīys- "descend" is **ava-hai-*. Cf. Turfan Mid. Iran. S. *rihēz* "moving from", Pahl. *rihēz* "movement" (frequently).

vanda beside *vānda* shows that *a* and *ā* may at times interchange, hence *uysnāta* "elevated" is perhaps **uz-mata-* to *nam-*, cf. Skt. *unnata-*.

There remains a large number of unexplained words. But the work so far accomplished is already great. The present studies represent an important advance on earlier treatment.

H. W. B.

CHRESTOMATHIE DE L'ARMÉNIEN MODERNE AVEC VOCABULAIRE.

Publiés par FRÉDÉRIC MACLER. Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale des Langues orientales vivantes. pp. 393. Paris: Geuthner, 1932. 100 francs.

This is a useful book to serve as an introduction to the study of the two principal modern Armenian dialects. It contains 204 pages of texts in prose and verse, of which ten pages are in the reformed alphabet of Erivan as a specimen of the new orthography. The rules of this orthography are set forth by M. David-Beg. The vocabulary will probably suffice for the learner. It is excellently printed.

H. W. B.

RELIGIONE DEI YEZIDI. Testi religiosi dei Yezidi. Traduzione, introduzione, e note di GIUSEPPE FURLANI. Testi e Documenti per la Storia delle Religioni divulgati a cura di Raffaele Pettazzoni. Vol. III. pp. x + 124. Bologna, 1930. L. 12.

Professor Furlani has offered in this book a brief account of what is known of the beliefs, the sect, and the cult of the Yezīdīs, and has added translations of the two sacred books, the memorial of 1873, prayers, and catechism. New facts about the actual conditions of the Yezīdīs are not to be expected but in this book and in his further contribution, "Sui Yezidi" in the *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 1932, the author has suggested interesting conclusions. He has shown that the origin of the name Melek Tāūs is to be found in Muslim legends of the temptation of Eve by the peacock. As to Sheikḥ 'Adī and 'Adī ibn Musātir, it is now necessary to consider the views of M. Guidi (*RSO.*, 1932), who gives grounds for tracing the Yezīdī sect back to propaganda of exaggerated veneration (غلو) for the Omayyads. This makes a connection of the present-day Yezīdīs with Yazīd the Omayyad, as suggested by tradition, quite possible. Doubts suggested as to the authenticity of the two sacred books, the *Kitāb al-jilwah* and the *maṣḥaf i raš*, are discussed at length and shown to be unfounded. It is an interesting and useful book.

H. W. BAILEY.

STUDIEN ZU EINER OSTTÜRKISCHEN LAUTLEHRE. VON GUNNAR JARRING. pp. xv + 156 + 53. pls. 1. Leipzig: Lund, 1933. 16s.

The Turkish language at various periods and in its various dialects has been recorded in a number of different scripts, of which very few

have been well suited and none adequate to the reproduction of the delicate vowel system which is the chief characteristic of this and kindred language groups. The main scripts used by the Turks themselves have been the Runic of the early inscriptions and some manuscripts; the Estrangelo, employed both for inscriptions and for books; the Uighur alphabet derived from the Aramaic, through Soghdian the Latin alphabet used by the Christian Comanes; the Arabic, the Hebrew, the Armenian, and the Greek -not to mention the more recent adaptation of the Russian alphabet for Central Asian dialects and the new Latin script made compulsory in the new Turkish Republic. Of all these alphabets the least adapted to represent Turkish sounds was the one which has in the past been the most extensively employed, namely the Arabic, which, like the other Semitic alphabets, contains only *three* characters representing vowels -namely, *a*, *i(y)*, and *u(w)*, which are also employed as consonants. The most scientific of the older scripts was the Runic, which is natural as it was invented by the Turks themselves.

During the past thirty years much attention has been paid to the study of Old Turkish, thanks mainly to the decipherment of the Orkhon inscriptions by Vilhelm Thomsen; the discovery of a large number of documents in Central Asia of Buddhist, Christian, and Manichæan contents; and finally of the most fortunate recovery of the *Divân-i-Lughat-i-Turk* of Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī.

In addition to all these newly-discovered documents, Turkish scholars have at their disposal the vast mass of materials collected by Radloff and others for the study of all the principal dialects. Of these none is more valuable than the living language of Chinese Turkestan, which represents the nearest approach to the old Uighur. This branch is divided into the northern dialect, which is spoken from Aqsu to Hami, and the southern dialect, spoken from Kashghar to Cherchen. There is further a dialect called by Radloff the Taranchi, spoken in the Ili valley. By far the best known of these is the dialect of Kashghar, of which R. B. Shaw published a grammar and a dictionary in the 'seventies.

Apart from the general linguistic researches of Berezin, Katanov, Kúnos, Hartmann, Vambéry, Bang, and others, the first really important contribution to the phonetics of Kashghari was made by G. Raquette, who in 1909 published his contribution to the existing knowledge of the Eastern Turkestan dialect,¹ and in 1912-14 his

¹ *Journal de la Société finno-ougrienne*, xxvi, 5. Helsingfors, 1909.

Eastern Turki Grammar.¹ Raquette's works, which now include an admirable English-Turki dictionary, deal mainly with the literary language, although he occasionally gives the popular equivalents in parenthesis.

Dr. Gunnar Jarring has now produced the first attempt to formulate a comprehensive study of the phonetics (*Lautehre*) of Eastern Turkish, and has given us a work of outstanding excellence. Whereas Raquette adopted the Lepsius system, Jarring has taken the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, although he seems to have a preference for "Landmålsalfabet". Like Raquette he uses fifteen vowels. His transcriptions are all based on the pronunciation used in Kashghar: the examples, however, are all exclusively derived from the written language and no account is taken of purely colloquial forms. One of the main characteristics of all Eastern Turkish dialects is the omission of the letter *r* before another consonant, resulting usually in a lengthening of the preceding vowel, thus: beigen *bergen*, and kömesem *kömesem*. *r* also disappears at the end of the demonstratives *bul* (bu:), *sol* (so:), and *ol* (o:); but if they are followed by a grammatical ending the lengthening disappears, e.g. *bulæ nî* for *bul-læ r-nî*, *şonîy* for *sollarîy*, and *şarîy* for *şlarrîy*.

Jarring calls attention to the interesting fact that Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī (writing in A.D. 1066) notes that biliteral verbs can in the preterite become trilateral: thus *bardî* becomes *bārdî*, and *turdî* becomes *tūrdî*, though he does not note the disappearance of the *r*. Jarring denies that there is a tendency to lengthen the preceding vowels in an exaggerated manner by way of compensating for the lost *r*, as maintained by Hartmann and Kúnos: but I think such lengthening does occur not only in such cases, but also before *y*. I have myself heard *uē:qe kettey* for *u(qer)qe kettîy*.

In connection with the examples Jarring gives of the change from *i* to the diphthong *ij*, as in *keimék* for *kîmek* (to dress), and *kejn* for *kî:n* (after). I would note the opposite tendency which occurs, for example, in قَيْن *qain* (in-law), which is sometimes pronounced and even written قَيْن *qāin*.

Jarring notes a number of important changes which take place in the consonants, such as *b* = *p*, e.g. *χup*. Persian *χab*: *d* > *t*, which always occurs at the end of a word, e.g. *namrat* *namurat:d*;

¹ *Methoden der Sammlung für Orientalische Sprachen. Jahrg. 15-17, Abt. 2.* Berlin, 1912-14.

$k > \dot{c}$ (which only occurs in *čirmek* "to enter" and *čim* "who?"); $t > \dot{c}$ (only in *čirik* for *tirik* "living"); $t > \dot{s}t$, as in *ışt* for *it* "a dog"; $k > \dot{s}k$, as in *ışki* for *iki* "two". He does not, however, note in his list the change $\dot{s} > \dot{c}$, although examples occur in his texts of *uś* for *uē* "three". I have also heard this change in the expression *ış-kuś* for *ış-kuj* "business".

As an appendix to his *Lautlehre*, Jarring has given a small number of extracts in prose and verse text, transcription and translation. Among the prose extracts are two stories from Rabghūzī's *Qasas ul-anbiyā*,¹ which go to show how little the language of Kashghar has changed since the days of the Qarakhanids.

What is still required is a grammar of the spoken Turki. With the help of Raquette's grammar and dictionary and Jarring's *Lautlehre*, we can know how this language is written and how the written language is read: we still await a description of the colloquial in which many verbal forms occur which have never yet received the attention of scholars, and when the colloquial grammar comes to be written, there will be much more to be said regarding the phonetics of Eastern Turki. In the meanwhile, Dr. Jarring has provided us with a very clear and scholarly analysis of the sounds which are employed by Kāshgharīs of to-day when reciting the literary language.

The literary language for example, does not admit such common contractions and modifications as iki for ikān , *meki* for **mu-ikān* (and inversion of *ikān-mu*), *kelandur* for *kelādurma*.

E. D. R.

SUFIKSY IMIENNE I CZASOWNIKOWE W JEZYKU ZACHODNIOKARAĪMSKIM.

Przyczynek do morfologii języków tureckich. (Les suffixes nominaux et verbaux dans la langue des Karaïms occidentaux. Contribution à la morphologie des langues turques. Avec résumé français.) Par ANANJASZ ZAJACKOWSKI. Prace Komisji orientalistycznej Nr. 15 (Mémoires de la Commission orientaliste No. 15). 9½ × 6¼. pp. vi — 195. Kraków, 1932.

This is an elaboration of the author's thesis for doctorate, which he submitted four years ago to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Cracow. It is an extensive study of all suffixes that are found in the Western Karaim dialects as spoken in Troki, Lutsk, and Halicz.

¹ The oldest and most important MS. of this work is in the British Museum (No. 638, see Rieu Cat. Turk. MSS., p. 269b).

These dialects are of great importance in the historical study of Turkish, since they are closely related to the Kipchak language of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries as recorded in Arabic, and the language of the "Codex Cumanicus", a Latin-Persian-Turkish vocabulary, of the thirteenth to fourteenth century.

The words in Turkish, be they nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, or postpositions, are mostly composed of stems and various suffixes, whilst the number of pure stems is comparatively small. A thorough study of suffixes like the present work should therefore enable us to determine the possible stem of a given Turkish word. In practice, however, a fair amount of difficulty and uncertainty confronts us in many cases.

The author divides the Turkish suffixes into four categories: (1) suffixes which serve to form nouns from nominal stems, (2) suffixes which form nouns from verbal stems, (3) suffixes which form verbs from verbal stems, and (4) suffixes which form verbs from nominal stems. Following this classification he has shown us that an "artery" (*kūmatšīχ*) is but an offshoot of the "guts" (*kūīma*), a "rainbow" (*īāīa*) is something that "stretches" (*īāī-*), one "stutters" (Kir. *tutuk-*) when one is "caught" (*tut-*) while speaking, and when it "thunders" (*kōkīa-*) there is a "noise" (Tel. *kū*).¹ Many such interesting examples of derivation may be quoted from the volume, where we also find several instances of doubtful etymology. Is he quite certain that, e.g. the word *aχtša* "money" is built on *aχ* "white", and not on the word corresponding to Uig. *ayī* "treasure, riches" as Professor Ramstedt believes? ² Can we rule out the possibility that it has been derived from *aχ-* "to flow", on the ground that *-tša* is not a deverbal suffix? Have not the words *issi* "warm" and *issīn-* "to get warm" (*išši* and *iššīn-* according to Professor T. Kowalski) sprung from **is* < **isi* (cf. Chag. *isiy*, Uig. *i:ik* "warm")? ³ If so, the suffix *-si* of *issi* would probably differ from that of *issīn-*.

In the present study, Dr. Zajaczkowski has availed himself of all the works on the Karaim dialects published by Professor T. Kowalski and other Turkish scholars. There are, however, some words that escaped his attention. Take e.g. the word *antša* "as much", which occurs in Kuman in the form *antsagina* "as much". There can be no doubt that these words are derived from *an-*, a variant of *ot* "that", as in *anda* "there", *antīχ* "that", etc. But how are we to classify

¹ Cf. pp. 25, 106, 3, 141.

² Cf. p. 23.

³ Cf. p. 112.

the suffix *-tša*? Is it a diminutive suffix, as in *ńetsša* "some", or is it identical with what is called "aequativus" by the author? Or, again, has it anything to do with the suffix *-tšu* in Uig. *antsubayu* "thus",¹ which corresponds to Mongol *egüntšilen* "thus"? If it is connected with this *-tšu*, why is it not found in the Karaim *ātei* (< **ātaiū*) "thus"? Further, is the word *čšū* "nape" indivisible? If it includes the suffix *-sa* ~ *-sä* (cf. Kaz. *ıysä*, Kir. *epsä*, Chuv. *anzä* "nape"), then the stem *čš* cannot be of verbal origin, since, following Dr. Zajaczkowski's classification, this suffix is used with nominal stems.

In the fifth chapter, which is devoted to a study on the phonetic changes in Turkish stems and suffixes, various phenomena characteristic of the Karaim dialects are briefly discussed. The most striking are: the palatalization of vowels due to an immediately preceding or following *i* or *tš*, the labialization of vowels under the influence of *b*, *p*, *v*, and *m*, and the changes from *γ* and *g* to *i* and *v*.

We are in entire agreement with the author in his belief that "ce n'est que lorsqu'on aura étudié tous les monuments connus de la littérature turque ainsi que les dialectes contemporains, qu'on pourra atteindre le but le plus important de la turcologie: l'élaboration d'une grammaire comparée des langues turques". And for this very reason the book under review is a long-needed contribution to Turkish linguistics.

S. Y.

DIE KAISERLICHEN ERLASSE DES SHOKU-NIHONGI IN TEXT UND ÜBERSETZUNG MIT ERLÄUTERUNGEN. I. Einleitung und Semmyō 1-29. Von HERBERT ZACHERT. Sonderdruck aus Asia Major. Vol. VIII, fasc. 1-2. 9¼ x 6¼. pp. 128. Leipzig, 1932.

The Semmyō, or the Imperial Edicts contained in the Shoku-Nihongi (A.D. 797), have a twofold significance. Besides providing us with historical data they form one of the few valuable specimens extant of the earliest Japanese prose work. The Edicts were partly translated by Mr. G. B. Sansom into readable English, and were published in 1924 in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan (Second Series, vol. i).

Finding this rendering somewhat too free and insufficient, Dr. Zachert has undertaken to give a complete translation of the

¹ Cf. S. Is'haki, "Denominale Verbbildungen in den Turksprachen," *Orientalia*, vol. ii, fasc. 1, 1933, p. 78.

Edicts, with a transliteration of the original text, in the work under review. When brought to a completion the present translation, which is more faithful to the original than is Mr. Sansom's attempt, will undoubtedly furnish the foreign student of the early history of Japan with much useful material.

The linguistic value of the original work is seriously impaired by the translator's inadequate treatment of the text. The transliteration, in which I have found no fewer than a hundred misprints and omissions, is inconsistent, and hence artificial: he has neither followed modern pronunciation throughout nor endeavoured to present the text as it was probably read in the eighth century.

Apart from the problem of transliteration the following points may be noted:—

p. 24, ll. 8–9: "Die Goldminen von Tsushima werden erschlossen" should read "Das rohe Gold aus Tsushima wird gereinigt".

p. 24, l. 12: "Goldgewinnung in Mutsu" should be "Reinigung des Goldes aus Mutsu".

p. 26, l. 27: "in Korea" should read "nördlich von Korea".

p. 28, last line: "Kisshin" should be "Kishin".

p. 29, ll. 7–8: "Abt des Tempels Yakushiji in Shimotsuke" should be "Oberaufseher der Bauten des Tempels Yakushiji in Shimotsuke".

p. 36, n. 16: "mo steht hier" should read "nagara mo steht hier".

p. 38, ll. 1–2: *turimahite* (多利麻比曇), which Motowori altered into *tachimahite*, has been interpreted by Mr. S. Matsuoka as meaning "enfeebled" (*Kogo Daijiten*, pp. 829–830).

p. 43, l. 10: "Vernehmet insgesamt die erlauchten Worte, die solches besagen. So künde ich." should be inserted after "in aller Ehrfurcht".

p. 47, n. 5: "kashikomi" is the Ren-yō-kei of the verb *kashikomu*.

p. 49, l. 16: "(庸 Jō)" should read "(庸 Yō) dieses Jahres".

l. 17: "(調 Cho)" should be "(調 Chō) des betreffenden Kreises".

p. 55: The last line of the translation should be followed by something like "Dem Kinai der Hauptstadt erlassen Wir gänzlich die Kopfsteuer".

p. 59, n. 8: The *-mi* in *sukunami* is not a substantival suffix, but is a descriptive gerundial suffix (see my article in *BSOS.*, vol. vi, part 3, p. 655).

p. 61, n. 10: Both *kokida* and *kokoda* mean "so viel wie das, so viele wie diese", not "zahlreich, wichtig".

p. 73, n. 4: "Ein (Befehls-) Übermittler (*ten*)" should read "Ein Begleitender (-Lehrer) (*fu*)", since the word quoted here is 傳, not 傳.

p. 73, n. 5: "Shinki (715)" should be "Reiki (716)"; "22" should be "24".

p. 99, n. 4: *kuna* seems to be the second half of the compound *katakuna* as Motowori suggests. It is therefore not composed of *-ku* and *na* as Dr. Zachert wrongly interpreted Motowori's commentary. Such a form as *kataku na* is altogether inadmissible in the Japanese language of the eighth century. If the word *kuna* has the same meaning as *katakuna* "stupid, dull" (cf. Semmyō No. 35), then it must mean "dull" here also. This interpretation seems to fit in well with the fact that Komaro was called *noroshi* (乃呂志, "dull").

p. 119, n. 1: "(734)" seems a mistake for "(762)".

p. 120, n. 11: 稍 here means "allmählich", not "ziemlich".

It is to be hoped that Dr. Zachert, in his future publications on ancient Japanese, will adopt a method similar to that employed in Professor J. L. Pierson's *Man-yō-shū*. This will enable the reader to appreciate the exact linguistic significance of the original text.

S. YOSHITAKE.

IL-KOTBA MQADDSA. Maqlubin mill-lhudi u mfissrin bil Malti minn DUN P. P. SAYDON. It-tieni ktieb (1930), It-tietlet ktieb (1930), Ir-raba' ktieb (1931), Il-hames ktieb (1931), Is-sitt ktieb (1931, completing the Hexateuch); Ktieb l-imhallfin u Ktieb Rut (1932). Six thin vols. in 8vo. Malta: Empire Press.

Four years ago we noticed the beginning of the work of Bible translation undertaken by Professor Saydon of Malta University. Since then he has proceeded apace and has now overtaken his friends and competitors, P. P. Grima and A. M. Galea (whose work had started with Judges), and has now covered the Books of Samuel which have, however, not yet been published though we have had an opportunity of seeing the proofs. Hence we have now the advantage of being able to compare the two variant translations, one on the Kâf-K, Qâf-Q system of spelling, and the other on the Kâf-C, Qâf-K system. Both systems have their following in Malta, and both translations are full of interest in their differing renderings, though, speaking roughly, it may be said that Saydon's besides being rather more stately in its prose is also more Semitic in its construction, for instance in the relative position of verb and noun. Galea: *il Mulej . . . rieghed*; Saydon: *rieghed il Mulej* "the Lord thundered". Apart from the

letters *k* and *g*, and also the use of the *w*, both writers, as indeed most Maltese, agree in the use of the other letters. Dotted *ċ* stands for *ch* as in "child". *g* is hard as in "girl", dotted *ġ* is soft as in "Jim", *j* stands for *y*, *r* for *š*. The emphatics, both in speech and writing, were long ages ago reduced to *d*, as in *dalma* "darkness", *drawwa* "custom", *dawwar dahru* "he turned his back". In the eighteenth century M. A. Vassalli had distinguished in his Lexicon between the *ghain* and the *'ain* and between the *h* and the *ħ*, but though this distinction was maintained by Falzon even in the second edition of his dictionary, for the past eighty years no Maltese writer has observed it, nor does it exist in the spoken tongue; *h* and *ħ* are now universally rendered by *ħ*, and both *ghain* and *'ain* by *ġħ*. For instance, *u reġhel ġħadbu* "and his wrath flared up".

In the matter of the vowels the very frequent combination *ie*, usually standing for Arabic *ā*, is considered as a digraph; with this exception two vowels can never meet in the same word or in words in juxtaposition. Various devices are adopted to secure the observance of this rule, for instance the changing of a vowel into its related consonant *w* or *j*: *W uliedek* "and thy children"; *mara bla wlied* "a woman without children".

In some few words the *ghain* has become a *ħ*; *ħasil* "washing", *maħfra* "forgiveness". The *'ain* at the end of a word often drops away: The common word *issa* "now, forthwith" is really *is-sieġħa*. The verb in the sentence *smajt kliemkom* "I have heard your words" is really *samaġħ*. Geo. Percy Badger, the noted Arabist, who owed his knowledge of Arabic to his having passed his boyhood in Malta, in the days when he was a printer in the employ of the Malta branch of the C.M.S., published a little magazine which he called *Smaitch* (it would now be spelt *Smajtx*: "Hast thou heard?"). Very rarely the *ġ* as in "Jim" becomes *ċ* as in "chin": *wiċċ l-art* "the face of the earth". Arabic *f* has become *b* in one word: *beżġħu* "they feared"; in another, Arabic *š* has become *s*: *sijar* "trees". In one word of constant occurrence there is a metathesis of *fs* for *sf*: *f'nofs il-baħar* "in the midst of the sea". In some half-dozen words the article has coalesced with the noun, for instance in *ilma* "water", giving in the plural *l'ilmijiet* "the waters"; in *Lhud* "Jews", and in *Isiera* "slaves" (Arabic *asāra*): also in the word *lemin* "right hand", *lemintek* "thy right hand", and in *lura* "back, backwards". Vowels are sometimes dropped, sometimes inserted: *isem* "a name", *ismu* "his name", *star* "a veil", *l'istar* "the veil".

In the matter of the verbs, Maltese is very fond of the second form of the verb, where Arabic uses the fourth: *dahhalhom* "he made them enter"; *jiena nwebbislu qalbu* "I will harden (lit. 'dry') his heart"; *rikkibhom fuq hmar* "he made them ride on an ass". In one verb the eighth Arabic form of the verb *hayyar* is used as a first-form verb: *min hatar il-Mulej* "whom the Lord hath chosen". In the Maltese verb *sataghh*, a tenth-form verb (*istatagha*) has been similarly reduced: *ma setghux* "they were not able". There are in Maltese a few mimimated verbs derived from participles of lost verbs: *maqdar* "to contemn" is one instance: *u maqdrnh* "and they despised him". Prepositions *b* and *fi* combine with the following article: *bl-egħġubijiet* "with wonders"; *fit-triq* "on the way"; *fid-deheb, fil-fidda u fl-inħas* "in gold, in silver, and in copper". In the case of the preposition *minn*, the final liquids coalesce with the article: *mill-imrieħel* "of the flocks"; *huma u deħlin mill-bieb* "as they were entering the gate"; *barra mit-tfal* "exclusive of the children". The same thing occasionally happens with the preposition *magħ* "with": *min hu mal-Mulej* "he who is with the Lord".

There are several composite words in use: *minnġhajr* "without"; *kullhadd* "everybody"; *minħabba* "because" (lit. "for love of"); *minħabba d-dubbien* "because of the flies"; *fost* "in the midst of", contracted from *f'wast*. Many words have somewhat altered their meaning: *ħazin* means "bad" not "sad"; *riġel ħziena* "evil men"; *l-aħbar ħazina* "bad tidings". In a few cases a same word differently spelt is specialized to denote different things. Thus the same Arabic and Hebraic word which denotes "hand" and "authority" is in Maltese written *il* when it means "hand" and *jedd* when it stands for "authority": *il il-Mulej* "the hand of the Lord", *jedd is-saltna* "the authority of kingship".

But what must above all strike the casual reader who has a nodding acquaintance with Arabic is the overwhelming predominance on every page of the digraph *ie* standing for the Arabic *ā*. The resemblance with the Arabic of Old Granada, phonetically rendered by Pedro de Alcalá, is too striking to be merely casual though the connection has never been satisfactorily explained. *Lbies* "garments", *rummien* "pomegranates", *frier* "a bed", *rmied* "ashes", *kbier* "rams", *ħrief* "lambs", *kilwiet* "kidneys", *wieġeb* "he answered": *il-kittien* "the flax", *l'imriċġ* "the waves", *il-klieb* "the dogs", *fuq il-bhejġem* "on the beasts", *mieł u biesu* "he bowed and kissed him", *raġel wieħed* "a single man", *tinbidel f'raġel ieħor* "thou shalt be changed

into another man". *ktiebek li ktibt* "the book thou hast written", *kwiekeb tas-sema* "the stars of heaven", *brieħ tax-zhieda* "the tables of the Testimony", *kliem in-nies* "the words of the people", *qabel ma ġie* "before he came", *mija tlieta u tletin sena* "a hundred three and thirty years", *Jien inkun miegħek* "I shall be with thee", *tiokol miegħi l-lum* "thou shalt eat with me to-day", *quddiem il-mirkeb* "before the chariot", *bieb l-għarix* "the door of the tent", *riber twila u riber wiesgħa* "its length a span and its breadth a span", *għieġel tad-deheb* "bells of gold", *zeuġ sliesel* "two chains", *taħt iż-zeuġ friegħi* "beneath the two branches", *zeuġ irġiel* "two men", *rġiel u nisa . . . u ħmir* "men, women . . . and asses", *bi driegħ mindud* "with an outstretched arm", *xoġhol in-nissieġ* "the work of the weaver", *lubien safi* "pure incense", *debbiet is-sliem* "sacrifices of peace", *qatt ma kien* "there never was". In the text there are a few (very few) words of Latin or Romance origin. It is worth noticing how these words were assimilated by the old Maltese to the extent of being provided with broken plurals on the approved Maltese measures: *tónka* "a tunic", plur. *tonok*; *bastun* "a stave" or "carrier's pole", plur. *bsaten*.

Each of the volumes has the imprimatur of the Malta Church-Authority. The text is conveniently split up into sections under subtitles; there are copious footnotes explanatory of the text, and there are a few sketch-maps and plans.

C. L. DESSOULAVY.

GEOGRAPHY OF CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY. Translated and edited by E. L. STEVENSON, Ph.D., etc. Folio. pp. xvi + 167, pls. 29. New York: New York Public Library, 1932.

The very unsatisfactory state of the various Greek and Latin MSS. of Ptolemy's Geography, and the backwardness of critical research into these manuscripts and their tradition, are no doubt to blame for the absence of any complete translation of the work hitherto into a modern language. For this reason, if for nothing else, Professor Stevenson's English translation is welcome as a pioneer achievement, although, by the same token, it has been made possible only by a certain boldness of handling. This is frankly admitted by the translator, who—while claiming that his version has been based upon critical study of the best texts and editions—adds: "The intention has been to give that reading which, in the translator's best

judgment, is a faithful representation of what Ptolemy intended to set down in his great work." No one who has even a slight acquaintance with the discrepancies of the MSS. in place-names and in determinations of longitude and latitude can help wondering how many knots have had to be cut in the process, even with the best judgment and most acute analysis.

In view of this, and of the further fact that no indications are given in the text itself either of the MS. followed or of variant readings, it is a little difficult to gather the precise object of the translation. Evidently it may serve a useful purpose in enabling those who have no access to the original texts to examine for themselves Ptolemy's methods and to gain some conception of his work. For critical scholastic work, on the other hand, these are serious drawbacks. The danger is that it may be used as an authoritative source for details, and that not only in regard to such obvious traps as names and figures. For the translation also tends to steer a middle course, often taking the by-pass of paraphrase or desperately shooting the rapids, when those difficulties arise as to the exact reading or significance of the text, with which every translator, however competent—indeed, in proportion to his competence—is only too familiar in his own field. The point may be illustrated by comparing the second sentence of bk. i. ch. 2, as given in the translation, with Professor Fischer's elucidation of the same sentence in the Introduction.

So much it has been necessary to say by way of warning, but none is better aware than the present reviewer that such negative criticism is a poor return for the labour which Professor Stevenson has put into his translation. In Oriental studies particularly it will be of the greatest service to those who need ready access to a Ptolemaic text, backed by the considered judgment of one who has long worked on his material, either for their historical work or in connection with the many problems of medieval Arabic geography. In this way it may even serve a valuable purpose in furthering the study of the Arabic materials, which are of such importance for the critical reconstitution of the original Ptolemaic text itself.

The maps call for little comment. They are taken from the so-called Codex Ebnerianus prepared by Nicolaus Germanus in 1482 and now in the New York Public Library. Though of interest as the basis of the maps contained in the early printed editions of Ptolemy, they have no claim to represent the Ptolemaic originals but, as Professor Fischer, the editor of the Codex Urbinas, shows in a valuable introduction to

the translation (in which he restates his arguments for the existence of a genuine Ptolemaic atlas), have been "revised in the spirit of Ptolemy" by Nicolaus himself.

H. A. R. G.

SARACENIC HERALDRY: A SURVEY. By L. A. MAYER, Ph.D.
pp. xvi + 302, pls. 71. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. 84s.

The book, which Dr. Mayer has produced as a result of his ten years' study of a subject, about which much has been written but little known, even surpasses the expectations of his friends and colleagues. His acknowledgments and the list of collections examined show that he has drawn on all available sources of expert information, but the merit of organizing the material and the thoroughness and precision with which the inscriptions have been verified and the results set down are entirely his own.

For the average student who is not a collector, the most interesting part of the work is the introduction (pp. 3-43), in which all the evidence relating to the use of blazons in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods is concisely examined. Space forbids a detailed statement of Dr. Mayer's conclusions, but though some of them controvert views hitherto held, he may be said to have proved his case pretty thoroughly (always admitting that new evidence may upset the best of arguments). Difficulties still remain, of course. We are told that the blazon was the prerogative of military rank, but the "armorial roll" itself seems to contain some contradictory examples. Apart from the doubtful case of al-'Ainī (pp. 149-150), we find blazons attributed to a certain Sidī Muḥammad (p. 157) and a *khwājā* Muḥammad b. al-Khidr (p. 266).¹ The emblem on the shrine of Shaikh Ilyās dated 671 at Gaza (p. 124) sets a problem connected with the "non-professional" blazons. The *tamgha* which it displays can obviously not be the personal emblem of the Shaikh, since it appears also on a column in the cemetery of Gaza, dated 694, over a member of a totally different family (p. 53). The latter being of Turkmen and amirial descent, the *tamgha* may probably be regarded as his *family* blazon, but how then does it come to be connected with the Shaikh? Is it possible that it was through marriage with a daughter of the house?

In regard to several other symbols of the non-professional group,

¹ There is a clerk of this name in Ibn Hajar's *Durar*, iii. 432, and another with the laqab Shams ad-Dīn in the *Manhal* (Wiet's index, no. 2121).

Dr. Mayer has some instructive suggestions to make. The heraldic form of the fleur-de-lis he holds to be of Saracenic origin (pp. 23-4), and the so-called crescent is probably a horse-shoe (p. 25). In the pair of hollow horn-shaped objects, which appear in composite blazons of the fifteenth century, he sees—with much hesitation—the *sarāwīl al-futūwa* or “trousers of nobility” (p. 21). The reviewer would not presume to question this identification on grounds of artistic representation, but rather on the ground of historical appropriateness. A pair of breeches may well have been borne as an emblem by an amīr like Taqī ad-Dīn during the Caliphate of the romantic an-Nāṣir, who attempted to transform the *futūwa* into an order of chivalry, or even in the thirteenth century, during the revival of the order in the time of Baibars. But by the fifteenth century the *futūwa* had fallen from its high estate,¹ and it is indispensable for the proof of Dr. Mayer’s supposition to produce evidence that al-Ashraf Qā’it-Bāy (in the blazons of whose *mamlūks* these objects are exclusively found) revived—like his earlier namesake, al-Ashraf Khalīl—the *futūwa* as an aristocratic order. If the “breeches” identification is set aside, I would suggest that the objects in question are tusks, and more precisely elephant tusks.²

Much of the uncertainty which besets the subject of Mamluk heraldry is due to the lack of a definite technical vocabulary, which in turn is doubtless to be put down to the absence of any organization corresponding to the European Heraldic Colleges. Even the word *rank* can hardly be listed as an exclusive technical term, as may be seen from the passage from adh-Dhabābī, quoted on p. 144: *wa-kāna rankuhu fī ayyāmi imratihī hākadhā* [figure showing a cup on the lower part of a shield] *wafī ayyāmi mulkihī ṛrāyātī ṣṣufra*. Dr. Mayer translates correctly enough, “While amir he carried this coat of arms, while king yellow banners,” but his subsequent interpretation of the passage as implying merely a change of colours, seems to me to force the text much too far. Is it not simply that *rank* is employed in two senses, in the first for the blazon or device, in the second for the royal colours, as in such phrases as *rank al-khilāfa* “the black banners and robes of the Caliphate”? *Shi-ār*, in turn, means not only “device”, but is also used for colours or banners, as in the common phrase *nādā*

¹ Cf. now Taeschner in *ZDMG.*, 87, 39-40: “Die Futuwwa scheint damals aus den hofischen Kreisen hinabgeglitten zu sein in niedere Volksschichten.”

² Note the reference to tilting at elephants contained in a verse of the *zajal* elegy on Qā’it-Bāy quoted by Ibn Iyās, ii, 300, 1-2.

bi-shi'āri fulān "to proclaim the colours (or banners) of" for "to proclaim allegiance to".

The "armorial roll", which takes up the main part of the book, is compiled with a precision which it would be difficult to overpraise. Attributions of objects to known persons are made only when no possible dubiety exists, and even when the identity of two persons of the same name seems scarcely doubtful (e.g. Jānbalāt, pp. 127 and 129), Dr. Mayer cautiously lists them separately. The biographical references alone represent an immense amount of laborious research, and though other references are doubtless to be found,¹ little would have been gained by extending the list: it is of much more importance that a number of wrong attributions have now been corrected. The inscriptions themselves present several features of interest in language and style which must be passed over here.² The attached translations clear up practically all the difficulties, if occasionally loose in phrase (*al-faqīr ilā'llāh* translated "yearning for God" instead of "who stands in need of God"; *bisifārati* (p. 101), "with the help of" instead of "through the agency of", etc.). For the phrase *عين مقدمين الالوف* in several inscriptions of the fifteenth century (pp. 103, 138, 153), van Berchem's rendering, "Commander designate of a thousand," is retained, but it must be admitted that Goldziher's reserves (in *C.I.A., Egypte*, i. 545, n. 4) as to the validity of this translation still hold good. Van Berchem's principle of always translating the personal honorifics in the form "— ad-Dīn" has also been adopted, but the inscriptions appear to show three stages: (1) Up to the end of the seventh century, when they are uniformly given in full; (2) during the first half of the eighth century, when the *nisba* forms were coming into use,³ the inscriptions frequently give both, e.g. as-Saifī Saif ad-Dīn (pp. 67, 96, 221), al-Jamālī Jamāl ad-Dīn (p. 72), ash-Shamsī Shams ad-Dīn (p. 213), once even as-Saifī an-Nāṣirī Nāṣir ad-Dīn (p. 159); (3) beginning in the eighth century *nisba* forms alone are found, with rare exceptions. Is there any good reason why these distinctions should not be retained?

¹ For Tashtamur al-Badrī add Ibn Battūta, i. 85-6, where the name is written and vocalized Tushtu.

² In Jaqmaq's inscription on the Mosque at Damascus (p. 133) occurs the odd phrase *waghafara lahu waliwūlulahi wal'abbābiki*. Should not the last word be *wal'ajdāthi*?

³ Cf. al-Jamālī in Ibn Batt., i. 86.

Lastly, a word of praise is due to the excellence of the index and of the plates, and to the general production, tempered only by some regret at the primitive and googly design that adorns the jacket.

H. A. R. G.

Revue des Études Islamiques. Publiée sous la direction de L. MASSIGNON.

Tome V (Année 1931). 4 cahiers. pp. 538 + 39. Tome VI (Année 1932). 4 cahiers. pp. 561. Paris : Geuthner. Subscription price 100 francs per annum.

On p. A. 171 of vol. v. Professor Massignon, apropos of a biographical work on A. le Chatelier, gives a definition of his objects and methods of study which may well serve as the motto of the R.E.I.—“*de considérer l'Islam, non plus de dehors, comme un assaillant, mais du dedans, afin d'en apercevoir arialement la structure vitale et les organes solidaires.*” The real originality of this conception, and the predominating sociological trend of its articles, together with their width of range, continue to distinguish the *Revue* from all other journals devoted to Islamic studies (which is not, however, to say that similar articles are not to be found in them also from time to time); and to make it an indispensable consultant for all students of the modern Islamic world. Nevertheless, Professor Massignon is no narrow doctrinaire who strangles the life out of his subject by cramping limitations of time, place, or substrate: he finds room for M. Sauvaget's survey and catalogue of the medieval monuments still existing at Aleppo (1931. 59–124), as well as for Mme Kratchkovskaia's study of the inscriptions of the famous ruined mosque at Veramīn (1931. 25–58, from the photographs and sketches of M. Morosov), and for Professor Gottheil's notes on the modern illustrated copy of the Qur'ān which roused so much interest at the Leiden Congress (1931, 21–4).

The remaining contributions fall into well-defined categories. Questions of legal usage and theory, though the most limited in range, occupy the widest space. Apart from an analysis by L. Mercier (1931, 125–137) of the decree of 1931 reorganizing the Shari'a courts in Egypt—in which he brings out the importance of this legislative action which, while preserving the principles of the canon law, defines the jurisdiction of each class of tribunal and limits the competence of the single *qāḍī*—the legal articles deal exclusively with North-West Africa. R. Vigier criticizes the decree of 19th May, 1931, regulating the divorce

and successorial rights of Kabyle women (1931, 1-19); R. Gromand gives a preliminary account of a peculiar Berber custom in Figuig, called *Bezra*, or confiscation of property by the local Jamā'a to the use of the community (1931, 277-312); L. Milliot publishes his lectures on the *qānūns* of the Kabyle villages, which constitute an important attempt to elucidate their social function and relations, with an interesting lecture on the Kabyle colonies in Paris tacked on (1932, 127-174); and the indefatigable Paul Marty contributes the first part of an exhaustive study of the organization, jurisdiction, etc., of the Shari'a courts in Morocco, as modified by the legislative decrees of the Protectorate (1931, 341-538).

The articles which may be generally classified as relating to the religion of Islam cover, in contrast, a very wide range indeed. M. Marty, in a detailed and careful piece of work, continues (from vol. iv) his investigations into the actual position and influence of Islam in the Niger colony (1931, 139-240). Almost at the opposite extreme are the brief but interesting notes of A. Bonamy on the Muslim populations of Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria (1932, 81-90). An exceptionally brilliant study is contributed by H. Laoust on the ideas and ideals underlying the reformist Salafiya movement in Egypt (1932, 175-225), and provides a valuable supplement to Dr. C. C. Adams's book reviewed elsewhere in this number. One whole issue (1932, cah. iv) is devoted almost entirely to the theological background. W. Ivanow resumes a curious Persian work, the *Ummu'l-Kitāb*, apparently a relic of an early dualistic sect which deified 'Alī, and was subsequently absorbed by the Ismā'īlīs (1932, 419-482), and Paul Kraus gives some supplements and corrections to the Ismā'īlī bibliography recently published by Ivanow (483-490). Another medieval relic, a long-suppressed chapter of Armenian anti-Muslim polemic, rather primitive and violent, is summarized by F. Macler (491-522). To this Professor Massignon subjoins a brief but, as always, penetrating analysis of al-Ghazālī's refutation of the Christian doctrine of the divinity of Christ, from an unpublished MS. of *ar-radd al-jamīl*, together with other materials which lead to the unexpected conclusion that al-Ghazālī's philosophical polemic links on to the Ismā'īlī apologetic (523-536).

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American Educational Inquiry Commission (1932, 231-267). The author, for the soundest of reasons, rejects the Commission's plea for decentralization: "L'organisation scolaire sera centralisée ou ne sera pas." "Pure" sociology is represented also by two articles: a collection of photographs of wedding costumes of brides in the cities of North-West Africa with explanatory notes by [Middle ?] J. Jouin (1931, 313-339), and a study of the social structure of the Shammar of Najd and the relations between nomads and settlers, in which A. Montagne utilizes to good effect the experience and insight acquired in his Moroccan researches (1932, 61-79). In the field of economic sociology, J. Gaulmier writes on the trade-unionist movement at Hamāh, emphasizing the leadership of the intelligentsia and their political rather than industrial aims, as contrasted with the old and now almost extinct guilds (1932, 95-126). Of particular interest to English students is a long article by the Punjabi Rahmat 'Ali, analysing the Hindu-Muslim problem in India from a Marxist standpoint (1932, 270-414). After a somewhat one-sided review of the economic development of India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he finds that economic, rather than political or religious questions are at the bottom of the conflict, the new Muslim bourgeoisie fearing its elimination by the old-established Hindu and Parsi bourgeoisie.

In addition to these articles, J. G. Lemoine contributes a preliminary study of the systems of finger calculation used in Asia and Europe, distinguishing three notations, and hints at some of the wider implications of this study (1932, 1-58), and brief notes are given on the visit of Egyptian theatrical companies to Tunis (1932, 537-544) and on recent political and literary activities in Afghanistan (1932, 545-561). Lastly, Professor Massignon continues his series of *Abstracta Islamica* (1931, cah. iii, separately paginated A. 141-179), of the importance of which enough has been said in the reviews of earlier years to make further remark unnecessary.

H. A. R. G.

ISLAM AND MODERNISM IN EGYPT. By C. C. ADAMS, Ph.D.
pp. ix + 283. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. 7s. 6d.

The sub-title of Dr. Adams's book, "A Study of the Modern Reform Movement inaugurated by Muḥammad 'Abduh", supplies the necessary corrective to the rather excessive width of the subject implied in the title, since he has limited himself to an exhaustive study of one important section of the modernist movement. After

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a short chapter on Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī, 159 pages are given to the biography and an analysis of the doctrines of Muḥammad ‘Abduh, followed by three chapters on the activities of his followers (especially the journal *al-Manār*) and his influence on the younger Egyptian modernists. Though it is by no means the first time that Muḥ. ‘Abduh has claimed the attention of European scholars, all previous writers have studied him in the abstract from his writings; this solid and well-documented monograph is the first which presents him in the round, in his own historical and political setting, and which brings out his work as a practical reformer. Speaking for himself, the present reviewer is inclined to doubt whether his work as a thinker, an assimilator of the new knowledge of the West and a theological scholar, has anything but a temporary significance, that is to say as a stimulant, more important in its effects than in itself. Professor Horten’s criticism, summarized in pp. 105–7, certainly makes an impossible demand; Islam (and Europe too) has still far to go before any such synthesis as he envisages can be practicable or acceptable. Dr. Adams is fully justified in rejecting his view as “too scholastic and detached” and in insisting that Muḥ. ‘Abduh’s thought and his practical activities go hand in hand. But, of course, such an analysis of his teachings as this book gives us has a definite value as representing a phase in the development of Muslim thought, which is the more deserving of attention as it is by no means confined to Egypt.

It would be difficult to improve upon the compact and thorough survey of Muḥ. ‘Abduh’s life which Dr. Adams has written, though there will always be room for differences of estimate. During the second period of his career, for instance, Muḥ. ‘Abduh’s ideas seem to have been even more completely dominated by Jamāl ad-Dīn than he would allow. In *al-Urwa al-Wuthqā*, at least, though the pen is ‘Abduh’s the voice is Jamāl ad-Dīn’s, and this is borne out by the numerous references which the articles contained to Afghānistān. (Incidentally, this fact, and more especially the impression of hostility left on his mind by the British operations in Afghānistān in 1839–1842, confirms the truth of Jamāl ad-Dīn’s Afghan origin.) Or was Jamāl ad-Dīn using him merely as a tool to propagate his militant pan-Islamic views? It can hardly be questioned, on the other hand, that in later life (partly, no doubt, as Dr. Adams says, as a result of his European experiences) he broke decisively with Jamāl ad-Dīn’s methods, though remaining none the less genuinely attached to the political aspirations of Islām.

The last two chapters provide so useful a survey of the modernist movements and literature of Egypt, that one has no heart to quarrel with Dr. Adams over his rather too generous extension of the limits of the "Manār Party". Among the post-war writers he singles out Muṣṭafā and 'Alī 'Abd ar-Rāziq, Ṭāhā Ḥusain, and Maṣṣūr Fahmī for special notice, though with some doubts as to the propriety of bringing Ṭāhā Ḥusain within the sphere of influence of Muḥammad 'Abduh, but these doubts can surely now be set at rest in view of the reminiscences which he has recently published (*Fī's-Ṣaif*, Cairo : Maṭb. al-Hilāl, 1933, pp. 44-7). Of the still younger offshoots of the Ṣalafiya movement, to whom M. Henri Laoust has recently devoted a brilliant article in the *Revue des Études Islamiques* (1932, 175-224), Dr. Adams gives no account in the present volume, but every reader will hope that in due course this, in the reviewer's opinion the most valuable work on Egypt that has appeared of recent years, will be followed by others of the same thoroughness and sureness of judgment.

H. A. R. G.

SHAWKI : MAJNUN LAYLA. Translated by A. J. ARBERRY. pp. 61.
Cairo, 1931. London Agents : Luzac. 5s.

The poetical dramas of Aḥmad Shawqī, which rank as one of the most successful efforts made as yet to acclimatize the dramatic form in modern Arabic literature, well deserve to be more widely known, and Mr. Arberry has rendered a very good service in translating one of the best of them into English. His blank verse not unfairly represents the style and language of the original, given the difference between the structure of poetry in the two languages ; for Shawqī's virtuosity in the handling of rhyme and metre obviously had to go by the board, except in the occasional songs. A careful reading has disclosed very few errors in the rendering ; as the most serious, in that they effect the portrayal of character or incident, may be mentioned : p. 28 : " He's a man who is no friend of the just " (the original being " Ibn 'Awwf is not dealing fairly in that for which he strives ") ; p. 46 : " My misery was no less great than thine " (" An oath [I swear], though not obliged to take an oath to thee ") ; p. 51 : " What fate thus slays the chaste and faithful ? " (" Whose weapons when he slays are forged of naught but chastity and loyalty to plighted troth "). Misprints probably account for one or two phrases that are unintelligible (p. 22 : " Drive plenty down the canyons, Drive the near moon " ; p. 49 :

a stage direction, "Layla (behind her head)"). But in a task of this kind, the most important, and most difficult, thing is to capture the spirit of the original, and in this Mr. Arberry can be said to have succeeded to a remarkable degree. The only general criticism which may be offered is that for the non-specialist reader a fuller introduction to the theme and some notes are really indispensable.

H. A. R. G.

ABU NUWAS IN LIFE AND IN LEGEND. By W. H. INGRAMS. pp. xi + 95. Mauritius, 1933. London Agents: Luzac. 3s. 6d.

The third and longest chapter of this little book contains a valuable collection of new material for students of comparative folk-lore and the migration of stories. Among the Swahili of Zanzibar Abū Nuwās has fallen heir to a great variety of stories of a totally different type from those with which he is associated in Arabic legend. It seems possible to distribute these stories generally under three heads: (1) the "Juḥā" cycle of Arabic and the Turkish *qaragüz* (Mr. Ingrams is almost certainly wrong in deriving *Karyoss* from the Persian *Khargūsh* "hare"); (2) stories found over a very wide range, some of them also in the *Arabian Nights*, but associated with quite different persons; (3) the indigenous African rabbit cycle, in which "Kibunwasi" most surprisingly takes the place of Brer Rabbit. The first and second chapters serve to bring out the contrast between the poet Abū Nuwās of Baghdād and of Arabic legend and this Africanized figure, a contrast which, in spite of the scaling down of Caliph and poet to fit the social environment of a Swahili village, must be admitted to be entirely in favour of the Africans.

H. A. R. G.

JOSEPH BEN MEIR ZABARA: THE BOOK OF DELIGHT. Translated by MOSES HADAS. pp. xi + 203. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. \$3.25.

The *Book of Delight* is a lesser member of that great and intricately interrelated family of collections of moral tales within a frame story which ministered to the pleasure of the literate classes, Muslim, Jewish, and Christian alike, in the Middle Ages. The author was a Spanish Jew and a physician, and was presumably well acquainted with Latin (he belonged to Barcelona) and Arabic as well as Hebrew. The loose *maqāma* form of the work shows its Oriental affinities; the provenance

of or the parallels to the fifteen stories which it contains form the subject of an interesting though, on the whole, inconclusive introduction by Merriam Sherwood. Like most medieval works of its kind, its importance to-day lies mainly in the evidence which it may afford for the study of the contact of civilizations in Spain. In addition to this it contains a good deal of medical lore, of the well-known Graeco-Arabian type, and the translation of a medical poem by Zabara, entitled "The Seats of the Soul", is also appended to the volume. From both points of view it is a useful addition to the series of "Records of Civilization".

H. A. R. G.

IBN 'IDHĀRĪ AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ. AL-BAYĀN AL-MUGHĀRIB. Edited by E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL. T.I.: Texte et Indices. pp. 368. Paris: Geuthner, 1930. 200 fcs.

The discovery of the third volume of Ibn 'Idhārī's history in a private library at Fez is one of the major finds which have rewarded M. Lévi-Provençal's diligent search for "lost" works on the history of Spain and the Maghrib. The period which it covers is that of the decline of the 'Āmirid dictatorship and the rise of the minor dynasties in Spain in the first half of the fifth,eleventh century, and, as in the previous volumes published by Dozy, it is composed mainly of extracts from Ibn Ḥayyān and other earlier authorities. Some of the material is consequently available already in citations by other compilers, but the book offers on the whole a mass of new detail on the troubled history of the time. The MS. appears to present, apart from some lacunæ, a reasonably good text, and the more obvious errors have been carefully corrected by the editor. The minor errors of impression will presumably be corrected in the second volume containing the introduction, etc., which is promised in a brief foreword.

In the meantime, M. Lévi-Provençal has appended to the revised issue of Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* (Leiden, 1932) a translation of two lengthy extracts from this volume, one on the government of al-Muzaffar Ibn Abī 'Āmir (pp. 3-37 of the text: Dozy, vol. iii, pp. 185-214), the other consisting of fragments from an anonymous history of the minor dynasties (pp. 289-316: Dozy, vol. iii, pp. 215-235). To judge from some differences of rendering, the translation was made before the texts were edited for publication, and in a few passages it reads into the text more than the Arabic

expressions justify. This opportunity may be taken, however, to note one or two points of dating: p. 187, ll. 27-8, read "23 Sha'ban (27 June)", especially as the following words confirm that the day was a Thursday: p. 191, l. 5, after "mardi" insert "8 Shawwāl (10 August) and he entered Cordova on Tuesday (5 Dhu'l-Qa'da, etc.)": p. 203, l. 26, the text has "Thursday, the penultimate day (i.e. 29th) of Ramaḍān", but Thursday, 3rd June, was the 24th or 25th Ramaḍān, and Thursday, 10th June, the 1st or 2nd Shawwāl; p. 217, l. 5, the month must be Jumādā 1, i.e. Thursday, 23rd December: p. 220, l. 24, read "thirteen" for "thirty" (same error in the text); p. 226, ll. 32-3, read "9 Ṣafar (6 June)" as on p. 227, l. 4.

H. A. R. GIBB.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ISLAMIC RESEARCH ASSOCIATION, BOMBAY, 1933.

No. 1. AN ABBREVIATED VERSION OF THE DĪWĀN OF KHĀKĪ KHORĀSĀNĪ
Persian text, edited with an Introduction by W. IVANOW. 5s.

No. 2. TWO EARLY ISMĀ'ILĪ TREATISES: Haft-bābi Bāba Sayyidnā
and Maṭlūbu'l-mu'minīn by Ṭūsī. Persian text, with an intro-
ductory note by W. IVANOW. 3s. 6d.

No. 3. TRUE MEANING OF RELIGION (RISĀLA DAR ḤAQĪQATI DĪN).
By SHIHĀBU'D-DĪN SHAH AL-ḤUSAYNĪ. Persian text and an
English translation by W. IVANOW. 4s.

This series of short texts provides materials for the study of Ismailism, and particularly of the Eastern or Nizārī branch represented in India by the Khojas, a sect which owes spiritual allegiance to H.H. the Agha Khan. The texts are published in a legible, if not very elegant Indian Nestalīq, and consist of copies of works preserved in India, the original manuscripts from which the copies were made being themselves, in most cases, of recent date. The contents have no particular value as literature, but they have considerable interest as manifestations of the religious ideas of the sects which produced them, for although the doctrines of the Ismā'īlīs have long been known from outside sources, the spirit in which they were described has, as may be conceived, generally been hostile. The present texts themselves are so carefully guarded in their phraseology that it would be difficult to distinguish them from works normally recognized as being of Shī'ite origin and there is much in them which coincides with what is already familiar in works inspired by Sufism. There is sufficient in them,

nevertheless, that is characteristic enough to make them valuable, even though the earliest — those attributed in number 2 to "Sayyid-nā" and Nasīru'd Dīn Ṭūsī — are of doubtful authorship and date. The work attributed to Sayyidnā Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ concludes with a section on the date of composition and purports to give it according to five different eras, but the only definite year given is not that in the Hijri era but in the Jalālī (Malik-shāhī) era: a suspicious circumstance, particularly as the year which is given (121) corresponds to A.D. 1199 or A.D. 1200, whereas Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ is said to have died in A.D. 1124. The editor perceives the difficulty, but suggests that A.D. 1200 is a not improbable date for the composition of the work, judging from internal evidence.

The introductions are concise and to the point and the translations correct. In the introduction to the *Dīwān* of Khākī Khurāsānī the editor has, however, given his author undeserved credit for a logical enumeration of thirty-three "professions", and has, therefore, not seen that in line 775 the scheme is interrupted by a number of pairs, "Slave and master, lord and subjects (the curious form رعايات is given), thief and watchman (and also diviner)." The recognition of this fact would have obviated the misunderstanding which led to the translation given on p. 12, viz. "Servant, eunuch, *mīr* executioner?, farmer, etc."

It may be presumed that these three little volumes are the precursors of others, and it is to be hoped that amongst them will be included some of the older works extant in which the special flavour of Ismailism is more markedly obvious. Both the editor and the Islamic Research Association encourage the hope by their admirable beginning.

R. LEVY.

THE MACDONALD PRESENTATION VOLUME. A Tribute to D. B. Macdonald. pp. 487. Princetown University Press, 1933. 31s. net.

Twenty-seven pupils have joined to present to their master this volume of essays on his seventieth birthday as a mark of esteem and affection. Professor Macdonald lectured on the Bible in a school of missions and wrote books about Islam: these varied interests are represented in this volume. A short review cannot notice them all.

A tombstone from Egypt dated A.H. 127 testifies to the orthodoxy of the deceased and perhaps to the virulence of theological quarrels. The declaration that the Garden and the Fire are facts looks like a

protest against the ideas connected with the name of Jahm ; but what is the heresy attacked by the words. "The resurrection is a fact" ?

In the essay on Balaam it is refreshing to find a good word for the redactor, the final editor of the story as it is familiar to us. In critical works on the Bible one is accustomed to find a few odd verses cut out from the rest and called tags by the redactor. It is new to hear that this shadowy figure had a mind of his own and a purpose in selecting and combining the old stories. It is a pleasant thought that he kept the ass, not because he had any use for it, but because it had become an essential part of the tale and the audience would have kicked if it had been left out. A mistake of the writer, who has turned Buchanan Gray into Canon Gray, prompts the suggestion that the name Balaam may also be a contraction.

Dr. Adams adds some details to the portrait he has drawn of Muḥammad 'Abduh (in *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*) by telling in full the story of the "Transvaal *fatwa*" and the opposition it roused among the *unco guild*. In this decision Muḥammad 'Abduh permitted the Muslims of the Cape to eat meat slaughtered by Christians, though the conditions imposed by Muslim law were not fulfilled.

A careful essay on the Khawārij excludes Syria from any part in the mental growth of Islam. This is an exaggeration, for though Khārijite and Shi'ite ideas took no root there doctrines more purely theological did. The execution of Ma'bad for heresy in A.H. 80 may have happened in Damascus : Marwān II was under the influence of Ja'd b. Dirham, indeed he was called al-Ja'di ; a tradition, quoted by Vliieger, refers to *ḡadaris* in Syria ; and 'Abdullah b. 'Umar was perturbed because friends there were not sound in the faith. Against the Government the Khawārij would always fight under any flag and with any allies, Christians, and landless men of all sorts. It is argued that, though they were first interested in practical matters, yet they evolved a theology of their own and did not merely borrow one from the Mutazilites.

One can only refer to the articles on David the Reubenite, Yunus Emre the Turkish poet, and the School for Pages in the palace at Constantinople.

Dr. Titus claims that though Muḥammad did not use the phrase, "the kingdom of God," yet he had the idea and Mughal emperors sought investiture from the caliph. An Indian scholar said : "Only one Indian sovereign asked for recognition by the caliph ; and he was mad."

In a translation of the chapters about Jesus Christ from Ya'kūbī's history occur the words. "A place called al-Jumjumah, the skull, which is in Hebrew 'the sign of the head' *aima källa*." These two words are not Hebrew or Aramaic; *imā* might be Arabic, but *källa* is a riddle. It seems better with Houtsma to assume some corruption of the text, perhaps *khulkhul* for *juljul*, an attempt to reproduce the name familiar in English as Golgotha.

From the *Poliphili Hypperotomachia*, published in 1499, is reproduced a picture with three inscriptions each in four languages. The comment speaks of three languages only and does not notice that two of the Arabic phrases are misplaced.

A. S. T.

THE JEWISH FOUNDATION OF ISLAM. By C. C. TORREY. pp. 164.
New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1933. \$1.50.

Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum by Tor Andrae, which Professor Torrey had not seen when he wrote these lectures, is the best criticism and refutation of his theories.

Professor Torrey assumes that a strong Jewish community lived in Mecca. A plausible assumption, for Jews were settled in many places on the west side of Arabia. True, they were for the most part farmers and craftsmen rather than traders, but some were merchants and there was room for craftsmen in the great trading centre. But the historians make Mecca a second Aberdeen, so we are forced to conclude that the early Muslims knew of Muhammad's debt to the Jews and hid it by obliterating all signs of their presence in Mecca.

The Professor argues that Muhammad had one teacher in chief. Why does he not do his work thoroughly and make Khadija a Jewess? She had brains and character and would have known enough of her religion to meet her husband's needs.

The Professor's arguments can be turned against himself. Many Christians lived in Arabia and travelled freely about the country. Muhammad was a genius and not a slavish follower of his instructor. Knowing what he wanted, he took it. So he neglected the New Testament and took from the Old the Prophets, who were made to illustrate his own position. Some of the details, for which a Jewish origin is claimed, might have come from Christian sources. Thus Mar Ballai makes Joseph's brothers say that his mother stole before him.

On the vexed question of the race of Arabian Jews, we may refer to the note in Ibn Sa'd: "a Jewess, paternal aunt of one of the

Anṣār," which shows that the Jewish tribes sometimes intermarried with the Arabs.

Objection may fairly be taken to the method of quotation. On p. 25 we read: "Margoliouth will have it that Muḥammad had small respect for the Israelites of Mecca and Medina." Professor Margoliouth says nothing about Jews in Mecca!

On the other hand, the analysis of the tales in the Qur'ān is suggestive. That Muḥammad spoke with one eye on his audience, whetting their curiosity with hints of more to come, and the other on the "people of the book", lest he should be accused of plagiarism, may explain why parts of the Qur'ān read like notes for a longer work.

A. S. T.

THE SHI'ITE RELIGION. By DWIGHT M. DONALDSON. pp. 393. London: Luzac and Co., 1933. 15s.

This volume does its best to annoy the reader. The boards are not flat, misprints are many, especially in the bibliography, the spelling of names is not uniform, transliteration is not consistent and is often wrong even on the author's own system. Medina for Media (p. 275) is bad and *ghul'at* for *ghulāt* is horrid.

The book consists of history, descriptions of holy towns and other sacred places, accounts of theologians, and lastly theology. This last is limited to the doctrine of the imams and is treated fully, mostly by translation from Shi'ite authorities. The theology is more human than the Sunni doctrine. The imams as guides and mediators for their people are men and not puppets in the hands of God. They are held to be sinless. Apologists had to explain away the fact that they confessed to sins, and said that these so-called sins were very minor, attention to business or domestic affairs.

As an illustration, have you not observed how most servants, if they happen to be occupied in such personal things when their master appears, instinctively ask to be forgiven as though they had done wrong?

Another reason is this:—

Remembering that the knowledge of God is not something that can be fully attained, and that the prophets and the apostles and the imams are always making progress in their perfections, and advancing higher and nearer to God, consequently, every hour, in fact every minute, they are in varying degrees of fellowship with God and of knowledge of His truth. A previous degree of attainment may be recognized as lower, and the worship that was in that place at that

point may afterwards be considered inferior, so that they may think of themselves as having at that time been deficient, and for this reason they may ask to be pardoned. Or perhaps it refers to something like this, as when the Apostle said, "I ask pardon every day seventy times."

Practically nothing is said about theology, in the narrow sense, and it is assumed that the Murʿazila derived their ideas from the Shīʿa. This part of the book, the doctrine of the imam, is good. Nothing is said about the legal peculiarities of the Shīʿa. Any account of the Shīʿa must begin in general Muslim history. It seems that Dr. Donaldson could not bring himself to write Shīʿite history unadulterated so he allowed himself a few criticisms at the beginning. As the story advances the criticisms grow fewer. The account of the election of Abū Bakr is inadequate. Two versions are given, but no attempt is made to decide how far either is true and no mention is made of the rivalry between the Aus and Khazraj nor of the irruption of the Aslam tribe. The election is surprising: it is a clear case of the "herd instinct"; at a critical moment one man acts firmly and the crowd follows. What is the evidence which proves that Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa were pupils of the imam Jaʿfar? The *Encyclopædia of Islam* is not the only modern to discredit the plot to kill the three tyrants, ʿAlī, Muʾāwīa, and ʿAmr. The use of al-Suyūti as a first-class authority for the early period makes a bad impression. The ʿKhāriji factions of the ʿAlids' is a strange amalgam.

The chapters on Medina and Samarra are dragged in, though the latter is an excuse for a good photograph. The chapter on theologians gives several names which are not in Brockelmann. The historical part of the book is weak: the miracles grow monotonous; but some of the anecdotes are ingenious.

A. S. T.

THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS IN MUSLIM RELIGIOUS ART. By Sir THOMAS W. ARNOLD. pp. 47, pls. 19. Oxford University Press, 1932. 6s.

Sir Thomas Arnold chose this subject when he was asked to deliver the Schweich lectures. The lectures as spoken were a commentary on a hundred pictures: as printed with only twenty plates, the reader feels as if he had been put off with a lecture on cookery instead of the dinner to which he had been invited. However, some of the pictures cited can be seen in *Painting in Islam*.

Arabic literature is full of echoes of the Bible : Christian, and even Byzantine, builders were employed by caliphs in the holy cities themselves, so it is natural that the same influence was felt in art and Christian artists used by Muslims. Lack of material makes it hard to write about the earlier periods. The *Tawḥ al-Ḥamāma* tells us that baths in Spain were adorned with pictures : researches at Samarra have shown that Christian pictures appeared in the palace and that an artist of both sacred and secular subjects was in minor orders ; and as late as the seventeenth century the house of a Christian in Aleppo was decorated with pictures of religious subjects. The facts confirm expectations. While Muslim pictures of Biblical subjects are fairly common, perhaps the adaptation of Christian conventions to Muslim material is more interesting. The illustration to a bit of rascality in al-Ḥarīri is modelled on a picture of the child Jesus in the temple with the doctors. A preacher extols the beauty of charity, a boy chooses this moment to beg from the hearers, and then goes off with the preacher, his father, to carouse on the proceeds. A picture of the birth of Jesus is adapted to the birth of Muḥammad. 'Abd ul-Muṭṭalib sits in the place of Joseph and some women take the place of the shepherds. Curious in the history of art, if not of religion, is the fondness of some Mughal emperors and of eighteenth century Persia for Christian pictures, and of Indian artists for the work of Dürer.

With plate i, parallel types of Christian and Muslim pictures, the reader is left to guess which is which. In note 5 on p. 8 the reference is wrong.

A. S. T.

CATALOGUE : BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE MANUSCRITS PAUL SBATH. Vol. I. pp. 204. Vol. II, pp. 252. 1928. 8s. each.

MUKHTAṢAR FI 'ILM IL-NAFS. Bar Hebraeus. Edited by PAUL SBATH pp. 65. 1928. 2s.

AL-RAWḌAT AL-ṬIBBIYAT. 'Ubaidullah b. Jibrā'il b. Bukhtīshu', Edited by PAUL SBATH. pp. 73. 1927. 2s.

VINGT TRAITÉS D'AUTEURS ARABES CHRÉTIENS. Edited by PAUL SBATH. pp. 206. 1929. 5s. [All published by H. Friedrich and Co., Cairo.]

ORIENTALIA. Vol. I, fasc. 1. Rome : Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1932.

This number of *Orientalia* contains articles on ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia and South Arabian inscriptions as well as a detailed

study of the psychology of Bar Hebraeus, of which an abridged Arabic version has been published by Father Paul Sbath. This is not the only bond between the journal and the library.

Father Paul Sbath has collected about eleven hundred manuscripts, mostly Arabic. The catalogue is a careful piece of work with four indexes, of Christian names, Christian copyists, non-Christian (mostly Muslim) names, and Muslim copyists. There is also a list of manuscripts classified according to subjects. Some names have been omitted from the indexes. Most of the books are religious and Christian, but a good number are medical. Many are only curiosities, being translations of modern Roman Catholic works. Classical Arabic literature is almost entirely absent. There are a few mistakes in transposing dates from one system to another. The following are some of the most interesting books.

No. 2. Thirty chapters from the medical encyclopædia by 'Isā b. Yahyā, the teacher of Avicenna. Thirteenth century.

No. 25 (1). The story of Ahikar. Twelfth century. Father Sbath says that this book was composed in Arabic.

No. 66 (1). A history of religions and philosophy. Dated 709/1309. To judge from a very short quotation this must be closely connected with Shahrastāni.

No. 265. The Maḳāmāt of al-Ḥarīri. A note states that this manuscript has been compared with the original and that those who lectured on it drew their authority from the author through his son. Dated 583/1187.

No. 750. al-Risālat al-Kāfiyat, or al-Hārūniyat by 'Isā b. Ḥakam. Professor Browne says that no work of this man is known. His book was dedicated to Hārūn al-Rashīd, hence its second name. It is a modern copy of an old manuscript destroyed in the war.

No. 777. The version of the Gospels by Hibatullah b 'Assāl. This book contains the introduction with Matthew and Mark. Modern.

No. 815. Simples. Part of the Canon of Avicenna with notes taken from an autograph. Eleventh century.

No. 1001. A collection of tracts by Yahyā b. 'Adī and Abu Rāīta Ḥabīb b. Khadama. Eleventh century.

No. 1008 (1). Paul the apostle: introduction and commentary. A hitherto unknown work by Abū Ishāq b. 'Assāl. Dated 710/1310.

No. 1011. A Christian apologetic against Jews and Muslims. Dated 701/1301.

The Arabic version of Bar Hebraeus's book on the soul seems to

be a translation of extracts from the Syriac, to judge by Professor Furlani's careful analysis of the latter. It is more theological than psychological, dealing with the nature of the soul, its immortality, and condemning transmigration. Here Avicenna's argument that it would lead to a man's having two souls is used. The author avoids the noun "spirit" though not the adjective. A few words are given to the activities of the soul, wonder, laughter, crying, shame, fear, and modesty. Lying dreams are treated at length. They have four causes :

(1) Figures seen during wakefulness remain on the tablet of memory and appear during sleep in the associated sense.

(2) When thought has been directed to an object, this is engraved on the representative faculty : so, when the external senses are at rest, some form is imprinted on the representative faculty in the power near to the senses, i.e. the associated sense.

(3) When the imaginative faculty fails and heat prevails, the man sees fires, when cold prevails, he sees rivers and snow, and if there is fullness, he feels weights laid on him.

(4) They are the work of devils.

The twenty treatises are all theological. One by Ḥunain b. Ishāq on how to test the truth of a religion sounds the most promising. He says that a false religion is accepted for six reasons :—

(1) Compulsion.

(2) As an escape from poverty and in hope of well-being.

(3) Through preferring honour to disgrace.

(4) When an eloquent advocate persuades his hearers that the worse is the better.

(5) When the advocate trades on the ignorance of his hearers.

(6) Ties of blood : a man will not desert his friends.

The true religion is accepted for four reasons :—

(1) Miracles.

(2) When the externals of what a man is called on to accept are a proof of the truth of what is hidden from him.

(3) Proof that compels acceptance.

(4) When the end agrees with the beginning : what comes later cannot be doubted when the earlier is true.

None of the first six reasons apply to Christianity.

Another writer attacks the Muslim position that there can be no likeness between the Creator and the creature. He argues that God and the sun both exist : they differ because God is the cause of His own existence and the sun is not the cause of its existence ; but the

existence is the same in both cases. Two of the pamphlets seem to be extracts or summaries from the system of theology by Abū Ishāq b. 'Assāl, or they may be by other members of the family. An article in *Orientalia* deals thoroughly with this family and its writings. Galen is quoted as saying that among the Christians are many good persons who display the highest virtue constantly, not only men but women also.

Al-Rawḍat al-Ṭibbiyat consists of fifty definitions or descriptions, ranging from five lines to five pages, of ideas in logic, psychology, and medicine. The style is easy and the facts reliable, though the author was not a great philosopher. His account of the Platonic theory of sight is practically a translation of Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosophorum*, 4, 13. He exaggerates a little in saying that Plato taught that a man had three souls, a rational connected with thought, an animal connected with anger, and a vegetal with desire.

The author quotes a few lines from his father's book, *al-Kāfi* :—

Love often arises at the sight of lovely bodies when desire awakes and the longing to be united with them grows. This union is one of the chief causes which weaken and emaciate the body and bring it to mortal illness. This habit has its seat in reason: it unites all fatal ills, anxiety, sorrow, and degradation. The worst of this habit is that it makes the rational the servant of the animal soul. It makes a base slave master of a noble lord. One effect is to cause many diseases. It is the worst habit for it incites to pleasure and brings punishment on one addicted to it. It degrades and blinds the soul for it blinds thought till it brings man down from that rank which he shares with the angels to the rank of a pig, because desire of gluttony and impudence overcome the rational soul and make it a servant. Just as if a great king were degraded under a base slave.

These books are well printed and mistakes are rare. The editor has corrected the grammar of his texts but records the manuscript readings in the notes, though one can never tell whether the offences against grammar are due to the author or to a careless copyist. At times one questions the improvements. All the books have indexes, but some names have been left out.

A. S. T.

IBN AL-'ARĪF, MAḤĀSIN AL-MAJĀLIS. Texte arabe, traduction, et commentaire par MIGUEL ASIN PALACIOS. pp. 106. Paris: Geuthner, 1933. 60 francs.

Professor Asin Palacios claims that this pamphlet on the mystic life is important because in it for the first time a clear distinction

is made between the novice and the adept. Earlier mystics had said as much, but this booklet makes the division fundamental. It was written not as a guide to the aspirant, but as a reminder to the gnostic who had attained to the intuitive knowledge of God. A paragraph is given to each station of the mystic life, anxiety, fear, abstinence, patience, etc. : but these are for the common herd. Hope and desire are among the weakest stations, for the adept is above them. In love the van of the profane catch up the stragglers of the elect, who need only knowledge and love.

The book is not a treatise on the higher life, but a collection of notes, some profound and some verbal conceits. The lesson is driven home by an anecdote and a scrap of poetry. The arrangement is bad, the text is concise to obscurity, and the meaning given to some common words is uncertain.

The editor has added a life of Ibn al-‘Arif, those passages in al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyat in which he is mentioned, and notes dealing mostly with technical terms or with persons. The editor had two MSS. of the book : he has printed one with all its obvious errors (the vowels are mostly wrong) and some of his own, and has put the variants of the second in the notes. The translation of the prose is good, though the Professor would be the last to claim that he has solved all the puzzles in the text : that of the verse is not so good. He has paid no attention to metre and has printed verses which do not scan. The text is not metrical though the variant is in p. 83 penult., p. 87, l. 9. and p. 90, l. 3. In p. 78, l. 1, it is the variant which is translated, without any indication of the fact. In the two lines on p. 80 the cæsura is in the wrong place. The verses, p. 91, l. 2*b*, and p. 92, l. 1*a*, 2*b* will not scan. In places there are mistakes. *Dhūnūb* is “ sins ” not “ voiles ”. “ Un amour si ardent qu’il rende malade le cœur sain ” should be “ a lover sick with a sound heart ” or “ sick at heart, healthy ” (38/81). “ Le supplice qu’à vous autres donne la mort ” should be “ the torture with which you are content ” (40/83). Nothing in the text corresponds to “ et il n’est pas une seule d’entre elles qui ne soit pas un bienfait de Lui ” (49/90). “ Tu m’as fait aimer mes ennemis ” should be “ I loved my enemies ” or “ Thou lovedst ” (50/91).

A. S. T.

KHABĀYĀ `L-ZAWĀYĀ. History of Saidanaya. (Documents relating to the patriarchate of Antioch.) By ḤABĪB ZAYYĀT. pp. 12 + 296. Imprimerie de Saint Paul, Harissa (Lebanon). 1932. Agents : Luzac and Co. 10s.

This book is one of a series of monographs on Syria published by the review *al-Masarrat*. Saidanaya, a small town less than a day's journey north of Damascus, was formerly a great place of pilgrimage. A picture of the Virgin was the attraction. Nothing is known of the early history of the place. The people were Melchites, accepting the decisions of the council of Chalcedon, though they welcomed pilgrims of all sects and apparently let them have their own altars in the church of the Virgin. It was not till the seventeenth century that they were admitted into communion with Rome. Legend has been busy and given the town a church for every day in the year and made Luke the painter of the picture. This came to the church miraculously (part of the tale is borrowed from Jonah), when stolen it turned into flesh and was brought back by the astonished thief, it cured a Muslim king of blindness, and worked many other wonders. It sweated a healing oil and the vessel into which this dripped was always full however much was taken away by pilgrims. The picture disappeared, apparently in the sixteenth century. The convent with the church was situated above the town and for long contained both monks and nuns. The eighteenth century removed this scandal.

The author is a painstaking and lucky searcher and has ransacked libraries and literatures. Pilgrims from Europe, obscure Arabic poets, as well as church records have provided him with material. The illustrations are poor, there is no plan of the church, and at times the arguments are not convincing. It is possible that some of the tribe of Kalb settled in Saidanaya, but it is not proved. Sometimes the book is wordy and succumbs to the lure of rhymed prose. Still it is thorough. There are lists of bishops of the town, of superiors and mother-superiors of the convent, and descriptions of all the religious buildings. There is something for all tastes. A chapter on the wine for which the place was famous, church quarrels with rich ecclesiastical curses, modern Arabic prose and verse to delight the philologist, letters from and to cardinals, and legends. It may be noted that a sultan provided post horses for the envoys of Christian kings to visit Jerusalem and Saidanaya. An old woman related that she remembered in her childhood the burning of nearly all the Syriac

manuscripts in the convent lest Syrians (? Jacobites) should make them a pretext for seizing the church. It took more than four days to burn them.

Enough has been said to show that this is a book of varied interest. The rendering of European names is capricious.

A. S. TRITTON.

ON ANCIENT CENTRAL ASIAN TRACKS. BY SIR AUREL STEIN. pp. xxiv + 342. London: Macmillan and Co., 1933. 31s. 6d.

Sir A. Stein's first journey dates back to 1900, and 1933 found him still exploring one of the remote and little known borderlands of Persia. Even making abstraction of his earlier works of erudition, his minor articles, and the voluminous *annexes* of his later works, we can estimate at several thousands of pages the actual records drawn up by him on his travels—

Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan, 1903. 8°, 503 pp.

Ancient Khotan. 2 vols., 1907, 4°, 621 pp.

Ruins of Desert Cathay, 2 vols., 1912. 8°, 546 + 517 pp.

Serindia, 5 vols., 1921, 4°, 1,580 pp.

Innermost Asia, 4 vols., 1928. 4°, 1,159 pp.

Most of these books are out of print, the cost of the larger works is prohibitive to an average student, and could the latter even procure them he would need be a perfect master of his hours and days to read through this mass of information.

Moreover, Sir A. Stein's peregrinations were never in a straight line: he constantly returned to his favourite sites to weave round them his complicated cobweb of march routes. So the appreciation of numerous passages necessitates constant references to the earlier works of the writer.

Who but the author himself could give an adequate picture of the general results of his travels so as to represent in due perspective the more important, and the less important, facts and to join the thread wherever it was interrupted by the accidents of seasons and campaigns?

The present volume, with its twenty-one well-ordered chapters, 147 illustrations, and a convenient general map is a responsible and handy epitome of the author's life work.

As stated in the Preface, it is based on the lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute, Boston, "in a condensed form suited for a wider public." The lectures, calculated chiefly on the auditive capacities of the

listeners, must unavoidably be less saturated than the matter which the reader of a book can profitably digest, and this is perhaps the only remark as to the general character of the book which might have been perhaps a more technical vade-mecum through the sea of materials collected by the author. In the historical chapter some more dates and a table of Chinese dynasties would be appreciated by the readers. Some systematic summary of the work done by Sir A. Stein's predecessors and contemporaries would also form a desirable background. But, as it stands, the book is an excellent introduction to the geography and archæology of the regions surrounding the Takla-makan Desert.

It is a pity that the author who sometimes uses *q* to denote guttural *k* (see fig. 142, *Qalu-i qa'qa*) does not mark it in Turkish names, where the hard series of words is so distinct from the soft one.

V. M.

A CHRONICLE OF THE EARLY ŞAFAWĪS: BEING THE AḤSANU'T-TĀWĀRĪKH OF ḤASAN-I RŪMLŪ. Vol. I: Persian text. Edited by C. N. SEDDON. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. lvii. pp. 510 (Persian) + 36. Baroda. 1931.

No scientific history of Persia is possible until we possess reliable editions of the principal sources with necessary notes and indexes, and it is paradoxical enough that the more recent epochs of Persian history remain perhaps the least known to us. In this respect the text edited by Mr. Seddon fills one of the important lacunæ.¹ It contains all that remains of Ḥasan Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*. On p. 460 the author mentions his previous *mujalladāt*, and on p. 141 quotes from his vols. vi and vii of which the latter seems to have contained the events towards A.D. 1258. We do not know whether all the intermediary volumes were really completed by the author. In the present volume, which, as we may presume, was the only one to possess a permanent value, the author gives the history of the early Şafavids: Ismā'īl I (pp. 1-184), Tahmāsp (pp. 184-476), Ismā'īl II (pp. 476-496), and the beginning of Muḥammad Khudā-banda (pp. 496-505). The contemporary evidence begins with the year 948 (A.D. 1541), from which date on, says the author (p. 301), he followed Shāh Tahmāsp's camp on all the expeditions. Ḥasan Rūmlū adds hardly anything to our knowledge of the most important epoch of Shāh Ismā'īl, as expounded

¹ See a very detailed bibliography of the Şafavid histories by P. Horn, in *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, ii, 586-8.

in Khwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* and in the curious anonymous history described by Sir Denison Ross in *JRAS.*, 1896, pp. 249-340.¹ For Shāh Tahmāsp we had to rely until now chiefly on his own incomplete *Memoirs* down to A.H. 969,² on the second part of the *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. by Veliaminov-Zernov, and on the clear epitome of the reign in the introduction to the *‘Ālam-ārā*. Now that Ḥasan Rūmlū's work lies before us the general impression is that it will only partially improve (and hardly at all deepen!) our understanding of Shāh Tahmāsp's times. The bulk of the book seems to have been written towards 980/1572. Under the events of the year 958 the author says (p. 356) that a sorcerer arrested at the time "is still in life at the present date of 980". Unless this note was added at a later date we should think that the events were actually recorded after a considerable lapse of time, when it was difficult to remember the details. Under some years (cf. 978/1572) are given only records of events exterior to Persia, culled from Indian and Ottoman histories (Idris?). In his Preface Mr. Seddon candidly admits that as a historian Ḥasan Rūmlū "is unsatisfactory because he omits so much that might be interesting and usually fails to explain the real causes of the expeditions which he describes". Ḥasan Rūmlū stands certainly far below Shāh 'Abbās I's historian Iskandar-munshī whose *‘Ālam-ārā* is a real mine of multifarious information and who has a clear vision of facts and of geographical realities. Ḥasan Rūmlū must have been much less intimate at the court and his characteristics of Shāh Tahmāsp (written after the latter's death, pp. 488-9) are rather "bitter-sweet". From them we learn that in the words of a satirist the favourites of the reign were "scribes, painters, Qazvīnīs, and donkeys", that the shāh for fourteen years did not pay his troops, and that "among the peasants of Ādharbāijān war was perpetually going on"; cf. also p. 455. Somewhat unexpected, too, is the inclusion in the book of a long letter of 'Ubaid khān (pp. 226-232) passing strong censure on the politico-religious tenets of the Ṣafavids.

¹ Sir H. Beveridge, *JRAS.*, 1902, p. 170, suggested as its author Khwāja 'Abdullāh Murvārid, who is known as the author of a *Tārīkh-i Shāhī*. The *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* records his death and works under 922/1516. However, Murvārid's association with Ismā'il seems to be of a later date while the anonymous history breathes the intimacy of a faithful adept.

² It was edited by P. Horn in *ZDMG.*, 44, pp. 563-649, and translated by him in 1891. In an important review Zhukovsky, *Zapiski*, vi, 377-383, suggests that the *Memoirs* are only a record of the Shāh's conversations with the Turkish ambassadors in 969/1561. Phillott re-edited the *Memoirs* in *Bibl. Indica*, No. 1319, 1912. Both editions are full of mistakes.

The concluding part of the book, written probably in 985, 1577 and speaking of the events which were fresh before the author's eyes, are rather disappointing. The story of the murder of Sultān Ḥaydar mirzā by the unruly pretorians is scrappy and partial, and to understand the events and even to disclose the identity of the chief personages we have to recur to Iskandar-munshī's clear and reasoned statement.¹

The advantage of the book is that it is disposed in the form of annals and that in the paragraphs concluding each year (necrologies, etc.) many interesting minor facts are recorded.

Ḥasan Rūmlū's style is not very difficult, but he often indulges in unnecessary embellishments, similes, metaphors, and *ad hoc* verses. As an example p. 451 may be quoted where the accusative is separated from its verb by six lines of intercalated phrases. As Mr. Seddon proposes to publish a translation of the text we hope he will leave out the unnecessary lucubrations obscuring the sense, but instead will give a very detailed index of subjects and names.

Thanks to Mr. Seddon we now possess quite a readable edition of the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* based upon the collation of three MSS. in England and the readings communicated from Tehran of three more MSS. found in Persia. There are chances that some important variants will be found in the MSS. existing in Leningrad. The editor's notes (separate pages, 1-32) show the extent of his historical readings, which certainly stood him in good stead during the preparation of the *A.-T.* for the press. The more doubtful element in the notes are the remarks on the Turkish names and expressions which abound in the text, and more than anything else confirm the role of the Turcoman tribes under the early Şafavids. Some of the words belong to the common administrative Turkish stock, probably introduced by the Uyghurs in Mongol service, whereas some others are purely Turcoman (southern group of Turkish languages) and cannot be expected to be found in our dictionaries of Chaghatay Turkish (belonging to the eastern group). Here are some remarks on the notes with references to the pages of the text :—

5. *Allāh-vermish* (= Persian *Khudādād*)—a rather strange use of the southern *past* participle of the verb *vermək*, usually *Allāh-verdi*; 9, *soñ* in the sense of German "kaput": 20, *gövdä* "(squat) trunk", nothing to do with *güdäji*: 27, *qutas* anglisce "yak"; derivation of

¹ *Ālam-ārā*, pp. 136-141. I hear from Dr. W. Hinz (Berlin) that he has prepared a paper on the reign of Ismā'il II.

tughaghji (or *toghaghji* ?) from *tugh* looks doubtful : 31, if the spelling *rāf* is right the word must mean "nutmeg" : Vullers gives *rāf* as equivalent of *bazbār*, in its turn explained as جوز بوا. The text may oppose the warrior's armour to the nutmeg carried by a dervish, cf. Minorsky, *Notes sur les Ahl-i Haqq*, 1921-2, p. 106. Mr. Seddon, who gives "mace, such as carried by dervishes" seems to have been misled by Steingass's dictionary which gives : "mace, envelope of the nutmeg" meaning evidently by "mace" the outer layer of the nutmeg ! 40, *Kökäl köñül* "heart, breast", *kökältush* "breast companion", "foster-brother" ; 42, the ("Uyghur" ?) form *ūghulī* (no lengths in Turkish !) is impossible : read *oghli* "his son" ; 43, the safe reading is *qoyun-ölümi* "sheep's death", and so the name is explained in Evliyā Chelebi's travels, but a number of crossings on the Atrak river are called Yaghli-olum, Duzli-olum, etc., which suggests for **olum* (not found in the dictionaries) some meaning like "ford, ferry", etc. ; on p. 35 *دوقوزالم* stands perhaps also for "nine fords" (!) : 46, [*bā*] *namad-hā-yi alāchūq* "with the felts of their felt tents" ; 48, on the Özbek, see *Shaibānī-khān* in *Enc. of Islam* ; 53, the name must be *Kābāk*, similar to that of several of the Mongol khāns ; 78, *Tavachi*. Deny, who has specially studied the word, *Journ. As.*, juillet, 1932, pp. 132-3, translates it by "nuntius, messenger, recruiting officer" ; 94, explanation of *alādāna* highly improbable ; *dāna* both in Persian and Turkish "seed, grain" ; *alā-būta* in Turkish "weeds" [*alā* "spotted, variegated", *būta* "low-growing plants"] ; therefore *alā-dāna* is perhaps "seed of the weeds, seed of mischief", with a pun on the name of 'Alā : 94, *qaytūl*, probably from the root *qūt-* "to return", "place to which one returns" ; 123, *Atlandī*-beg is one of the many curious Turkish names, from *atlandī* "he mounted" : 123, *Taghatay* looks all right : 124, the alternative for *gasavul* can only be *jasavul*, not *chasavul* : 126, *gasag* and *gasa* are the same word but see p. 163₁₂ for the differentiation of their meanings : *gasa* "Chingiz khan's law", *gasag* usually "interdiction, tribute", but p. 163 the sense is not quite clear : did the two amīrs quarrel over the booty ? 130, *kaskān*, better *keskān* كيسكن, Pavet de Courteille, p. 486, "espèce de casse-tête," in Russian кустень ; 140, *chapan* is a sort of overcloak, not necessarily tattered, those clad in "chapan" = common people : 145, explanation is absolutely impossible : Mikhal-oghlu was chiefly known as a raider (*aqīnchī*) and the word (cf. p. 146₁₃) certainly refers to that speciality ; 156,

on *chelebi* see *Enc. of Islam* : 159, the meaning of *krwka* must be " cuirass ", " big drum " being out of the question. The word for the latter must be **küvärgä* or *kävürgä*, see p. 211. and as regards the pronunciation. cf. *Zafur-nāma*, i, 722, ii, 434 ; 170, *qadaghan* " interdiction ", here in a strange use, perhaps " in strong isolation " ; 191, *säksän* exactly means in Turkish " eighty " : *-jik* diminutive suffix ; 197, explanation absolutely impossible ; how could soldiers be clad in bath-towels ? The word is most probably **alchün*, which I met somewhere in the sense of " cuirass " (cf. *yalchün* " smooth, polished ") : 211, pronounce : *borghu* > *boru* ; 233, on *chashmayi khurshīd* see Büchner's article in *Acta Orientalia*, ii, 208 ; 249, *yalghuz-ughach* is excellent : " solitary tree " : 255, read : *chāshnā-qīr* ; 299, *qaysi* anglice " apricot " : 316. 320. the well-known shī'a Turcoman tribe : *Chāpni* ; 319, if the *Sanglākh* is right, the business of the *chaghdavul* was also reconnoitering *ṭalāya-dārī* ; 321₉. I understand the sentence as meaning " when the fire of conceitedness of Alqāş, which had gone high on account of the wind of his pride, came down, he (Alqāş) was defeated " ; 320₁₂, perhaps : *Qīrīm-shamkhāl*. Alqāş went to the khan of Crimea's ; from Azov he sailed for Theodosia in Crimea : 334, *akhtarmaq* in Āzarbāijān Turkish " to search for ", in Ottoman Turkish *aqtarma* " changing trains ". In Persian historical texts the meaning seems to be " prisoners to be exchanged " ; 335, see *Enc. of Islam*, under *Shūlistān* ; 347, *qulluqchī* : 388. *safīd muhra* = *Šsk. šankha* ; 431, *Lishtanishā* still extant ; 438. *Tālaqān*, district on the upper course of the *Shāhrūd* ; 475. I do not see the possibility of transformation of قوين چى into قوين " the elders ". Perhaps **qoyinchī* (*qoyunchī*) ; 478, غفجايال the word is probably Mongol ; 479, as the verses describe the effect of musical instruments one would suggest *būq* " horn ", but what to do with مشک بار ? 483, why not leave *Shushtar* ? *Shūshtar* was known in the old times for its brocades ; 495, instead of *maghz-i fīl* the ' *Ālum-ara*, p. 157 gives فيلونيا, a drug composed of opium and *cannabis indica* ; 505, why not " the heroes with all their equipment become dust (clay) ? "

The following are some emendations of the text :--

9₆, tanka **tanga* : 14₁₀, add *rā* after H. Khān 'Alīkhānī : 16₁₉, add *bā* *lashkar* ; 17₁₀, *zūd khwānd* **zud-va-khwānd* ; 84₁₇, *shāh-savārān* **shāhsavār* : 115₁₅, the rhyme requires *milāh* " pretty one ", and the first word must have the sense of " caress ", etc. : 115₁₆,

ta'aththur **ta'thūr*; 118₂₀, dar zāhir **az zāhir*; 141, pur-ghamām **bī-*ghamām; 143, majma'ī firuz **majmar-i f.*; bīd **abyād*; 175₂₀, a'zam-i umarā **a'āzim-i u.*; 177₁₂, mutana'im **muntaqim*; 212₈, maqarr **mafarr*; 216₂₄, astarān **ushturān*; 226₁₇, fisad-va-zamān **fsād-i z.*; 229₄, 'āqilī **ghāfilī*; 256₆, intiṣāb **intiṣāf*; 267₈, muqābil shudan **az muqābil*; 276₁₀ (and in several other places), tufang **tufak (metri causa)*; 279₂, 'iddat-i ahl-i sunnat **ghulāt-i ahl-i s.*; 286₁₉, Shīrvān **Shīrān (metri causa)*; 289₁₀, amthāl-i khūbān-i Biyār **imsāl khūbān-i pār*; 299₁₄, 'ālam mutā **mutā'*; 340₁₃, marghūb **marqūm*; 372, 'aqab-i Dīv-jāma **aqaba-yi D.*; sukkān **sagān*; 379, mustahḍar **mustaḥhar* (the editor ought not to respect the obvious slip in his MS.; cf. 444 ult. *mustaḥhar*); 385, manqabat gūy **gū'ī*; 407, mykdt **makīdat*; 445, khashīdand **chashīdand*; 448, dwjy **faujī*; 465₂₁, Zirih chand **zirihī chand*; 472 ult., āvard-gāh **ordūgāh*; 490₁₇, al-mushkilāt **mushkilāt*.

Many words appear in the text with unnecessary *tashduds* (6 and 13, lalla **lala*; 7₈, murdiyy; 355, twlyyt **tauliyat*; 379, inna-Yyājūj!

The corrections suggested in the proper names, etc., are as follows: 15, Rustam c. Maqṣūd b. Ḥusain *b. *Hasan* (i.e. Uzun Ḥasan); 71, Alehī **Ījī* (?); 73, Shahriyān **Shahrabān*; 84, Ṭabas-i minā **T.*-i Masinān; 114, Aṭrbā **Otrār* (?); 141, Sulṭān Namad Khandān **Muḥammad* Khandān (famous calligraphist); 142, M.hāl-oghli **Mikhāl* (Michael)-*oghli*; 151, Adrafa **Adhrama*; 151, Ācha **Qarāja*, *ut supra* 151₅; 171₅. The dates are wrong, for after the 16th of Jamādī II follows the 13th of the same month. Very probably instead of *shānzdahum* must be read *yānzdahum*, but the days of the week, according to Wüstenfeld's Tables, are both wrong; 172, dar ḥawālī [-*yī Ḥalab*?]; 180, K.rchī **Gurjī*; 300, R'nāshī certainly **Mar'ashī* (cf. p. 278); 316, Zkm-va-Gyrm **Zagam-va-Girīm*, i.e. Dzegam and Gremi? 317, Ywlāg now *Yevlakh*; 323, Alūs Krd **Alāshkard*; 345, T. Ivār, according to the description the river meant is *Šīrvān* and not *Talvār* (the latter being a southern tributary of the Qizil-Uzān, north of Hamadān); 351, Lavāsān seems to be the author's misspelling for *Lavāsāb* < Luarsab, which is the Georgian form of the Iranian *Luhrāsp*! 352, Ardānūh **Ardānūj*; 355, Barāt-Āli (cf. 380, Barāt-Āli): the usual Turco-Persian form occurring in the '*Ālam-ārā* is *Barāt-ilī* "the tribe of Barat", for Georgian *Sa-barati-ano* "the fief of the Barati family"; 362, Qngrā **Qungrat*; 373, Kwr **Gavar*; 376, Arāyiq **Arāliq*; 386, Jarandāb **Charandāb* (also well known as the name of a ward of Tabrīz); 386, Y.qa **Yusqa* (?), cf. the village

of Beshyuska still existing in the Turcoman Steppe; 401, Sūrī **Sūram*, as in the variant quoted; 422, Wālī Bakr **Wālī-yi Diyār-Bakr*; 438, Hazār-Kham **Hazār-cham*; 448, Qulūmūla, in Russian **Kolonna*; 451, In the report on the famous battle of Lepanto (1571) the name of the King of Spain قلی واری stands probably for رى فليب *Rey Felipe* (the last name recognized by Mr. Seddon) and وآن جوانان is without any doubt possible Don Juan (cf. 452, وآن جوان **Don Juan*); 453, آقه Russian *Oka* (pronounced usually *Aka*); 454, in the account of the *Aurora borealis* the Byzantine emperor An.s, contemporary of Kōbād (488–531) must be Anastase (491–518); 455, the well-known cemetery in Tabriz is not K.ch.l, but **Gajīl*; 459 and 483, *Dān S.b.stān*, and 483 *va ān Sab.stān*, undoubtedly Don Sebastian of Portugal (1557–1578) (this is another proof for p. 451); 460, several names of Turkish towns could be improved 'Alāniya *'Alā'īya, etc.; 461, Sulṭān Salīm I, read II; 476₇, Qaracha-daghiyān **Qaraja-d.*; 476 ult. اشك اقاسى certainly "Master of the Threshold" (اشيك or ايشيك *eshik*), and not "Master of the donkeys" (*āshāk*)! 480, Parcham **Sarcham* (W. of Zanjān).

V. M.

SHĀH 'ABBĀS I, SA VIE, SON HISTOIRE. By L. L. BELLAN. vii + 297 pp. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1932. 80 francs.

The author, who for a number of years stayed in Tehrān and Tabriz as French consul, devoted his leisure to the preparation of this book, which possesses the real advantage of being based on first-hand sources. The list of his authorities (p. 293) could certainly be much extended, and the sources are used in a rather uneven way, but very happily the basis of the book is formed by a résumé of the fundamental 'Alam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī written by the official historian of the reign, Iskandar-munshī. This chronicle as lithographed in Tehrān contains some 750-odd pages in folio with neither index nor table of contents. It is true that the narrative is arranged in order of years, and the marginal notes are helpful, but the mass of facts it contains is overwhelming. Any work which sets out to render them handier is welcome, and a mere comparison of M. Bellan's table of contents with any of the existing histories of Persia will show to what an extent the systematic use of the 'Alam-ārā has enriched our knowledge of the facts.

The book, which belongs to the series of "Les grandes figures de l'Orient", appeals to the general reader and has a tendency to be "literary" in style. For a student the chief regret about the form of the book is its total lack of references to the sources and the absence of any index. The obvious *bona fides* of the work does not diminish our desire to know the authorities for statements made in the text.

The author records principally the political events of the reign of Shāh-Abbās, and does not even attempt to portray his hero's character with its curious blend of unconscious bloodthirstiness, joviality, and love of novelty, pageantry, and carousal. Such matters as the administration of the kingdom (cf. pp. 170, 210, 251) and the reorganization of the army (pp. 111, 181) are treated only *en passant*, but in the Introduction (pp. i-vii) M. Bellan makes some happy hints on the foundation of the Safavid power created by the pretorian Turcoman tribes welded together by a religious discipline of an extremist shī'a creed; see the article "Shāh-sevan" in the *Enc. of Islam*.

M. Bellan uses the ordinary French transcription of names which tries to imitate the actual Persian pronunciation (*Esmā'īl, modjtahed*, etc.), and even applies it to Turkish names and words (*Torkemān*, etc.). This system sometimes leads him astray (p. vi, *tayyūl* for Turkish *tiyūl*, or in Persian pronunciation *toyūl*; p. 2, *Tchahal-sotūn* instead of *Tchehel-sotūn*, etc.).

There are many mistakes and misreadings in proper names, of which we shall quote only the principal ones using the author's transcription (reference is given to pages): 6, Parnāk, Persian **Pornāk* (Turkish: *Pörnäk* ?); 17, Samnān **Semnān*; 21, Kūr Qur-Khoms *Kūr Qorkhomas* "the blind Q." (or, rather, in Kurdish: *Kūr-i Q.* "son of Q."); 23, 36, Aslams **Asilmas*; 37, 119, 131, Tchakanī *Tchiganī*; 45, Chostè-Nechā **Lishta Nechā*; 51, Alichkar **Alī Chakkar*; 55, Mostandjil **Mandjil*; 59, Korilī **Girayli*; 51, Senevrī, but 71 Solvīzī (same person, probably **Salvarzī* ?); 71, Djangala **Tchangula*; 74, Arabgarlu **Arabgırlu*; 125, etc., Tchaghūr-é-Sa'd **Tchukhūr-é-Sa'd* "plain, depression of Sa'd"; 131, Aymanlu **Imanlu* (*iman* "wild goat"); 136, 139, Alidjaq **Alindjaq*; 137, Tchūras **Tchors*; 147, 276, etc., Zanīl **Zaynal*; 153, Gurg-tchayi **Küräk-tchayi*; 158, Bargchāt **Barquchāt*; 162, Esmā-khan **Usmī-khan*; 169, Iv-oghlu **Ev-oghlu*; 175, Farīdūn **Fareydan* (locality); 178, bavartchī **bavurtchī*; 180, Sanqar **Sonqor*; 183, Tarkūr-o-Markūr **Targavar-o-Margarar*; 184, Domdom **Dimdim*; 187, Uchanī **Uchnī*; 205, Aq-lang probably **Aq-olang*; 226, Qārīnaq

(cf. 121, Qārīn-yārāq) *Qārīn-yaruq*; 233, Qarkh-bolagh **Qīrkh-bulagh* ("40 springs"): 243, Pīr Gedī; either the transcription or the interpretation is wrong: in Ottoman Turkish "cat" would be *kedī* and "cuckold" *gidi*! 257, Qarfāri **Farghārī*; 277, 'Abdol-'Aqqār **Abdol-Ghaffār*; 275, Sahrān **Sohrān*; 277, Gorūs **Garrūs*. In Georgian names: 151, didēmāl must stand for *dedapali* "queen"; 155, Tūmānīs **Dmanīs*; 215, Tayānat **Tionethi*; 216, Gūrī **Gorī*; 225, Bachīatchuq is the Turkish name for *Imerethi*; 273, Alqīt **Alqeti*.

On p. 242 the names of Russian ambassadors to Persia are mentioned as "Kinas Ivan Votorinsky et Ivan Ivanovitch". The embassy sent at a very memorable moment of Russian history by the founder of the Romanov dynasty Mikhail Feodorovich (credentials signed on 23rd May, 1618 = 1027 H.) was composed of the Prince (*kniaz*) Mikhail Petrovich Bariatinsky and the nobleman Ivan Ivanovich Chicherin.

The conversion of Muslim dates does not look very accurate. Shāh 'Abbās was born on the 1st of Ramaḍān 988 (27th January, 1571, not 5th February); he died on the 24th of Jamādī I. 1038 (19th January, 1629, not 21st January); Ṣafī mirza was proclaimed king on the 23rd of Jamādī II. 1038 (17th February, not 16th!).

V. M.

SIR ANTHONY SHERLEY AND HIS PERSIAN ADVENTURE, INCLUDING SOME CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVES RELATING THERETO. Edited by Sir E. DENISON ROSS. pp. xxxviii + 293. London: Routledge ("Broadway Travellers"). 1933. 12s. 6d.

The book consists of an Introduction (pp. i-xxxviii) giving a detailed survey of the sources, a biography of Sir Anthony Sherley (pp. 1-87), an annex (pp. 91-249), reproducing three different records of Sir Anthony's journey to Persia in 1598-9 by the members of his party (Parry, A. Pinçon, and Manwaring), as well as some other documents relating to that journey, and finally a very good Index (pp. 251-293).

There was no lack of writers who were interested in the adventures of "the Three Brothers", but the last book on them was written in 1848, and the matter certainly required a reconsideration in the light of the materials found since then. Each page of the prefatory chapters bears witness to the editor's long familiarity with the subject. The texts already known have been collated with the originals, numerous

facts and details have for the first time found a satisfactory explanation, and many a new trait has been added from the recently discovered sources.

The story of the three Sherley brothers has been very popular even outside England, but few people have had the occasion of getting to the bottom of their notoriety, and it is no small merit in Sir Denison to have courageously summed up the impression which one cannot fail to gather from his hero's fascinating but unedifying career (pp. 86-7). Sir Anthony possessed all the pluck, daring, and enterprise which in adventurous times lead people to accomplish great deeds, but there was in him some essential lack of constancy and perseverance. Jumping from one enterprise to another, quarrelling with too many people, and easily abandoning his protectors, he finished up by preparing a betrayal of his own brother in whose house he was staying (p. 80).

Persia, as a geographical entity, occupies a rather unimportant place in Sir Anthony's life. He left Baghdād for Persia on 4th November, 1598, and by June, 1599, was leaving the Shāh's kingdom on his northward journey. His further diplomatic association with Persian interests finished about May, 1601, and out of this time he actually lost some six months in Russia.

Sir Anthony's decision to go and offer his sword to Shāh 'Abbās came as a flash when he met a Persian merchant in Venice, but it is not clear whether he had time to secure for himself some unofficial mandates for the plans he developed on the spot. His chief idea was to bring about a rapprochement between Persia and the European Powers who were equally interested in the weakening of the Ottoman Empire. Here he was on the path already trodden by the Popes at the time of the Mongols, and by the Republic of Venice at the time of Uzun Ḥasan. Indeed, the Emperor Rudolph, after the passage of Sir Anthony and his colleague, speedily sent his own embassy to Persia, but owing to the remoteness of the two lands nothing tangible resulted from the idea, and in 1606 Rudolph concluded a peace with Turkey. On the other hand, Sir Anthony's own country was from the beginning indisposed to upset with regard to Turkey the policy of peace on which British trade through Aleppo depended.

Much less light is shed by the documents on the subsidiary plan of striking a blow at Portugal, by diverting the spice trade of the Indies (pp. 41, 240, 246) to the route passing through Persia and Russia, and more directly by inciting the "King of Lahore" (i.e. the Emperor

Akbar) to make war upon the Portuguese. In both respects Sir Anthony's suggestions were in the line of English politics; the transit trade through Russia was the object of British endeavours since the times of A. Jenkinson down to those of J. Hanway; with regard to Portugal only some twenty years later the combined Anglo-Persian forces destroyed the chief emporium of the Portuguese trade, Hormuz. But even here Sir Anthony had more than one string to his bow, for Gouvea in his *Relation* (1611) praises him for his plan of diverting the silk trade from the Baghdād-Aleppo route (in which the British were interested!) to the maritime route Hormuz-Lisbon! (Cf. also p. 242, where Sir Anthony speaks of a "mighty blow to the king of Spain", while the duplicity of such a plan from the outset did not escape the attention of the French ambassador in Rome (p. 49).

The editor uses a rather non-committal expression with regard to the introduction of artillery into the Shāh's army with which the Sherleys are credited (p. 20). But here Purchas's enthusiasm over the "prevailing Persian who has learned Sherlian arts of war" must be confronted with Manwaring's decisive statement (p. 222): "Although there are some which have written now of late that the Persians had not the use of pieces until our coming into the country, this much must I write to their praise that I did never see better barrels of muskets than I did see there." Sir Anthony's interpreter Angelo, interrogated in Venice, said (p. 29): "The Shah has some cannon, having captured many pieces from the Tartars; moreover, there is no lack of masters to manufacture new ones, these masters have turned against the Turk and have come to serve the king of Persia." As regards Persian sources, it is known, for instance, that artillery was used by Shāh Tahmāsp at the siege of Ottoman towns in Armenia during the campaign of 959/1552.

The three relations of Sir Anthony's companions contains several very interesting details on Persia under Shāh 'Abbās. Particular thanks are due to Sir Denison for reprinting in his translation the little known report of Abel Pinçon whose identity he has disclosed for the first time. However, the route followed by Sir Anthony's party from Baghdād to Qazvīn requires some further study.

Here are a few suggestions on the text :--

p. 72. Gouvea's words must not be understood in the sense that Rudolph's embassy was the first Christian embassy under the Šafavids. Portuguese embassies to Persia are mentioned under 958/1551, 982/1574, and 984/1576.

pp. 105 and 179. The island lying on the way from Zante (Cephalonia) to Crete, at two to three days from the latter, cannot be Mount Athos.

p. 130. The note does not seem to suit the passage.

p. 180. *Chorses* can stand only for a plural of *chaush*. There were no *qurchis* in Turkey so far as I know.

p. 174. Pinçon's narrative can refer only to the situation in Russia at the time of his visit (towards 1600). In the text the names *Boris* and *Rorik* must, without the slightest doubt, change places: "The present Emperor is called *Boris" (i.e. Boris Godunov) and his son Feodet Borisoich (i.e. Feodor Borisovich)". It is further true that Boris was elected Tsar after the extinction of the Rürik dynasty which ended with Feodor Ivanovich. Therefore "the Emperor recently dead who was called *Rorik Feritelli" can be no other person than the last Tsar (*Ferit* = Fedor).

As an echo of Sir Anthony's passage through Moscow a special point was included in the instructions (dated 12th September, 1600) which Boris Godunov gave to his ambassador, Prince Zasekin, sent to Persia in company with the Persian ambassador Pîr-quli beg, who was returning to his master. The Muscovite envoy was to explain that: "Loving his brother, His Majesty Abbas shah, H.M. the Tsar dismissed his ambassador Isen Aley (*Husain 'Alî) and the Englishman Don Onton (*Don Antonio) from his country. from Moscow to the Dvina, (namely) to the anchorage of Kholmogory, and thence ordered to let them go on ships by sea. . . . H.M. the Tsar told them not to travel by Lithuania (i.e. Poland) because the king of Lithuania Zhigimont is at present at peace and in friendship with the Turk: no sooner would they be allowed to go there than Zhigimont . . . would arrest them and send them to the Turk and thereby a damage would result to Abbas shah. The Shah's ambassador Perkuly-beg (*Pîr-quli beg) has received in Moscow similar explanations." Veselovsky, *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snosheniy*, ii, 1892, p. 51. It is further interesting that in the same instructions Boris Godunov expresses his willingness to join the anti-Ottoman league, and more particularly to be united with Shâh 'Abbâs and the Emperor Rudolph.

PERSIA. By Sir ARNOLD T. WILSON. pp. xvi + 400. London : Benn (The Modern World Series), 1932. 21s.

There exists no good book on present-day Persia. nothing, that is to say, of the standard of Curzon's work. Most of the residents in Persia probably feel hampered by the discretion they owe to their respective administrations. On the other hand, the increasing rapidity of communications seems to have considerably impaired the acumen of occasional travellers, rarely acquainted with the language of the country, and standing no comparison with their famous predecessors. Sir Arnold Wilson's long connection with Persia in the various positions which, in the course of his brilliant career, he has occupied gives him exceptional opportunities for filling some of the gaps in our knowledge of the kingdom of the Shāh. The readers of his book will certainly find in it much instructive information and many incisive judgments which, even if not always incontrovertible, are interesting as reflecting the strong personality of the author. And if none the less the book is open to some criticisms, it should be remembered that Sir Arnold has volunteered for a task which no one yet has ventured to undertake.

"The primary aim of the volume," it is stated in the Preface, "is to throw some light not on the history of Persia, not on the characteristics of the country as it was twenty or even ten years ago, but as it is to-day." Remembering that the country is just passing through a stage of rapid evolution, we may wonder how this pledge could be fulfilled at a lesser cost than by refreshing on the spot the recollections derived from the former state of things. The author avows that "no attempt is made in the book to deal critically with ephemeral situations, nor to portray the features of the leading figures on the political stage," but while taking notice of this restriction one feels a regret that thereby the programme is considerably narrowed.

In fact, many important sides of the life of modern Persia are too rapidly treated by the author whereas long passages are devoted to the remote epochs deliberately excluded from the plan of the book. Of the chapter on military forces (pp. 313-348) eight pages give a brief outline of the Pahlavī reforms, while twenty-seven pages are occupied with quotations beginning with Plato, Herodotus, Arrian, Xenophon, etc. Many of these texts, meant to stir the military pride of the Persians, are not even very conclusive as regards the object in view. The situation under the Şafavids was much more complicated than the quotations might suggest: even the assertion of the "pure

Persian descent " of Shah Ismā'il (p. 32) is highly doubtful. As regards Nādir, his official history constantly opposes " the army " to the Persian (*Qizilbash*) population, and Sir Arnold himself quotes (p. 319) Hanway's testimony on the queer composition of that army.

Similarly in the chapter on literature (pp. 163-196) a very scanty account of the present-day literature occupies the first eight pages, while the rest of it treats of much older times and contains a good deal of fortuitous or questionable matter. Can one really regard as characteristic of the great Firdausi the passage " anticipating the use of armoured cars driven by oil "—which even as an interpretation of the text is not quite correct; for according to Firdausi Alexander invented only a sort of camouflaged " Flammenwerfer ". The attempt to fit the epicurean pantheistic Hāfiz into the spirit of the Psalms (p. 182) is also unconvincing.

The introductory part of the book (pp. 1-50) contains many records of Plato, the Hittites, Benjamin of Tudela, the Mongols, etc., while in the description of Persia Khorāsān is not mentioned, and in the chapter on the Persian people nothing is said about the actual distribution of different tribes and minorities (the Turkish speaking Azarbaijān!), the unification of which is one of the most important tasks of the present regime.

The best chapters are those concerned with Agriculture, Commerce, Communications, Irrigation (the last two particularly interesting!), and other aspects of the material activity of the population. But here, too, some of the most important questions are only slightly touched upon. The author rightly thinks (p. 66) that " reform of the system of land tenure " is an essential preliminary to the maintenance of a larger population in Persia, but leaves the reader in the dark as to the characteristics of that system, on which the whole fabric of Persian society rests. Speaking of the oil industry in Persia (p. 96), he says that, " in view of his official and personal connection with the growth in Persia of this remarkable enterprise," he " hesitates to estimate its effect upon the life of the Persian nation ", and quotes the opinion of " a competent and impartial Afghan traveller " which is certainly far from exhausting this important subject. The book appeared just before the most sensational crisis in the negotiations between the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. and the Persian Government broke out, but nothing in the book explains or even foreshadows the possibility of such a contest, which has now been happily brought to an end, but which had long been smouldering under the surface.

Two chapters on "Currency and Finance" and "National Accounts" have been contributed to the author by Mr. F. Hale of the Imperial Bank of Persia, and printed (pp. 252-312) "substantially as they came from his pen". These chapters, in some parts overlapping with the author's own, represent a real advance in our knowledge of Persian economics: the present-day financial situation is well explained in them and organically linked up with the immediate past.

The limited scope of the review prevents us from going into the personal commentaries and views of the author. His general tone is that of unbounded sympathy and admiration for Persia (pp. 127, 143, 168, 194, etc.), which is sometimes expressed too unconditionally. To say that Persia "has a literary heritage of a quality, variety, and extent to which no other Eastern country can lay claim" is certainly unjust towards China in the first place. That the literary standing of the leading Persian newspapers "is notably higher than that of their Turkish and Arabic contemporaries" is also hardly exact. Evidently somewhat similar feelings account for the author's protest against the international attempts to curtail the production of opium in Persia (p. 60): "The existence in Western countries of a few weak-minded drug addicts is a poor excuse for undermining by harassing legislation the sturdy individualism that is one of the most enduring assets of the Persian race." Here we would only quote the testimony of the author's collaborator, Mr. F. Hale (*From Persian Uplands*, 1900, p. 35): "Birjand has an unusual number of beggar women, young and old, and every day I am assailed by their shrill entreaties. I am told that in most cases opium, directly or indirectly, has led to their undoing." Finally, an adequate summary of the happenings of 1919-1920 would necessitate a much more complete study of all available sources: the author himself after a rapid survey of the events abruptly breaks off the paragraph.

No need to go into the occasional misprints and minor misunderstandings in the text. Such matters in a book appealing to the general reader have little importance indeed. But on p. 164 the introductory note is not supported by the quotation from the *Īrān-shahr*.

V. M.

BIBLIOGRAFIYA VOSTOKA (Bibliography of the East), I, 1932. pp. 143. Leningrad, 1932. [In Russian ; table of contents in Russian and English.]

This periodical, published by the Oriental Institute (*Institut Vostokovedeniya*, former *Musée Asiatique*) of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., has no preface to explain its programme, but its purport will be seen from the titles of its sections, as given in the English table of contents :—

(1) "Literary reviews," under which evidently come more extensive studies in some particular fields. In the present fascicle N. A. Belgorodsky (p. 5-20) analyses the first twenty-five quarterly and half-annual reports of the Persian Ministry of Finance (years 1922-9) and mentions the particular subjects and questions on which these documents throw light.

(2) "Thematic bibliography," distinguished from (1) only by the smaller size of the articles : Romanization of the Mongolian script, Almanachs of the Persian Ministry of Public Instruction (the latter by Belgorodsky).

(3) Manuscript collections and Archives : Library in Tübingen (after Weisweiler), Central archives of the Uzbek Republic in Tashkent (a valuable description of different categories of legal and economic documents by M. Izakson).

(4) Reviews of books, both in Russian and other European languages. Professor Oldenburg is rather hard on Sir A. T. Wilson's *A Bibliography of Persia*, of which he criticizes the incompleteness and the fortuitous character of some entries and omissions. Professor Oldenburg's criticisms, as a matter of fact, are directed chiefly against the title of the book which, of course, even as a bibliography, does not cover the whole field of Persian studies. But Professor Oldenburg seems to overlook the utility of the book as a very complete list of European works on geography and history of Persia—which would have better remained without the addition of casual items on literature and linguistics.

Other interesting reviews are of Kadelbach's book of Turkish rural economy (Navichev), of Khudādāda's Persian novel from peasant life (Rostopchin), of old Turkish documents from Chinese Turkestan (Professor Malov), of M. Cohen's book on Southern Ethiopian dialects (Professor Krachkovsky), etc.

(5) "Annotations on the books"—same as (4), but much shorter.

(6) Bibliography of periodicals: very useful enumeration of contents of some Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Japanese, Chinese, and especially Russo-Mongolian journals.

(7) General bibliography (pp. 132-141) gives a systematic list of Russian articles and books on each of the countries of the East, published in 1931.

(8) List of foreign periodicals received in the Leningrad libraries in 1931-2.

On the whole this bibliography, prepared by qualified scholars, is an invaluable reference book to many scattered and hardly accessible materials, both in Russian and in the Oriental languages. The general trend of the literature quoted and analysed is social and economic, but one must admit that exactly these aspects of Oriental life are less known in the West. Abstracts of Oriental documents like those by N. A. Belgorodsky, requiring much patient and ungrateful research, are particularly welcome.

V. M.

BIBLIOGRAFIYA KITAYA. A bibliography of China. By PETER E. SKACHKOV. pp. xxiii + 843. Moscow-Leningrad: The State Social and Economic Editorship, 1932.

The author, who is the head librarian of the Institute of Oriental studies at the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., further explains the title of his work as "A classified List of Books and Articles on China in the Russian language, from 1730-1930".

The importance of this capital work is best apparent from the number of its entries: 10,248 (+ 544). The material is disposed in an elaborate but convenient system under the headings: A. China: Nature and Geography, Inhabitants, Technology, Economics, History, The Powers and China, Social Structure of China, Chinese Revolution, U.S.S.R. and China, "Ideology" (philosophy, religions, law, press, literature, arts), Sinology; B. Manchuria, with practically the same subdivisions. pp. 707-843 contains the authors and subject indexes of the works quoted.

The author, who has utilized the libraries in Leningrad, Moscow, and Vladivostok has gone through 361 different series and reviews, most of which are extremely rare. Needless to say that the system of quotation, abbreviations, etc., fully reflects the author's professional qualifications.

Russian books on special subjects (to say nothing of the articles)

have always been difficult to get at. Even their existence, if printed in the province, remained often unknown. P. E. Skachkov's work has for the first time systematized and made clear the extent of Russian contributions to the knowledge of China for a period of two hundred years. His work will certainly become the handbook of students interested especially in Northern China.

V. MINORSKY.

THE NABOBS: A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE ENGLISH IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INDIA. By T. G. P. SPEAR. Oxford, 1932. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Spear's volume is an essay in the by-ways of history. He is not concerned with the rise and fall of empires, except in so far as they set the stage for his social drama. Nor does he seek to amuse instead of to instruct. He deals with all the centres of that almost fabulous period of British prosperity and expansion, and seeks to delineate the special features appropriate to each; and above all, he wishes to explain how the modern Anglo-India came into being.

To accomplish this task he has had to read widely: and although he probably would not claim to have said the last word upon his subject, he has at all events said the latest, and many of his views well merit attention. At Bombay, for example, he points out how the Parsis served as a link between the English and Indian inhabitants, providing a common meeting-place, how the social intercourse extended to the Muslim merchants of the city, but that a like freedom of society was not possible either with the Marathas or the Rajputs. He might perhaps, at all events for the earlier days, have found the Armenians playing at Madras the role of the Parsis at Bombay. In any case the whole of his chapter on social relations well deserves study and consideration. We regard it as the outstanding feature of the book. Especially notable is the contrast which emerges between Warren Hastings, with his large circle of Indian friends recognized as such not only by himself and his wife but also by his English intimates, and the English nobles who succeeded him as Governor-General—Cornwallis, informal and void of pride, but strange, ignorant, and setting up his own people as an exclusive administrative aristocracy, or Wellesley, who would not receive the agents of the Indian princes more than twice or thrice a year. The changes which such men introduced were slow and subtle in operation, but in time they broke down the bridges which the merchants of Madras and Bombay, the

politicals like Palmer or Kirkpatrick, the administrators like Duncan, Munro, and above all Warren Hastings himself, had built up and maintained. The reforms which the English noble introduced were beneficial ; but they cost much in ways that at the time were never taken into consideration.

H. D.

THE MAKING OF THE STATE. By M. RUTHNASWAMY. London, 1932.

Mr. Ruthnaswamy's work lies in the application of western thought to Indian political conditions. It constitutes a most interesting, and indeed important, contribution to the Indian political problem. The difficulty of that problem lies, and has always lain, in the fact that great oriental civilizations have tended in the first place to cast themselves into the mould not of a political but of a social organization. They have built up solid societies that have outlasted the most devastating conquests. But their states have been flimsy structures, superimposed on the society usually by a conqueror, and enduring only so long as the conqueror's might continued. The Indian problem lies in finding some other source for its political control.

To Mr. Ruthnaswamy, therefore, the state does not appear the natural and inevitable framework of ordered human life. He puts forward the view that the basis of the Indian state must be not the people but the land. He sees as at least one of the major causes which have produced political unrest in India that fragmentation of holdings imposed by the Hindu law of succession operating in the modern economic world. To him, too, religion is an indispensable guarantee of the state, and the law courts are its equally indispensable guardian. But he distrusts juries, and would deliver justice and the maintenance of the Constitution alike to the care of an independent judiciary. The judges should be specially protected from control by any political party, and indeed he views the party-system as dangerous in itself and unsuited to India. On the other hand, he is convinced that in a political sense the caste-system is ruinous, that it has hindered every development which might have generated an organic state in India, and that flexible classes form an incomparably better social foundation for the political building. So many books have been written on Indian politics merely to promote this or that line of action that a deliberate and thoughtful work such as the present is extraordinarily welcome.

H. D.

ISMAIL THE MALIGNED KHEDIVE. By PIERRE CRABITÈS. London, 1933. 12s. 6d.

L'EMPIRE ÉGYPTIEN SOUS ISMAIL ET L'INGÉRANCE ANGLO-FRANÇAISE
By M. SABRY. Paris, 1933.

These two volumes are essentially different in character. M. Crabitès eschews references and avoids citations from original authorities, except to illustrate, in a curious and entertaining way, Ismail's relations with the Porte. His great purpose is to clear Ismail's character from the slighting estimates of Cromer and Milner. He argues strongly that the Khedive was no spendthrift because his expenditure was devoted to national purposes, and that he was no voluptuary because he could not have had time to be one. So little is certainly known of the private life of eastern rulers that the second point is not worth discussing. But M. Crabitès' arguments concerning the first are far from convincing. A ruler may be a spendthrift even if his expenditure is national and not personal; and when he borrows at 12 per cent to finance his schemes, he cannot be suitably defended by denouncing the rascality of the bankers who demanded such a high rate. Ismail had to pay high for his loans because his credit stood low. Nor was anyone deceived by the practice of making loans at a discount. It was a device employed time out of mind by the moneylender dealing with the rash and impecunious borrower. The fact still seems to be that Ismail's finance was rash enough to warrant the epithet of "spendthrift".

Ismail was a dreamer of great dreams which he lacked the power to realize. His real contribution to the development of the Egyptian monarchy was his arrangement with the Porte by which the Egyptian succession was to be regulated no longer by the old Turkish rule of the succession of the oldest male descendant, but by the western rule of primogeniture. But he desired many other most desirable reforms—the economic development of the country, the abolition of the *corrée*, the expansion of his rule to the southward, and the destruction of the slave trade. These he pressed on with the utmost energy, with little regard for what they might cost. Just as the great Muhammad Ali so hastened on the building of the great Nile barrage, that while it looked a most imposing structure the water found its way through so that the barrage was valueless, so Ismail (as Baker said) was "resolved upon the rapid accomplishment of a work that would require many years of patient and gradual labour".

M. Sabry's volume is essentially a work of research. It is well documented, and, till the author comes to questions of foreign relations, is not unfair, except perhaps to Ismail himself. But it is a series of chapters rather than an organic work; and the reader is left to gather up for himself the conclusions to be drawn from the documents cited and the relations of the different aspects of Ibrahim's policy. Unlike M. Crabitès', his thesis is not that Ismail was ruined by European rascality, but that Egypt was ruined by Ismail's folly and Europe's greed. To him the Suez Canal was a tremendous blunder; and had not other causes of difference arisen, he would have approved the English attitude to the Canal project. But British policy in and occupation of the Sudan, and the establishment of British instead of Egyptian supremacy on the equatorial lakes, appear causes of such heavy offence as robs all British policy of claims to praise. In fact, his work seems coloured by current political prepossessions. While M. Crabitès throws new and painful light on the conduct and policy of the Porte, M. Sabry illustrates Ismail's policy in Egypt and the south with much new detail. We hope both will find many readers, though we doubt if either represents the definitive judgment of Ismail's conduct and achievement or of British and French policy in Egypt.

H. D.

BOMBAY IN THE DAYS OF QUEEN ANNE. By JOHN BURNELL. Edited by S. T. SHEPPARD. London: Hakluyt Society, 1933. Bernard Quaritch.

The Hakluyt Society has not, we think, strayed into the eighteenth century in its former publications. The present volume fully merits this development. John Burnell was at best a second-rate kind of man. But he could catch and convey impressions. None of the earlier travellers give us so vivid an idea of Bombay in its infancy, begirt by powerful neighbours, and threatened by enemies in its very heart. Like Dr. Fryer, Burnell found the island desperately unhealthy. Two monsoons were "the age of a man". The hospital conveniently adjoined the cemetery, and inmates could listen at nights to the jackals quarrelling over the carcase of a late neighbour and "think what a dainty morsel" they themselves were likely to become. But besides these dismal reflections, Burnell has much to say of the work going on upon the island. Most notable was that of reclamation. In his time the island was fissured by channels through which the sea entered at high tides. But already men were at work building

dams between Sion and Dharāvī, and between Dharāvī and Māhīm, and preparing to dam the passage between Māhīm and Worli. These works were no small feats of engineering in those days of limited knowledge and appliances. But perhaps the most striking fact of all that emerges from his pages is one to which the editor's knowledge and experience add the point. Burnell dwells upon the mortality of the island. The burial ground at Mendham's Point was "a cormorant paunch, never satisfied with the daily supplies it receives, but is still gaping for more". In 1928 a new Legislative Council building was being erected at Bombay. The trenches cut for the foundations went down through layers of bones deposited in the old cemetery; so that the legislators of Bombay, in physical fact as well as in moral truth, work upon an English basis. British India was indeed bought with a multitude of lives.

Appended to Burnell's description of Bombay is a much shorter account of Bengal, with an introduction by Sir William Foster and notes by Sir Evan Cotton and Miss L. M. Anstey. But the main interest of this second part is the account of the navigation of the Hugli and the curious narrative of the writer's efforts to take military service with Mir Abū Tālib, who was charged by the Nawab with the reduction of a rebel against Jahāndār Shāh.

The editing of the volume is excellent, and it is illustrated by maps which throw into relief the topographical detail of which Burnell, especially in Bombay, supplies great plenty.

H. D.

CEYLON UNDER BRITISH RULE. By L. A. MILLS. Oxford, 1933.

Some time ago Dr. Mills, who now teaches history in the University of Minnesota, produced a very useful account of the history of British Malaya. He now follows up that chapter in British imperial history by a study of Ceylon under British government. His new volume is warmly to be welcomed. No lengthy survey of the British regime has appeared since the volumes of Tennent, written seventy years ago and long out of date. Dr. Mills' work is based less on that of his predecessors than on his own researches: and when we remember that since his predecessor wrote, the records of the Colonial Office have become available, the importance of the volume is obvious.

The early history of British administration in the island was unfortunate. At first it fell under the control of the Madras Government, which, in 1795, had not as yet discovered a satisfactory method

of administering its Indian territories. Dr. Mills, following the Colonial Office authorities, is inclined to make the most of the Madras mismanagement. Perhaps his readers should make some allowance for the fact that the mistakes were investigated and laid bare by a commission appointed by the Madras authorities themselves. Nor had the island much to gain from the appointment of the amiable and incompetent Frederick North as Governor by the Colonial Office, while the cinnamon trade long continued to be a Government monopoly under the administration of the Crown. It does not really seem to be the case that the policy of the Colonial Office was more enlightened or better informed than the contemporary policy of the East India Company and the Board of Control: while, if the Company's civil reforms and military laxity generated the Indian Mutiny, the Ceylon Government was frequently faced with revolts of the Kandyan nobles, down to 1848, and at least until the last of these the Ceylon officials were evidently in no closer touch with the people of their districts than collectors in Bengal, and far less well-informed than collectors in a ryotwari province.

On the whole it seems likely that Ceylon would have been at least as well administered under the East India Company as it was under Colonial Office management: while at a later period it would have benefited from the large number of highly talented men who were to be found in the ranks of the Indian Civil Service. Dr. Mills's volume concludes with two chapters on the cinnamon and coffee trades and with a brief sketch of the development of the island since 1885. He adds a comprehensive and valuable bibliography.

H. DODWELL.

THE LIFE OF A MOGUL PRINCESS, Jahānarā Begam, daughter of Shāhjahān. By ANDREA BUTENSCHÖN. With an Introduction by LAURENCE BINYON. pp. xiii + 221. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1931. 10s. 6d.

Madame Butenschön very many years ago published a translation into Swedish of the *Kāthopanīṣad*, a work upon which we do not wish to dwell here. We must admit not to have met with her name since then—at least not within the pale of Sanskrit learning or Indian studies in general.

The book now presented for review is not at all a scientific work and can only be very shortly mentioned here. It pretends to be the

essential life-story of the Begum Sāhib, the eldest daughter of Shāh Jahān and staunch upholder of Dārā Shakoh, and is written in a literary style which intends to be highly pathetic and is sometimes rather rambling. The materials are all drawn from quite well-known works dealing with the Moguls, and the contents can scarcely be said to be in any way startling. The notes contain some unnecessary mistakes which we need not correct here.

J. C.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA. By RAMAPRASAD DAS GUPTA. Books I and II, pp. 69 + 168. Calcutta : Book Company, 1930.

This work by an author otherwise unknown to the present writer apparently is meant to be continued—at least, that is the legitimate conclusion to be drawn from the headline “ Books I and II ”. As for this volume it contains a conspectus of Hindu criminal law giving a detailed list of the various crimes and the punishments meted out to different classes of criminals. The contents thus are much of the same nature as those dealt with in the late Professor Jolly’s well-known volume on “ Recht und Sitte ” in the *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*; but be it said at once, and without any reflection upon the capacity of Mr. Ramaprasad Das Gupta, the older work is still a much more successful one and cannot well be put aside because of the issue of this one. It is perhaps not quite to be wondered at that a Hindu author should compare the ancient Indian criminal laws with those prevalent in ancient and medieval Europe and find those of his native country rather to be humanitarian in comparison with those of more western nations. However, quite apart from such patriotic sentiment, it must be stated that Indian punishments could scarcely be said to be very humane—unless, of course, being trampled to death by elephants or cut up with razor-like blades affixed to their tusks, being impaled on stakes, etc., could deserve to be thus called. The author in one passage tells us that flaying alive was not an Indian punishment, while it was at times practised in the Western world. It is quite true that Hindu law does not know this indescribable brutality; but Mr. Ramaprasad Das Gupta may certainly be aware that it was much in favour with the Turks, who ruled India during part of the Middle Ages, and even Jahāngīr—in his sober intervals by no means a brutal nature—had it practised perhaps more than once. I am not prepared to maintain that it was

ever in use with the Hindu Rājās : but instances may perhaps be quoted even from their States. However, we need not go into further details ; be it sufficient to state that the high-caste Hindus, otherwise a people of rather a mild disposition, have never been remarkably humane as far as criminal law and punishments are concerned. Patriotic feeling may dictate such statements, but they are not in accordance with historical truth.

The work, like most books composed in India, is not entirely free from small but rather flagrant mistakes. To quote only one example : “ the law of Cornelia de Sicariis ” (ii, p. 47) is not a particularly happy rendering of the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis*.

J. C.

THE ŚIVĀDVAITA OF ŚRIKANTHA. By S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI.
pp. x + 393. University of Madras, 1930.

This book, dealing with the Śivādvaīta of Śrīkaṅṭha, which is a work of authority in Southern India, seems to be a very clever and valuable piece of research. In the first chapter, bearing the title “ Some General Considerations ”, the learned author has gone very extensively into the problems connected with Śrīkaṅṭha’s life and age. Of these, it may be admitted at once, we have but scanty knowledge, if knowledge it may be called at all. We are not even aware of what caste Śrīkaṅṭha might have belonged to, though it seems tolerably clear that he was not a Śūdra, he himself being responsible for the statement that the Āgamas are accessible to all castes while the Vedas are not ; on the other hand it is by no means certain that he was a Brahmin. South Indian authorities seem to be most parsimonious in bestowing upon us information of any Śrīkaṅṭha at all, and in consequence of that we cannot be sure about either his time or the circumstances of his life.

As for the latter ones, they were probably just as uneventful as those of any Hindu philosopher and founder of a community, be it a Śaivite one or belonging to any other creed. As concerns the period, during which Śrīkaṅṭha may have taught his system of Śivādvaīta and composed his *bhāṣya* on Bādarāyaṇa’s aphorisms, Mr. Suryanarayana Sastri seems to the present writer to have made out a strong case for the eleventh or early twelfth century, the age of the great Rāmānuja. With such an assumption, the fact scarcely seems to tally that he is not mentioned by Mādhava in his *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. Such a fact, however, most probably loses all importance when we find a quotation

from Śrīkaṇṭha's Bhāṣya in a commentary on the *Aghora Śiva Paddhati* (a work belonging to the middle of the twelfth century) and also some allusions to Śrīkaṇṭha in the works of Umāpati, who was himself a contemporary, if not a senior of Mādhava. These facts tend to making it increasingly probable that Śrīkaṇṭha was in reality a contemporary, even if a less famous one, of Rāmānuja; and thus his work seems to possess the venerable age of nearly a thousand years.

The philosophy of Śrīkaṇṭha is ably and extensively dealt with by the learned author. We cannot here enter upon any details of his exposition. It may be sufficient to quote his words (p. 76) "that in Śrīkaṇṭha's philosophy we have a system of Śaivism which, while it has many points in common with the Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja and the Śaiva Siddhānta of the Tamil country, is yet not devoid of distinctive features of its own. It seeks to reconcile two bodies of revelation and exhibit both as conformable to reason; it is theistic, yet not sectarian. Though its arguments may be paralleled elsewhere, its conclusions will be found to be its own; and throughout will be seen a spirit of compromise and eclecticism, such as is characteristic of the best Hindu philosophy". No more need be said to awake in everyone interested in Indian philosophy a vivid interest in Śrīkaṇṭha and his work.

The notes are generally full of useful information, and the author quotes several works which may be less well known to his European fellow scholars. On the Vrātyas (p. 5, n.), however, some more authorities than the late MM. Hara Prasad Sastri and Professor A. Charkravarthi—whose paper in the *Jaina Gazette* is entirely without any value—might have been quoted.

J. CHARPENTIER.

WILHELM FILCHNER. KUMBUM DSCHAMBA LING. 10 × 7½.
pp. xvi + 555. 208 photographs + 412 inset illustrations and
plan. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1933. RM. 68.

Tibet has monasteries more impressive and more ancient than Kumbum (*Sku- hbum byams-pa gliñ*), founded late in the sixteenth century: others surpass it in archæological and artistic interest, and a few exceed its large population of 3,000 or 4,000 monks. But "the *Dvīpa* of the 100,000 *Maitreyas*", the *T'a-erh-ssu*, or "great tent" of the Mongols, in Amdo near Kansu, some 700 miles north of Lhasa, has the distinction of marking the birthplace of the founder of the yellow-hat Gelukpa sect that still dominates Tibet, Mongolia,

and Lamaist China. Tsong-kha-pa, unlike the previous great shapers of Lamaism, Padma Sambhava and Atiśa, was a Tibetan, and at Kumbum one may still see the miraculous tree (*Bild* 61), said to have sprung up from the placental blood shed at the Saint's birth, a sight which evoked the wonder of Huc. The name of the monastery is in popular belief derived from the incredibly large number of minute images on this tree. Tibetan letters or texts have also been observed on it.

Accessible from China and on the high road from Peking to Lhasa, Kumbum has been visited by many Europeans. For three months in 1844 the Lazarists, Huc and Gabet, studied there, and Madame David-Neel was also a recent inmate (p. 90 et seq., *Mystiques et Magiciens du Tibet*, Paris, 1929). Huc's and Rockhill's accounts were the best till Wilhelm Filchner's *Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet* appeared in 1926. Now, as Berthold Laufer's introduction puts it, Dr. Filchner's "Baby-Kumbum" has grown to manhood in the present *magnum opus*. It is indeed a veritable monographic colossus and the encyclopædic treatment will command the respectful admiration of the reader. Three prefaces, penned from Tibet, Chicago, and Peiping, 404 pages tightly packed with information, 1,706 scholarly notes, 208 photographs, 412 insets illustrating architectural, ritual, and other objects, a large-scale map of the whole foundation showing in detail its public buildings—over thirty in number—its innumerable *stūpas* and private dwellings, will sate the most voracious appetite. This volume shares to the full the merits and in some respects the defects of, let us say, Waddell's *Lamaism*, Karl Baedeker's *vade-mecums* for the traveller, and the encyclopædias: and it is an inexhaustible mine of well-ordered information on this Lamaistic metropolis of large parts of Tibet, Mongolia, and China.

But Kumbum is no romantic story, as is Sven Hedin's recent *Jehol*. It is a standard library volume of reference; no week-end book. Its lavish photographs are excellent, the inset drawings most instructive, and the general format admirable, though too bulky, and we appreciate the author's careful and exhaustive notes, especially the frequent equivalents in Tibetan, Mongolian, Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese, and other languages. Perhaps only the index is somewhat slight. The volume deserves a separate Tibetan index with full transcription, explanation and the like of the many Tibetan words in the text. In the absence of such an index much of value in the work may escape notice.

It would be vain to attempt any criticism of the immense mass of detail provided here. For convenience one would prefer this ponderous monograph to be divided into two volumes, one containing *Kapitel* I to VIII. on the buildings themselves, and the other, *Kapitel* IX to XVIII. together with the *Anhang*, on Tsong-kha-pa, monks, festivals, dances and the ethnology of Amdo, etc. Incidentally, the *Anhang* (pp. 376-404) is an excellently written and well-illustrated description of the "Dogpa" tent-dwellers of the north-east grasslands, whose customs and mode of life closely resembles the nomads of the Chang-thang, even to the far west in Rupshu. Tanguts and other tribes are described.

The two chapters on the religious dances contain the fullest and best illustrated treatment the subject has yet received, but it is rather to the unreformed monasteries that we must turn for the investigation of their earlier ritualistic forms; the monastic *Cham-yigs*, or dance manuals, also deserve detailed study.

All interested in Lamaism in its later development will find Dr. Filchner's *Kumbum* major indispensable for reference. After reading it, they will be as much at home in Kumbum as the Londoner is in Westminster Abbey. Some may even regret that Dr. Filchner's monograph has rendered a personal visit there superfluous. At any rate to supplement his information will be no light task for the future visitor. Fortunately there still remain plenty of other Tibetan monasteries to explore and record.

H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH.

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. By HOWARD ROGERS, B.A., LL.B. pp. 372. Johannesburg: Bantu Studies. 12s. 6d.

This book is the outcome of long and laborious ploughing through years of departmental reports and memoranda, and represents the inner history of the Department of Native Affairs of the Union of South Africa, its organization, functions, and activities from the time of union (1909-1910) till the beginning of 1933. Special chapters are devoted to subjects such as: Systems of Local Government in native areas, Native land administration, Recognition of native law, Native education, Natives in urban and industrial centres, etc., while the numerous appendixes give the more statistical information.

For officials, for students of native administration, and especially

for those wishing to qualify in that subject for the University examinations, this book is most valuable, as it contains the information they require in tabloid form, neatly docketed.

For overseas visitors and the general public who have heard vague criticisms about native administration in South Africa, this book alone will be of little help, as the reader feels himself perpetually hemmed in by pages of governmental regulations, ordinances, etc. (very necessary to master if one wishes to formulate or defend a criticism in a legal manner), which give little reference to the actual context out of which they arose.

Only here and there, and mostly by reading between the lines, do we get a glimpse of the other party in the story—the natives themselves and their reaction to the various laws and proclamations. But this is to be expected. The author's task (which he has performed exceedingly well) was to provide authoritative information, in *vade mecum* form, on the activities and functions of the Department of Native Affairs, not to write a latter history of the natives of South Africa. That has already been written (*The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to 1927*, by Edgar H. Brookes), and should form an interesting companion volume to the above.

A. N. TUCKER.

THE GRAMMAR OF TIV. By Captain R. C. ABRAHAM. pp. 8 + 213.
Kaduna : Nigerian Political Service, 1933.

Captain Abraham has produced a grammar of Tiv (or Munshi) in which the phonetic and tonal system of the language is analysed thoroughly. As in so many West African languages, tones and grammar are closely bound up together : consequently tones play a very large part in this book.

Readers should not be put off by the appearance of the printed page, as owing to the limitations of the press at Kaduna, where the book was published, the author has had to make use of types of different sizes and kinds to indicate different tones. Reading these varied types is a little dazzling at first, but the first stage is soon passed and the interpretation of the tones becomes easy.

The phonetic introduction is not well arranged and there are one or two inaccuracies : the well-worn meaningless descriptions of the sound of *ng* as "nasal *n*" and "the letter *n* becomes nasalized before *k* and *g*" occur once more : it is really time that these were decently

buried. What Captain Abraham has recorded as a glottal stop, I find as merely a diminution of breath force between two vowels and no stop.

I have had an unusually favourable opportunity of testing the accuracy of Captain Abraham's work while in Nigeria, and if the proof of the pudding is in the eating, this mixture contains many good ingredients. I had Tiv speakers on two separate occasions and read to them words and sentences from the grammar and vocabulary with the pronunciation and tones indicated. There was no doubt whatever that the men understood perfectly, for they illustrated by action wherever this was possible the meaning of the sentences and words read, and repeated them so that I could check the written representation. In this way I tested a large number of difficult points of grammar and vocabulary with complete success. The work is a valuable contribution to the study of tone languages.

I. C. WARD.

THE PHONETIC AND TONAL STRUCTURE OF EFİK. By IDA C. WARD.
pp. xvi + 186. 8½ × 6½. Cambridge : Heffer, 1933. 8s. 6d.

Dr. Ward's book has a dedication and an introduction but no preface. As the first of its kind in Africa it certainly needs a preface and none could be better than

Fiat Lux.

It is true that out of modesty this preface could not have been penned by the author but it flashes out from the text, so that really it doesn't matter that there is no such preface. At last and yet the first of its kind for the West Coast comes Dr. Ward's book on the phonetic and tonal structure of Efik. Four years' work and she is able to present the Open Sesame to the mysteries and difficulties of this tone language. So far only one person has succeeded in passing the Government Higher Standard in Efik, now the way is made easy.

No European, and many have a score and more years to their credit in these regions, has been able to speak the language as a native. The secret is not that the language was not regarded as a tone language, for Goldie gave instances of that in his magnificent dictionary with his (Ris. inf) and (Fal. inf) after certain words, and the Rev. Luke in *Pioneering in Mary Slessor's Country* (he left the Cross River valley in 1890) had an inkling that if one took care of the sounds the sense

would necessarily take care of itself for he wrote "the language of the bookless native is accent and only accent".

It was known that there were semantic tones, but it was not realized that there were also grammatical and syntactic tones, and it is here that Dr. Ward's pioneering work has disclosed the secret, made clear the hidden difficulties. It is a book that is essential to anyone working in the Calabar Province and should be in the library of every District Office. Dr. Ward's work will have far-reaching effects, effects which will echo through the realms of anthropology and force a re-adjustment of outlook. The Efik and the parent stock, Ibibio, have always been regarded by anthropologists as primitive people. Can a people be primitive whose thoughts are so precise, clear, and logical that they have evolved five forms of the aorist tense alone to express their shades of meaning? Neither the language, the thoughts, nor the modes of expressing them can be called primitive. Can the people who have evolved and moulded their language to fit their mental needs be any longer regarded as primitive?

Her work has also made it abundantly clear that it is useless to attempt to write native hymns to fit English tunes. In English, the sound of the word determines its sense, so it matters not in singing whether the tone of the word alters. In Efik the tone of the word fixes its meaning, consequently when an Efik sings his own songs he sings the words on the same relative tones in his song as he would use were he speaking, otherwise the sense would not be retained. In European languages the words are written to fit the tune: in tone languages the tune must be made to fit the tones.

The drift of this idea was expressed by a Yoruba, Dr. O. A. Johnson, writing of his own tone language in 1921. "In Yoruba, vowels are of greater importance than consonants, and tones than vowels, hence the peculiarity of the language that musical sounds can be employed to convey a correct idea of words in speech." Dr. Ward has shown that it is essential to keep the correct relation of syntactical tone in order to convey the correct meaning. The meaning is lost if in the hymn tune the tune requires high notes to follow low notes where the syntax would require a low tone to follow a high tone.

A moment's reflection will show the cogency of these remarks. Dr. Ward writes: "The subjunctive is like the aorist in form. It differs from the Aorist in tone . . ." What a pitfall for writers of native hymns.

It is difficult enough to realize that the only difference in Efik

between. "a teller of tales" (an honourable calling, as it were) and "he tells tales" (a sneak) is a matter of tone, the homograph is the same for both meanings. e.g. Obuk Mbuk, but to realize that an assertion becomes a condition purely by tone has made interpretation difficult. One must admire the local interpreters who have been able to transpose so easily and readily, while the greatest gratitude is due to Dr. Ward for revealing these difficulties and showing how and the manner in which they may be met and surmounted. It is thus clear that for Efik one must reverse Lewis Carroll's dictum and say instead, "Take care of the sounds and the sense will take care of itself."

Following inevitably from Dr. Ward's researches in the part played by syntactical tones is the conviction felt for many years, but so far neither expressed nor followed by any, that no form of European grammar could supply a model upon which to base a grammar for a native language and certainly not for one whose syntax is interwoven with tone variation for variation of use and meaning. Dr. Ward points out the necessity for a new way of dealing with such difficulties and does not follow conventional lines, thereby giving a newness and freshness to her work.

A methodical examination of the book suggests the following comments which might be of assistance in another edition.

p. 3: The replacement of the initial "k" by "t" in Efik occurs also in the word "tiene=follow". The parent language has "kiene" just as it has "kiet", and never "tiet". While the change of "it" into "r" is also found in Ekritam (name of a town) which in full is Ekit Itam.

p. 4: The nouns given which begin with a consonant other than nasal are, with two exceptions, foreign words: thus: Sokoro is from the Portuguese (?); kofinuk, tatabunko, bidak are all Ekoi words; Sitim is a corruption of a European name, probably Cheetham, who introduced this token currency. "bia and tueb" are the two exceptions and in the parent language. Ibibio, "bia" appears as "abia".

p. 11: Footnote. "Mbakara" comes from the root "kara to rule", and is applied irrespective of colour, so that it does not mean white man, to anyone who rules or governs. As this function is discharged by the European it is applied to him. The word still survives in the language of the slave descendants of the West Indies, e.g. "Bakra work neber done". The word used to describe the first Europeans to Calabar, the Portuguese, still lingers in Calabar as Potoki, the

term is now applied to the Syrian traders. A white man is called *Afia owo*.

p. 14: *Ikotanakanda* is more generally heard as *Ikot Nakanda* and the "t" does not then become a one-tap "r".

p. 15: The whistle in the "s" is in some localities replaced by "f" as in the name *Efien*.

pp. 21 and 24: The use of the semi-vowels "y" and "w" is to be preferred to the employment of diphthongs, because these semi-vowels assimilate more readily to the sounds obtained in speech and secondly, they act as guide to the European learner. Thus, a student will be nearer the correct Efik pronunciation when the verb "to throw down" is written as "dwok" than as "duok". In the latter form he is liable to stress unduly the vowel "u".

pp. 27 and 28: The kymograph tracings also display (a) in the top diagram, short vowels: (b) in the bottom diagram, long vowels. It would have been better, to illustrate the long and short consonants, if the vowels had been of the same time-length in each instance, for it is just possible that the length of the vowels affects by contrast the length of the consonant.

p. 89: "Untranslatable particle." This expression is, perhaps, a little unfortunate. The Efik are essentially logical and practical in the use of their language and the particle "ke" appears to be a form of the verb "ka" = go. Hence the use of "ke" implies motion, movement towards. Thus, in the footnote, *Enye ke-edi* means that "he is moving to come", i.e. is actually on the way: while the particle "moj" may best be translated by "about to . . ." There is one omission in this most excellent work and that is a chapter on the plural form of the verb and the tonal structure and pattern of these forms. Thus, "dep bia = buy a yam" but to buy yams is "deme bia": so also "enye efehe = he runs" but "mø efehe = they run".

There are a few minor slips of no importance, thus:—

p. 4: "Ekprie abia" does not mean "plenty of yams", but "small yam".

p. 35: Footnote. The tones for "ɔbɔŋ mosquito" are wrong. They are correctly shown on p. 38. The tabular form on pp. 113, 114, 115, and 119 would be clearer if at the top of the columns were printed:—

1st sing.	2nd sing.	3rd sing.
		and all plurals

p. 142: In the example given (-dep bia), and in previous instances,

these words are translated as "buy yams", actually they mean "buy one yam". If it is intended to say "buy yams" then the plural form of the verb should be used, i.e. "-deme bia".

p. 144: The affirmative "mi ntetie" is translated as "to sit down": so also is the negative "mi nkutetie (sit down)" whereas it means "not to sit down". It is noticed that the positive meanings in the other examples have been attached to the negative side. These should be transposed in the next edition.

p. 152: "Nne = mother" is an Igbo word due to the presence of many Igbo slaves. Eka is the Efik word.

In conclusion, this work was undertaken and accomplished in London. Dr. Ward came out to Nigeria, to Calabar, to carry out more intensive research on the spot and to make investigations into the tonal structure of Igbo. A series of lectures to native students was arranged. The rather bored air of having to listen to another European butchering their language gave way, when she started to speak, to startled surprise and ended with open-mouthed admiration and astonishment. "Why, that's just how mother talks, she is one of us," was a comment heard. What greater success is possible: what surer test of the accuracy of the work and methods could there be?

The book is essential to all who wish to learn Efik or the parent language, Ibibio, for the tonal structure is the same in both. That the work would be of great use to students of Igbo seems probable because the main tonal features of these two Sudanic languages cannot greatly vary when it is realized with what ease members of tone languages learn the languages of surrounding tribes. A Hausa has as much difficulty as a European in learning these tonal languages.

Dr. Ward's *métier* is clearly the investigation of tone languages, and most fortunate it is that the grant from the Rockefeller Foundation will enable her to continue her research work into the tonal structure of West African languages.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Kavāδ

MR. H. W. BAILEY, in his "Iranian Studies II" (*BSOS.*, 1933, p. 69 sqq.), has made a new attempt to emend and interpret the difficult passage of the Iranian Bundahišn (*Anklesaria*, p. 231, 13-232, 1) regarding Kay Kavāδ. I think his interpretation much nearer to the real meaning of the passage than any of the earlier, including my own suggestions in *Les Kayanides*, p. 71. But I should now like to propose a few modifications of the interpretation of Mr. Bailey.¹

First, I thus read the final words of the passage: *frazand vindīday nām nihāδ* "he gave name to the foundling". The signs 𐬯𐬀𐬎 after 𐬯𐬀𐬎 (*vindīday*: *vindīdan* "to find") are probably a lapsus calami of an old copyist, who has repeated some of the signs of the foregoing 𐬯𐬀𐬎. As to the theme *vind-*, the Turfan texts in south-western dialect have always the form *vindādan*, which is borrowed from the northern dialect. In ordinary Pahlavi of the books, we also generally meet with this form; but the real south-western form *vindīdan* is to be found in the Pahlavi Commentary to the Vendīdād. Mr. K. Barr has noted the following occurrences: in Vd. ii, 8 and 17 (of the Avestan text), Spiegel's edition of the Commentary has (p. 10, ll. 11, 15, 20) 𐬯𐬀𐬎: the two good Copenhagen MSS. K 3a and K 3b have 𐬯𐬀𐬎, 𐬯𐬀𐬎, and in one case the word is written in Persian letters above ونید: Vd. v, 14, Spiegel, p. 52, ll. 10-11: *čēyōn pa fraγard vindīδ* (𐬯𐬀𐬎); Vd. vii, 78, Spiegel, p. 101, l. 18: 𐬯𐬀𐬎.

Mr. Bailey's explanation of the words *kavāδ*, *kavāday*, certainly holds. Now, evidently, the original significance of the words *kavāδ*, *kavāday*, was not wholly familiar to the Parsis: therefore some copyist has inserted the explanation *aβurnāq*.

¹ I follow here and below my own method of transcription. As to the conjunction which Mr. Bailey, in accordance with Professor Nyberg, reads *ap-*, I look upon it as an ideogram. In ordinary prose texts this ideogram must certainly be read *u-* before the enclitic pronoun (*u-š*, *u-šān*, etc.), but I think the older form *uδa-* could be read in metric texts, just as Neo-Persian has conserved older pronunciations in certain cases (the *izīfāt* as a long *ī*, etc.), according to the requirements of the metre.

The last word in l. 14 of p. 231 in *Anklesaria*, 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩, is to be read *rōdē*.

Now it appears that we have before us a series of perfect verses of eight syllables, taken from some Pahlavi epic on the history of the Kayānians. Reduced to its main features, the plot must have been the same which in Arabic and Persian sources is related in the history of Dārā (v. *Les Kayanides*, p. 150. and p. 71, n. 4): a new-born child is laid in a box and exposed on the river; he is found and adopted (or recognized) by the king (or the queen). If Mr. Bailey is right in reading *kavātakān* and in translating "Overseer of the Pages", the passage in question must be somewhat disordered in arrangement. Evidently the person who delivered the little child to the "Overseer of the Pages" is Uzav himself, but only in the following verse do we read that he saw and took up the child. In this case we must suppose that the two verses have been interchanged, and, restoring their original order, we should read:—

Uzav bē dīd, stad, bē parvārd,
pa kavādayān bē aβsparδ ;

"Uzav saw him, took him and had him nursed and delivered to the 'Overseer of the Pages'."

Now, during the proof-reading, Mr. Bailey writes to me that he has been able to discover at Paris the whereabouts of the MS. of the Iranian Bundahishn which had been in the possession of J. Darmesteter, and that, collating it, he has found out that this MS. is a copy of a copy of *TD*, but has a few pencilled corrections from the original *TD* itself. The Kavāt passage reads as follows:—

. . . 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩
𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩
𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩

To this Mr. Bailey makes the following annotations:—

"Hence there are three points:

"(1) *parvart* is now certain.

"(2) 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 seems now to be certain, and therefore I doubt if the correct interpretation of this passage *pat kavātakān bē . . .* is yet found.

“(3) 𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌) probably means *vindītak* and hence confirms your reading.”

Having read this communication, which Mr. Bailey has kindly permitted me to make use of, I felt induced to examine the passage again, and now I propose to read not *pa kavādayān bē aβsarδ*, but *pa kavāday χūn bē aβsarδ*. The verse of eight syllables is irreprehensible. By this reading, the supposition of an interchange of this verse and the following falls away, and I read :

kavāδ [aβurnay] andar kēβūδ-ē būδ,
uda-sān pa rōδē bē hišt;
pa kavāday χūn bē aβsarδ.
Uzav bē dīδ, stad, be parvarδ;
frazand vindīday nām nihāδ.

“Kavāδ [gloss : i.e. ‘child’] was in a box, and they put him on the river ; the blood froze in [the body of] the child. Uzav saw him, took him and had him nursed : he gave name to the foundling child.”

“He gave name . . . ,” i.e. he gave him the name “child”, that neutral name symbolizing the fact that the origin of the baby was unknown.

The rhyme *aβsarδ—parvarδ* is noteworthy.

ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN.

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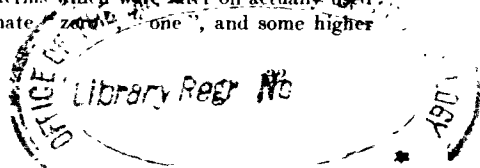
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***Kha* and other Words denoting "Zero" in Connection with the Metaphysics of Space**

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

K*HA*, cf. Greek $\chi\alpha\omicron\varsigma$, is generally "cavity"; and in the *Rg Veda*, particularly, "the hole in the nave of a wheel through which the axle runs" (Monier-Williams). In *Journ. U.P. Hist. Soc.*, vii, 44-5 and 62, Mr. A. N. Singh shows conclusively that in Indian mathematical usage, current during the earlier centuries of the Christian era, *kha* means "zero"; Sūryadeva, commenting on Āryabhaṭa, says "the *khas* refer to voids (*khāni śūnyā upa lakṣitāni*) . . . thus *khadrinake* means the eighteen places denoted by zeros". Amongst other words denoting zero are *śūnya*, *ākāśa*, *vyoma*, *antarikṣa*, *nabha*, *ananta*, and *pūrṇa*.¹ We are immediately struck by the fact that the words *śūnya* "void" and *pūrṇa* "plenum" should have a common reference; the implication being that all numbers are virtually or potentially present in that which is without number; expressing this as an equation, $0 = x - x$, it is apparent that zero is to number as possibility

¹ It may as well be pointed out here that although "The decimal notation must have been in existence and in common use amongst the mathematicians long before the idea of applying the place-value principle to a system of word names could have been conceived" (Singh, loc. cit., p. 61), and although a decimal scale has actually been found at Mohenjodaro (Mackay, "Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro," *Journ. Roy. Soc. Arts*, No. 4233, 1934, p. 222), it is by no means the intention of the present article to present an argument for a *Rg Vedic* knowledge of either the decimal system or the concept "zero" as such. Our purpose is merely to exhibit the metaphysical and ontological implications of the terms which were later on actually used by Āryabhaṭa and Bhaskara, etc., to designate zero, one, and some higher numbers.



to actuality. Again, employment of the term *ananta* with the same reference implies an identification of zero with infinity; the beginning of all series being thus the same as their end. This last idea, we may observe, is met with already in the earlier metaphysical literature, for example *R̥g Veda*, iv, 1, 11, where Agni is described as “hiding both his ends” (*guhāmāno antā*); *Aitareya Br.*, iii, 43, “the Agniṣṭoma is like a chariot-wheel, endless” (*ananta*); *Jaiminīya Up. Br.*, i, 35, “the Year is endless (*ananta*), its two ends (*antā*) are Winter and Spring . . . so is the endless chant” (*anantam saman*). These citations suggest that it may be possible to account for the later mathematicians’ selection of technical terms by reference to an earlier usage of the same or like terms in a purely metaphysical context.

Our intention being to demonstrate the native connection of the mathematical terms *kha*, etc., with the same terms as employed in purely metaphysical contexts, it will be necessary to prepare the diagram of a circle or cosmic wheel (*cakra*, *maṇḍala*) and to point out the significance of the relationships of the parts of such a diagram according to universal tradition and more particularly in accordance with the formulation of the *R̥g Veda*. Take a piece of blank paper of any dimensions, mark a point anywhere upon it, and with this point as centre draw two concentric circles of any radius, but one much less than the other; draw any radius from the centre to the outer circumference. With exception of the centre, which as point is necessarily without dimension, note that every part of our diagram is merely representative; that is, the number of circles may be indefinitely increased, and the number of radii likewise, each circle thus filled up becoming at last a plane continuum, the extended ground of any given world or state of being; for our purpose we are considering only two such worlds—mythologically speaking, Heaven and Earth, or psychologically, the worlds of subject and object—as forming together the world or cosmos, typical of any particularized world which may be thought of as partial within it. Finally, our diagram may be thought of either as consisting of two concentric circles with their common radii and one common centre, or as the diagram of a wheel, with its felly, nave, spokes, and axle-point.

Now in the first place, as a geometrical symbol, that is to say with respect to measure or numeration, our diagram represents the logical relationships of the concepts naught or zero, inconnumerable unity, and indefinite multiplicity; the blank (*śūnya*) surface having no numerical significance; the central point (*indu*, *bindu*) being an

inconnumerable unity (inconnumerable, *advaita*, because there cannot be conceived a second centre); and either circumference an endless (*ananta*) series of points, which may be thought of as numbers; the totality (*sarvam*) of the numbered, that is to say individual, points representing the sum of a mathematically infinite series extending from one to "infinity", and conceivable as plus or minus according to the direction of procedure. The whole area (*śarīra*) delimited corresponds to place (*deśa*), a revolution of the circles about their centre corresponds to time (*kāla*). It will be observed further that any radius connects analogous or corresponding points or numbers on the two circumferences¹; if now we suppose the radius of one or both circles indefinitely reduced, which brings us to the central point as limiting concept (that is also "as it was in the beginning"), it is evident that even this point can only be thought of as a plenum of all the numbers represented on either circumference.² On the other hand, this point, at the same time that it represents an inconnumerable unity, and as we have just seen, a plenum, must also be thought of as representing, that is as the symbol of, zero; for two reasons—(1) inasmuch as the concept to which it refers is by definition without place and without dimensions, and therefore non-existent, and (2) the mathematically infinite series, thought of as both plus and minus according to direction, cancel out where all directions meet in common focus.

So far as I know, Indian literature does not provide a specific exegesis exactly corresponding to what is given in the preceding paragraph. What we do find in the metaphysical and religious traditions is a corresponding usage of the symbol of the Wheel (primarily the, or a wheel of the, solar chariot), and it is in this connection that we first meet with some of the most significant of those terms which are later on employed by the mathematicians. In *R̥g Veda* i. 155. 6; i. 164. 2, 11, 13, 14, and 48; *Atharva Veda*, x. 8. 4-7; *Kauṣītaki Br.*, xx. 1; *Jaiminīya Up. Br.*, i. 35; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, i. 5, 15; *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, i. 4; *Praśna Up.*, vi. 5-6; and like texts, the Year as an everlasting sequence is thought of as an unwasting wheel of life, a revolving wheel of the Angels, in which all things have their being and are manifested in succession; "none of its spokes is last in order", *R̥g Veda*, v. 85, 5. The parts of the wheel are named as follows: *āṇi*,

¹ The familiar principle "as above, so below" is illustrated here.

² The notion of exemplarism is expressed here, with respect to number or mathematical individuality.

the axle-point within the nave (note that the axle causes revolution, but does not itself revolve); *kha. nābhi*, the nave (usually as space within the hub, occasionally as the hub itself); *ara*, spoke, connecting hub and felly; *nemi, pari*, the felly. It should be observed that *nābhi*, from root *nabh.* to expand, is also "navel"; similarly in anthropomorphic formulation, "navel" corresponds to "space" (*Maitrī Up.*, vi. 6); in *R̥g Veda*, the cosmos is constantly thought of as "expanded" (root *pin*) from this chthonic centre.

Certain passages indicating the metaphysical significance of the terms *āṇi*, *kha*, and *nābhi* in the *R̥g Veda* may now be cited. It should be premised that we find here in connection with the constant use of the wheel symbol, and absence of a purely geometrical formulation, the term *āṇi* employed to express ideas later on referred to by the words *indu* or *bindu*.¹ Vedic *āṇi*, being the axle-point within the nave of the wheel, and on which the wheel revolves, corresponds exactly to Dante's *il punto dello stelo al cui la prima rota va dintorno, Paradiso*, xiii, 11–12. The metaphysical significance of the *āṇi* is fully brought out in *R̥g Veda*, i. 35, 6 *āṇim na rathyam amṛta adhi tasthuḥ*, "as on the axle-point of the chariot-wheel are actually-existent the undying (Angels or intellectual principles)"; which also supplies the answer to the well-known problem, "How many Angels can stand on the point of a needle?" More often the nave of the wheel, rather than the axle-point specifically, is treated as its centre; nor need this confuse us if we reflect that just as under limiting conditions (indefinite reduction of the radius, or when the central point has been identified but the circle not yet drawn) the centre represents the circle, so under similar conditions (metaphysically *in principio*) the axle-point implies the nave or even the whole wheel—the point without dimension, and a principal space not yet expanded (or as the *R̥g Veda* would express it, "closed") being the same in reference. The nave then, *kha* or *nābhi* of the world wheel is regarded as the receptacle and fountain of all order, formative ideas, and goods: for example, ii. 28, 5, *rdhyāma te varuṇa kham ṛtasya* "may we, O Varuṇa, win thy nave of Law"; viii. 41, 6, where in Trita Āptya "all oracles (*kāryā*) are set as is the nave within the wheel" (*cakre nābhir iva*); iv. 28, where Indra

¹ *Indu* occurs in the *R̥g Veda* as "drop" in connection with Soma: in *Atharva Veda*, vii. 109, 6, as "point on a die"; and grammatically as the designation of *Anusāra*. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmana*, vi. 9, 19–20 is of interest: *indava iva hi pitarah mana va*, i.e. "the Patriarchs are as it were drops (*indu* in pl.), as it were the intellectual principle". In *R̥g Veda*, vi. 44, 22, *Indu* is evidently Soma; in vii. 54, 2, *Vāstoṣpati*.

opens the closed or hidden naves or rocks (*apihitā* . . . *khāni* in verse 1, *apihitāni asnā* in verse 5) and thus releases the Seven Rivers of Life.¹ In v. 32, 1, where Indra breaks open the Fountain of Life (*utsam*) this is again an emptying out of the hollows (*khāni*), whereby the fettered floods are released.

According to an alternative formulation, all things are thought of as *ante principium* shut up within, and *in principio* as proceeding from, a common ground, rock, or mountain (*budhna*, *adri*, *parvata*, etc.): this ground, thought of as resting island-like within the undifferentiated sea of universal possibility (x, 89, 4, where the waters pour *saḡarasya budhnāt*), is merely another aspect of our axle-point (*āṇi*), regarded as the primary assumption toward which the whole potentiality of existence is focussed by the primary acts of intellection and will. This means that *a priori* undimensioned space (*kha*, *ākāśa*, etc.) rather underlies and is the mother of the point, than that the latter has an independent origin: and this accords with the logical order of thought, which proceeds from potentiality to actuality: non-being to being. This ground or point is in fact the "rock of ages" (*aśmany anante*, i, 130, 3; *adrim acyutam*, vi, 17, 5). Here *ante principium* Agni lies occulted (*guhā santam*, i, 141, 3, etc.) as Ahi Budhnya, "in the ground of space, concealing both his ends" (*budhne rajaso* . . . *guhāmāno antā*, iv, 1, 11, where it may be noted that *guhāmāno antā* is tantamount to *ananta*, literally "end-less", "in-finite," "eternal"), and hence he is called "chthonic" (*nābhir aṇi pṛthivyā*, i, 59, 2, etc.), and first born in this ground (*jāyata prathamah* . . . *budhne*, iv, 1, 11), he stands erect, Janus-like, at the parting of the ways (*ayor ha skambha* . . . *pathām visarge*, x, 5, 6); hence he gets his chthonic steeds and other treasures (*asvabudhnā*, x, 8, 3; *budhnyā vasāni*, vii, 6, 7). It is only when this rock is cleft that the hidden kine are freed, the waters flow (i, 62, 3, where Brhaspati *bhinad adrim* and *vidad gāh*; v, 41, 12, *śṛṅvantv āpah* . . . *adreh*). This is, moreover, a centre without place, and hence when the Waters have come forth, that is when the cosmos

¹ The Rivers, of course, represent ensembles of possibility (hence they are often spoken of as "maternal") with respect to a like number of "worlds", or planes of being, as in i, 22, 16 *pṛthivyā sapta dhāmabhih*. Our terms *kha*, *āsna*, etc., are necessarily employed in the plural when the "creation" is envisaged with respect to the cosmos not as a single "world", but as composed of two, three, or seven originally unmanifested but now to be conceptually distinguished "worlds"; the solar chariot having one, two, three, or seven wheels accordingly. It is perhaps because the chariot of the Year is more often than not thought of as two-wheeled (Heaven and Earth) and therefore provided with two analogous axle-points that *āni* was not later employed as a verbal symbol of "one".

has come to be, one asks as in x. 111. 8, “ where is their beginning (*agram*), where their ground (*budhnaḥ*), where now, ye Waters, your innermost centre ? ” (*madhyam . . . antaḥ*).¹

Thus metaphysically, in the symbolism of the Wheel, the surface—blank (*śūnya*) in the initial non-being (*asat*) of any formulation (*sam-kalpa*)—represents the truly infinite (*alīti*) and maternal possibility of being; the axle-point or nave, exemplary being (*viśvam ekam*, *Rg Veda*, iii. 54. 8 = integral omnipresence); the actual construction, a mentally accomplished partition of being into existences; each spoke, the integration of an individual as *nāma-rūpa*, that is as archetypal inwardly and phenomenal outwardly; the felly, the principle of multiplicity (*viśvamatra*). Or employing a more theological terminology: the undetermined surface represents the Godhead (*alīti*, *parabrahman*, *tamas*, *apah*); the axle-point or immovable rock, God (*āditya*, *aparabrahman*, *īśvara*, *jyoti*); the circle of the nave, Heaven (*svarga*); any point on the circumference of the nave, an intellectual principle (*nāma*, *deva*); the felly, Earth with its analogous (*anurūpa*) phenomena (*viśvā rūpāni*); the construction of the wheel, the sacrificial act of creation (*karma*,² *ṣṣṭi*), its abstraction the act of dissolution (*laya*). Furthermore, the course (*gati*) of any individual upon the pathway of a spoke is in the beginning centrifugal (*pravṛtta*) and then again centripetal (*nivṛtta*), until the centre (*madhya*) is found; and when the centre of individual being coincides with the centre of the wheel, he is emancipate (*mukta*), the extension of the wheel no longer involving him in local motion, at the same time that its entire circuit now becomes for him one picture (*jaguccitra*)³ seen in simultaneity, who as “ round-about-seer ”, *paridraṣṭṛ*, now “ overlooks everything ”, *viśvam abhicaste*, i, 164. 44.

In order to understand the use of terms for “ space ” (*kha*, *ākāśa*, *antarikṣa*, *śūnya*, etc.)⁴ as verbal symbols of zero (which represents privation of number, and is yet a matrix of number in the sense

¹ *Madhya* is “ middle ” in all senses, and also algebraically “ mean ”. For the metaphysical values, cf. in the *Rg Veda madhye samudre* and *utsazya madhye = sindh-ūnām upodaye* as the place of Agni or Varuṇa and in *Chāṅdogya Uṣ.*, iii, 11, 1 *ekata madhye sthāne* “ single in the midstmost station ”.

² For the construction of the wheel, cf. *Rg Veda*, viii. 77. 3, *akhidat khe arān iva kh dayā* and discussion in my *Angel and Titan, an essay in Vedic ontology*, to appear in the *JAOS*, 1934.

³ Śankarācārya, *Svātmanurūpana*, 95.

⁴ *Śūnya* does not appear in the *Rg Veda*, though *śūnam* occurs in the sense of “ privation ”.

$0 = x - x$),¹ it must be realized that *ākāśa*, etc., represent primarily a concept not of physical space, but of a purely principial space without dimension, though the matrix of dimension.² For example, "all these beings arise out of the space (*ākāśād samapadyanta*) and return into the space (*ākāśam pratyastam yanti*). For the space is older than they, and is their last resort (*parāyaṇam*)."³ *Chāndogya Up.*, i. 9. 1; "space is the name of the permissive cause of individual-integration," *ākāśo vai nāma nāmarūpayor nirvahitā*, *Chāndogya Up.*, viii, 14; and just as Indra "opens the closed spaces", *apihitā khāni*, *Rg Veda*, iv. 28. 1, so the Self "awakens this rational (cosmos) from that space", *ākāśat eṣa khalu idaṁ cetamātrām bodhayati*, *Maitri Up.*, vi. 17. in other words *ex nihilo fit*. Furthermore, the locus of this "space" is "within you": "what is the intrinsic aspect of extension is the supernal fiery energy in the vacance of the inner man", *tat svarūpam nabhasah khe antarbhūtasya yat param tejah*, *Maitri Up.*, vii, 11³; and this same "space in the heart" (*antarhṛdaya ākāśa*) is the locus (*āyatana*, *veśma*, *nūḍa*, *kośa*, etc.) where are deposited in secret (*gihā nihitam*) all that is ours already or may be ours on any plane (*loka*) of experience (*Chāndogya Up.*, viii. 1, 1-3). At the same time, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, v, 1, this "ancient space" (*kha*) is identified with Brahman and with the Spirit (*kham brahma*, *kham purāṇam*, *vāyuram kham iti*), and this Brahman is at the same time a plenum or pleroma (*pūrṇa*) such that "when plenum is taken from plenum, plenum yet remains".⁴

Here we get precisely that equivalence of *kha* and *pūrṇa*, void and plenum, which was remarked upon as noteworthy in the verbal notation of the mathematicians. The thought, moreover, is almost literally repeated when Bhāskara in the *Bījagaṇita* (ed. Calcutta, 1917, pp. 17-18) defines the term *ananta* thus, *ayam ananto rāsiḥ khahara ity ucyate*, *Asmin vikārah khahare na rāsāvapi praviṣṭeṣcapi niḥṣṭeṣu bahuṣcapi syāl layasṛṣṭikāle nante cyute bhūtagaṇeṣu yadvat*, that is "This fraction of which the denominator is zero, is called an infinite quantity. In this quantity consisting of that which has cipher for its divisor, there is

¹ Observe that the dual series of plus and minus numbers represents "pairs of opposites", *dvandvau*.

² "Transzendenter Raum der Ewigkeit ist der Ākāśa vor allem auch da, wo er als Ausgangspunkt, als Schöpfungsgrund und als Ziel, als A und O der Welt angeschaut wird." Scharbraun, *Die Idee der Schöpfung in der redischen Literatur*, 1932, p. 56; "size which has no size, though the principle of size." Eckhart, i, 114.

³ *Nabha*, from root *nabh* "to expand", etc., as also in *nābhi* "navel" and "nave". A secondary sense of *nabh* is "to destroy".

⁴ This text occurs in almost the same form in *Atharva Veda*, x, 8, 29.

no alteration, though many be added or subtracted ; just as there is no alteration in the Infinite Immovable (*anante acyute*)¹ at the time of the emanation or resolution of worlds, though hosts of beings are emanated or withdrawn ”.

It may be observed further that while in the *R̥g Veda* we “ do not find the use of names of things to denote numbers, we do find instances of numbers denoting things ” (Singh. loc. cit., p. 56). In vii, 103. 1, for example, the number “ twelve ” denotes the “ year ” : in x, 71, 3, “ seven ” stands for “ rivers of life ” or “ states of being ”. It is thus merely a converse usage of words when the mathematicians make use of the names of things to denote numbers ; to take the most obvious examples, it is just what should be expected, when we find that one is expressed by such words as *ādi*, *indu*, *abja*, *pr̥thvī* ; two by such as *yama*, *aśvinā* ; three by such as *agni*, *vaiśvānara*, *haranetra*, *bhuvana* ; four by *veda*, *diś*, *yuga*, *samudra*, etc. ; five by *pr̥āṇa* ; six by *ṛtu* ; and so forth. It is not to be understood, of course, that the number-words are all of Vedic origin ; many suggest rather an epic vocabulary, e.g. *pāṇḍava* for five, while others, such as *netra* for two have an obvious and secular source. In certain cases an ambiguity arises, for example *loka* as representing either three or fourteen, *diś* as representing four or ten, but this can be readily understood : in the last-mentioned case for example, the quarters have been thought of in one and the same cosmology as either four, or if we count up eight quarters and half-quarters, adding the zenith and nadir, as ten. Taken in its entirety as cited by Singh, the numerical vocabulary can hardly antedate the beginning of the Christian era (we find that ten is represented amongst other words by *avatāra* ; six by *rāga*).

If we attempt to account for the forms of the ideograms of numbers in a similar fashion, we shall be on much less certain ground. A few suggestions may nevertheless be made. For example, a picture writing of the notion “ axle-point ” could only have been a “ point ”, and of the concept “ nave ” could only have been a “ round 0 ”, and both of these signs are employed at the present day to indicate zero. The upright line that represents “ one ” may be regarded as a pictogram of the axis that penetrates the naves of the dual wheels, and thus at once unites and separates Heaven and Earth. The Devanāgarī and Arabic signs for three correspond to the trident (*triśūla*) which

¹ Cf. *aśmany anante* and *adrim acyutam* cited above with the meaning “ rock of Ages ”.

is known to have been from very ancient times an Agni or Śīva. *A priori* it might be expected that a sign for "four" should be cruciform following the notion of extension in the directions of the four airts (*diś*); and we find in fact in Saka script that "four" is represented by a sign X, and that the Devanāgarī may well be thought of as a cursive form derived from a like prototype. Even if there be sufficient foundation for such suggestions, it is hardly likely that a detailed interpretation of ideograms of numbers above four could now be deduced. We can only say that the foregoing suggestions as to the nature of numerical ideograms rather support than counter the views of those who seek to derive the origins of symbolism, script, and speech from the concept of the circuit of the Year.

It is, however, beyond question that many of the verbal symbols—the case of *kha* for "zero" is conspicuous—used by Indian mathematicians had an earlier currency, that is to say before a development of mathematical science as such, in a more universal, metaphysical context. That a scientific terminology should thus have been formulated on the basis of a metaphysical terminology, and by no means without a full consciousness of what was being done (as the citation from Bhāskara clearly shows), is not only in accordance with all that we know of the natural course of Indian thought, which takes the universal for granted and proceeds to the particular, but also admirably illustrates what from a traditionally orthodox point of view would be regarded as constituting a natural and right relationship of any special science to the metaphysical background of all sciences. One is reminded of words in the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, dated in 1879, on the Restoration of Christian Philosophy, as follows: "Hence, also, the physical sciences, which now are held in so much repute, and everywhere draw to themselves a singular admiration, because of the wonderful discoveries made in them, would not only take no harm from a restoration of the philosophy of the ancients, but would derive great protection from it. For the fruitful exercise and increase of these sciences it is not enough that we consider facts and contemplate Nature. When the facts are well known we must rise higher, and give our thoughts with great care to understanding the nature of corporeal things, as well as to the investigation of the laws which they obey, and of the principles from which spring their order, their unity in variety, and their common likeness in diversity. It is marvellous what power and light and help are given to these investigations by Scholastic philosophy, if it be wisely used . . . there

is no contradiction, truly so called, between the certain and proved conclusions of recent physics, and the philosophical principles of the Schools." These words by no means represent a merely Christian apologetic, but rather enunciate a generally valid procedure, in which the theory of the universal acts at the same time with suggestive force and normatively with respect to more specific applications. We may reflect on the one hand that the decimal system, with which the concept of "zero" is inseparably connected, there in India was developed¹ by scholars who were very surely, as their own words prove, deeply versed in and dependent upon an older and traditional metaphysical interpretation of the meaning of the world; and on the other, that had it not been for its boasted and long-maintained independence of traditional metaphysics (in which the principles, if not the facts of relativity are explicit)² modern scientific thought might have reached much sooner than has actually been the case a scientifically valid formulation and proof of such characteristic notions as those of an expanding universe and the finity of physical space. What has been outlined above with respect to the special science of mathematics represents a principle no less valid in the case of the arts, as could easily be demonstrated at very great length. For example, what is implied by the statement in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vi, 27, that "it is in imitation of the angelic works of art that any work of art such as a garment or chariot is made here"³ is actually to be seen in the hieratic arts of every traditional culture, and in the characteristic motifs of the surviving folk-arts everywhere. Or in the case of literature: epic (Volsunga Saga, Beowulf, the Cuchullain and Arthurian cycles, Mahābhārata, Buddhacarita, etc.) and fairy-tale (notably for example, Jack and the Beanstalk) repeat with infinitely varied local colouring the one story of *jātavidyā*, Genesis.⁴ The whole

¹ "The place system of the Babylonians . . . fell on fertile soil only among the Hindus . . . algebra, which is distinctly Hindu . . . uses the principle of local value" (M. J. Babb, in *J.A.O.S.*, vol. 51, p. 52). That the "Arabic" numerals are ultimately of Indian origin is now generally admitted: what their adoption meant for the development of European science need not be emphasized.

² Cf. Āryabhata, *Āryabhatīya*, iv, 9, "As a man in a boat going forward sees a stationary object moving backward, just so at Lankā a man sees the stationary asterisms moving backward."

³ See my *Transformation of Nature in Art*, 1934, p. 8 and note 8.

⁴ Cf. Siecke, *Die Lebensgeschichte des Himmels*, Strassburg, 1892; and Jeremias, "Die Menschheitsbildung ist ein einheitliches Ganzes, und in den verschiedenen Kulturen findet man die Dialekte der einen Geistesprache," *Altorientalische Geisteskultur*, ed. 2, p. x.

point of view can indeed be recognized in the Indian classification of traditional literature, in which the treatises (*śāstras*) on auxiliary sciences such as grammar, astronomy, law,¹ medicine, architecture, etc., are classed as Vedāṅga, "limbs or powers of the Veda," or as Upaveda, "accessory with respect to the Veda"; as Guénon expresses it, "Toute science apparaissait ainsi comme un prolongement de la doctrine traditionnelle elle-même, comme une de ses applications . . . une connaissance inférieure si l'on veut, mais pourtant encore une véritable connaissance." while, *per contra*, "Les fausses synthèses, qui s'efforcent de tirer le supérieur de l'inférieur . . . ne peuvent jamais être qu'hypothétiques . . . En somme, la science, en méconnaissant les principes et en refusant de s'y rattacher, se prive à la fois de la plus haute garantie qu'elle puisse recevoir et de la plus sûre direction qui puisse lui être donnée . . . elle devient douteuse et chancelante . . . ce sont là des caractères généraux de la pensée proprement moderne; voilà à quel degré d'abaissement intellectuel en est arrivé l'Occident, depuis qu'il est sorti des voies qui sont normales au reste de l'humanité" ²

¹ Even the "Machiavellian" *Artha-śāstra* (1. 3) proceeds from the principle *svadharmah svargāya ānantyāya ca, tasya atikrame lokah saṅkarād ucchidyeta* "vocation leads to heaven and eternity; in case of a digression from this norm, the world is brought to ruin by confusion".

² René Guénon, *Orient et Occident*. Paris, 1930 (extracts from ch. ii).

Balti Proverbs

Collected by A. F. C. READ

THE land of Baltistan lies in Kashmir State territory beyond the Himalayan range and to the north of the province of Ladakh. It is occasionally called Little Tibet, but nowadays it is usually referred to by the State as that part of Ladakh which comes under the jurisdiction of the Skardu Tehsil. Some hundred thousand people speak the Balti language, which in some instances would appear to resemble more the written Tibetan than any spoken dialect of that language.

Proverbs and sayings are in daily use even among the most uneducated, and they are usually referred to as *Mot-i mí-i tam-lo*, i.e. sayings of the men of olden times.

Below are given fifteen of the most common.

Chhu med yul-i hrikong chhogo, The canals (are) large in a
zan med yul-i bre chhogo. waterless land, the measures (are)
large in a land without grain
zan = general term for prepared
cereals; *bre* = wooden measure
of about two pounds.

Phyanphi myu la yul med, The wanderer has no land, (and)
khrosphi myu la zan med. the sulky one no food.

Billa medpi nangping byua The mouse is the head in a
khaṅ-go. house without a cat. *khaṅ-go* =
the head of the house.

Mí-i tam la chhes na rang tam
chhu. If one believed any man's word,
one's own word would be as water.

(Used in the sense that: One's
word is valueless if only a repeti-
tion of hearsay.)

Longko gang na hyu hyu. When the inner stomach is full
then whistle. (If one gets what
one wants then what matter
anything or anyone else.)

longka = second stomach of
animals, commonly employed to
imply the seat of personal satis-
faction. *hyu* = whistling.

- Spyangku rgas na sang lu thob.* Although the wolf grow old he gets the sheep. (A rogue is always a rogue in spite of his age.)
- Rang-yul khser-i gomba.* In the homeland, steps are golden.
- Sa byungmi rdzes, kha byungmi tam.* The footprint which comes out of the earth. the word which comes out of the mouth. (A man is known by his words.)
- Skyang traq na brang chhoq.* If the disobedient (son. boy,) increase. then the chest breaks. ("A child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame," Prov. xxix, 15.)
- Rgod mang la n̄gu mang.* Much laughing (brings) much weeping.
- Hрмаq tam ma zer, hrmaq zan zo.* Don't speak when in a crowd, eat its food. (The less he spoke the more he heard.)
- Kasman-i staqjī-kha, hashaq-i thsang bed.* The magpie builds his nest on a desolate tree. (Tyranny can only be exercised over the helpless.)
- Sning minma na hlwa hrkved.* When one gives the heart they steal the stomach. (Give him an inch and he'll take an ell.)
- Mi-sar khide bes ma byos, khi-sar khide ling ma byos.* Don't travel with a new (inexperienced) man, don't go hunting with a new dog.
- Lalig-i thik na kangma.* The foot should keep within the size of the quilt. (Spend and think according to your income.)
(N'étends pas tes pieds au delà de la couverture.) *lalig* = a kind of patchwork quilt.

OTHERS

- Thyu lu thaqpa.* To a string a rope. (To make mountains out of molehills.)
- Rang-yul bjed na pha-skad ma bjed.* Though the homeland be forgotten. the mother tongue never.

- Hрмаq loq na hyaq rđob.* If the crowd so desire the yak must be slaughtered. (When in Rome do as Rome does.)
- Shu phyungmi bar la ṅus na, chhu borbi bar la rgod; shu phyungmi bar la rgod na, chhu borbi bar lu ṅus.* Weep when making the water track, and you'll laugh when the water flows down: laugh when you make the water track, and you'll weep when the water flows down.
shu = earth embankments to control the water in irrigation.
 (Care in preparation is rewarded by the work standing all tests.) Also used in reference to the upbringing of a child.
- Mi manging tam ma zer, chhu manging rab ma byos.* Don't converse in a crowd, don't ford in deep water. (Don't attempt an impossibility.)
- Byabu khnam la, zanmo sa la.* The bird's in the sky, the grain on the earth. (One cannot be nourished by a supply afar off.)
- Sha halāl, sha-chhu harām.* The meat is lawful, but the gravy unlawful. (One is an object of convenience, esteemed and despised as the occasion demands.)
- Golong chhu-i duksa, anmed nad-i duksa.* A hollow for water and a weak one for sickness. (One cannot expect more than the particular circumstance or person is capable of giving.)
duksa, from *dukpa* (to remain), and *sa*, place, etc.
- Rang da rang la loqpat.* From self it will certainly come back to self. (Paid back in one's own coin.)
- Chhu khyerbi mi rai la khiril.* A drowning man clutches even a sword. (A drowning man clutches a straw.)

*Kho zose medpa ngarmo brod
ma shes.*

Without having eaten the bitter, there is no appreciation of the sweet taste.

*Sning la tshik med na mik la
thik med.*

When there is no feeling in the heart there is nothing shown in the eye. (Sympathy is no use except it be from the heart.)

*'Amal na rongkhang, hikmat na
rozi.*

Good works but bring the grave, but skill brings a living.

*Gut phono patse laqpi lekhar
rgyal.*

An alpenstock is better than a half-witted brother.

The Four Classes of Urdu Verbs

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

FROM the point of view of causality, Urdu verbs may be divided theoretically into four classes, according to their form : Intrans., Trans., First Causal, Second Causal. In this note I have kept before myself the difference between the form and the meaning of a verb ; but, though fully cognizant of what some grammarians say about " verbs used transitively or intransitively ", I find it more convenient in practice to say simply " intr. verb " and " trans. verb ". As I am here not writing a treatise on general grammar, but merely making a few remarks on Urdu verbs, I will content myself with defining roughly the terms used : intr. verb, one which does not take a real object ; trans. verb, one which can take a real object (so-called cognate objects being ignored).

A trans. verb is trans. whether the object is expressed or not, but a few verbs may be genuinely both trans. and intr. Thus in English : he went to change his clothes (trans.) ; he went to change (trans., object suppressed) ; true friends do not change (intrans.).

So in Urdu *palāṭnā* and *badalnā* can be truly intransitive as well as trans. All trans. verbs in Urdu can be used with obj. suppressed, but the suppression of the object leaves them trans.

Intrans. verbs may be further subdivided into ordinary intrans. and purely neuter, as in the phrases : he turned-out of his room for me, and he turned-out a thief.

Some Urdu verbs have no causals in use (I went into this in *Bull. S.O.S.* v. iii. 521) ; of a few it may be said that they have three. In practice possibly the most useful method of describing them is that mentioned above, viz. calling the causal of an intr. verb its trans. ; or if we start with the trans. verb, we may call the intrans. verb a middle or passive.

Important General Rule.—So far as meaning goes, trans. verbs have no causals. The so-called causals of trans. verbs are causals of their passives.

We may then put verbs in four columns :—

(1) intr. (2) trans. (3) so-called first causal. (4) so-called second causal. Very few verbs appear in all four columns, some appear in only one.

Column 1 contains all truly intrans. verbs.

Column 2 contains trans. verbs (i.e. verbs which can take a true object, expressed or not). When a verb occurs in cols. 1 and 2, the form in col. 2 is usually the trans. of that in col. 1, but generally there is some change of meaning, with the result that two is not a real trans. of one.

Column 2 might be called the causal of col. 1, but the relationship is, perhaps, more conveniently stated as intr. and trans., or middle and active. At this point there are two points to be noted :—

(i) In some verbs the same idea runs through all forms, e.g. *ladnā* ; all the forms contain the idea of loading ; so *bannā*, making or being made. Other verbs, however, do not keep to one idea ; thus *dikhnā* “be visible” goes on to *dekhnā* “look at” or “see” ; *dikhānā* “show”—three distinct ideas.

(ii) When the same idea is retained, cols. 3 and 4 are practically the same in meaning, e.g. *ladānā* and *ladvānā* mean the same, whereas *dikhāna* and *dikhvānā* are quite different. See below.

It is necessary to have a clear idea of the relationship between the four columns.

Col. 1. Let us call the nominative of these verbs “x”. Being intr. they have no obj.

Cols. 2, 3, 4. Let us call the noms. of these verbs A, B, and C respectively.

ladnā “be loaded”.

Col. 1. *asbāb lad rahā hai* “the furniture, x, is being loaded”.

Col. 2. *naukar asbāb lād rahā hai* “the servant, A, is loading the furniture”.

Col. 3 or 4. *mālik asbāb ladvā rahā hai* “the master, B, is getting the furniture loaded”. *ladvānā* does not mean cause to load.

“x” which is the nom. of col. 1 verbs. is the obj., and the only obj. of verbs in cols. 2, 3, 4.

A. which is the nom. or agent of 2, cannot become the obj. of 3 or 4.

B. the nom. or agent of 3, cannot become the obj. of 4.

A, B, C are therefore never found as direct objects.

Col. 3 verbs are usually said to be causals of col. 2 verbs ; e.g. that *banvānā* is the causal of *banānā* and means “cause to make”. Both statements are erroneous. *banvānā* is the causal of *banāē jānā* and means “cause to be made”. If it meant “cause to make” its obj. would be A, “cause A to make” ; on the contrary its obj. is “x”, and it means “cause x to be made by A”.

Col. 3 verbs fulfil two functions: they are (a) causals of col. 1 through the instrumentality of A; (b) causals of the passive of col. 2.

So we get *bannā* "become made"; *banānā* "make" (directly, no outside party); *banvānā* "cause to be made through A". It does not mean "cause to make".

The nom. of *bannā* is always the obj. of *banānā* and *banvānā*. The object of *banvānā* is not A, the maker; it is x, the thing made.

Similarly, if we put *banvānā* in the passive, its nom. is x, the nom. of *bannā*, and this same x is the nom. of the passive of *banānā*.

ṣandūq abhī nahī banā "the box has not yet become made".

ṣandūq abhī nahī banāē geā "the box has not yet been made" (by A, the carpenter).

ṣandūq abhī nahī banvāē geā "the box has not yet been ordered (by B, the master) to be made" (by A, the carpenter).

But we can never say *us ne baṛhā ko banvāē* "he caused the carpenter to make"; or *baṛhā banvāē geā* "the carpenter was caused to make".

Preposition of agency. In the *Bull.*, loc. cit., I discussed this point. It may be either *se* or *ko*. Col. 3 verbs mean "cause something to be done by A". This *by* is sometimes *se* and sometimes *ko*. The problem is rather intricate. These col. 3 verbs are causals of the passive of col. 2 verbs. Now, if we study the col. 2 verbs, which are transitive, we note that practically all of them may be compounded with *lenā* or *denā*, some with both. *lenā* suggests a much closer connection than *denā* between the agent and the act.

When we come to col. 3, where we find the causals of the passive of the col. 2 verbs, we see that when the col. 2 verb is a *lenā* verb the corresponding verb in col. 3 has hardly any true causality. The idea is rather that something is done by A with the *help* of B. The agency is consequently expressed by the dative *ko*.

We note, further, that sometimes they are practically new verbs, containing a new thought, e.g. *dikhānā*, from *dekh lenā*, theoretically means "cause to be seen"; in reality it means simply "show"; *sunānā* means "relate or read out or recite (to someone)", not, strictly speaking, "cause to be heard."

B ne A ko kapṛe pinhāe "B helped A on with his clothes, clothed him";
pahin lenā "put on".

B ne A ko dāstān sunī "B told A a story"; *sun lenā* "listen".

B ne A ko sharbat pilāe "B gave A a sweet drink"; *pī lenā* "drink".

B ne A ko kuch likhvāēā or *likhāēā* " B dictated something to A " ;
likh lenā " write for oneself " .

B ne A se kuch likhvāēā " B got something written by A " ; *likh denā* " write for someone else " .

It is quite natural that the " causal " of a *lenā* verb should not contain any idea of real causality, for a *lenā* verb means doing something for oneself ; consequently its " causal " , actually the causal of its passive, does not mean " cause it to be done " , which is almost meaningless, seeing that the person is doing it for himself ; it means " help or enable it to be done " , as in the examples above.

EXAMPLES

Col. 4 often differs only in form from col. 3, and it is generally preferred when the idea of getting something done by an outside party is prominent. Thus *kām karvānā* is preferable to *kām karānā*, but the meaning is the same. When col. 4 differs from col. 3 we have the following :—

Col. 4 is (a) the causal of 1, through agency of A and help of B ; (b) the causal of passive of 2 through help of B ; (c) causal of passive of 3. In each case the object is x, never A or B.

Col. 4 is not the causal of the active of 2 or 3.

Col. 4 differs in meaning from col. 3, when col. 3 (which means that B causes something to be done *by* A) uses *ko* to express *by*. See above.

The following examples show how the nominative, x, of class 1 verbs, which are intrans., becomes the object of classes 2, 3, and 4. They show, too, that all so-called causals of trans. verbs are causals of the passive of those verbs, never of the verbs themselves.

Examples

	1	Nom.	2	Nom.	Object
(a) <i>dikh</i>	.	x	<i>dekh</i>	.	A x
(b)	.		<i>sun</i>	.	A x
(c)	.		<i>pahin</i>	.	A x
(d)	.		<i>pī</i>	.	A x
(e) <i>kat</i>	.	x	<i>kāt</i>	.	A x
(f) <i>lad</i>	.	x	<i>lād</i>	.	A x
(g) <i>bandh</i>	.	x	<i>bādh</i>	.	A x
(h) <i>kaṭ</i>	.	x	<i>kāṭ</i>	.	A x

3			4		
Nom. Object			Nom. Object		
(a)	<i>dikhā</i>	. B x	<i>dikhvā</i>	. B. C	x
(b)	<i>sunā</i>	. B x	<i>sunvā</i>	. C	x
(c)	<i>pinhā</i>	. B x	<i>pahinvā</i>	. C	x
(d)	<i>pilā</i>	. B x	<i>pilvā</i>	. C	x
(e)	<i>katā</i>	. B x	<i>katvā</i>	. B	x
(f)	<i>ladā</i>	. B x	<i>ladvā</i>	. B	x
(g)	<i>bandhā</i>	. B x	<i>bandhrā</i>	. B	x
(h)	<i>kaṭā</i>	. B x	<i>kaṭvā</i>	. B	x

- (a) 1, x is visible ; 2, A looks at x ; 3, B shows x to A ; 4, B causes x to be looked at by A, or C causes x to be shown to A by B.
- (b) 2, A listens to x ; 3, B relates x to A ; 4, C causes x to be related to A by B.
- (c) 2, A puts on x ; 3, B helps x to be put on by A ; 4, C causes x to be put on by A through B's help.
- (d) 2, A drinks x ; 3, B gives x to A to be drunk ; 4, C causes x to be given by B to A to be drunk.
- (e) 1, x is spun ; 2, A spins x ; 3 and 4, B causes x to be spun by A.
- (f) 1, x is loaded ; 2, A loads x ; 3 and 4, B causes x to be loaded by A.
- (g) 1, x is tied ; 2, A ties x ; 3 and 4, B causes x to be tied by A (*bandhānā* is hardly ever used in modern Urdu).
- (h) 1, x is cut ; 2, A cuts x ; 3 and 4, B causes x to be cut by A.

When one studies the details of individual verbs, puzzling and involved problems arise, but the foregoing outline gives the chief points. On the general question of Indo-Aryan causal verbs Beames, *Comp. Gram.*, iii, 75 ff., may be consulted.

Iranian Words in the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan

By T. BURROW

AJHATE (i.e. *azate*) may be connected with the Avestan *āzāta* "noble", "of noble birth". Cf. also *z'tch* in the Sogdian letters "free-born" (Reichelt, *Sogd. Handschriftenreste*, ii, p. 3). Although the documents do not furnish enough material for defining with certainty the meaning of the word, this explanation suits all the passages where it occurs. It is used most frequently as an introductory term in giving lists of witnesses, e.g. 593 *tatra sačhi ajhade jaṃna cojhbo Dhaṃena Suḡi Kuleya* "There the witnesses are people of high rank (or "free-born"), the *cojhbo* Dhaṃena, Suḡi, Kuleya, etc." Similarly in 507, 588. It is worth while noticing that *khula putre* is used in a similar formula in 415, though not in exactly the same position. *tatra sačhi janati śramaṃna Parvati tivira Buddharāchīda, vasu Kolpīsa, khula putre Lpātga* "There witnesses know this—the monk Parvati, the scribe Buddharāchīda, the *vasu* Kolpīsa, and Lpātga, son of a good family." It was important of course for witnesses to be of good rank (cf. *Yājñavalkya*, ii, 88-9). The meaning suits all the other passages, e.g. 272 *atra cojhbo Somjakena aṭhōvae ajhute jaṃna suṭha abomata (= abhyavamataṃ) kareṃdi* "There the serviceable (*aṭhōvae*, i.e. employed in the service of the State) people of high rank very much disobey the *cojhbo* Somjaka".

gaṃñi

Only in 357. Also written *kañi* = Iranian *gañj-* "treasure, store". *gaṃñi draṃga* = "treasure-house, store-house". *gaṃñavara* "keeper of the treasury" also occurs. Both words were borrowed into Sanskrit as *gañja* and *gañjavara*, and since they occur in works written in the north-west of India (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, e.g. iv, 589, and *Kathāsaritsāgara*) they must have been current chiefly in that area. This is the only example of *ñj = ṃñ* in the documents, but cf. *kuñaru = kuñjara* in the Kharoṣṭhi Dh. P.

draṃga

In *Ancient Khotan*, p. 402, Stein gives the meaning "frontier-watch station" for *draṃga*, a meaning which he had determined for the word in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (*Chronicle of Kashmir*, ii, p. 291). These places were used for collecting custom's dues from merchants, etc., entering the country (= *gulma*). The meaning is not exactly that in

the documents, but rather a taxation depôt or office in general, cf. 439. *Bhimaṣeno viññaveti yatha eṣa deviyae gavi pañchitaḡa, Yave avānammi paśuvala, avi Kāvāna amnaṣa yatma, putna ahuno rayaka gavi picavetu, taha na dhaṃa eka mannuṣa paṃca ṣo draṃga dhareti . . . pruchidavo bhutartha eṣa etidraṃga dharidav siyati, rayaka gavi na kavi picavidavya, yo draṃgana dharitaḡa siyati taṣa rayaka gavi picavidavo* " Bhimasena informs us that he has taken over the queen's cattle, he is keeper of the sheep at Yave avāna, he is *yatma* in charge of the *kuvāna* corn, and now you are putting the royal cows in his charge : it is not right that one man should hold five or six *draṃga*'s . . . you must enquire whether he really holds so many *draṃga*'s (*eti* = Pr. *ettiya* or *ete*). The king's cattle are not to be put in his charge. They are to be put in the charge of a man who has not held (any other) *draṃga*'s." Compare similar complaints 430, 520. From these passages we might be inclined to take the word in the general sense of " office ", " department ", such as the office of " keeper of the royal cows ", etc. But that the meaning is more specific is shown by passages like 98, *Pgītaṣa draṃgaṃmi amna maḡda* " Corn has been measured into Pgīta's *draṃga* ". Here the *draṃga* is plainly the building into which the corn was put. Cf. 357, *kañi draṃga* " store-house ". There were special *draṃga*'s for special commodities as appears from 567, *masuṛi draṃgaṃmi* " the wine-*draṃga* ". In the passage quoted in the beginning then, *paśuvala* must mean not " shepherd " but the person in charge of collecting the revenue from the sheep in Yave avāna and the *draṃga* is the local office for that work.

The word may be derived from the Av. *drang-* " to make firm " meaning originally a " fortified post " and then, since revenue was gathered into such places, a taxation department in general.

maravara

A title e.g. 385, *maravara Kuvīṇeyasa paride namata* 1. " 1 *namata* (= Anglo-Indian *wundah*, Stein *Ancient Khotan*, p. 402) from the *maravara* Kuvīṇeya." The documents do not supply any information as to its exact meaning, but it may = an Iranian *maḡrabara* = " councillor " : *maḡra* would become **māra* in Saka. Cf. Saka *ttāra* " darkness " *taḡra*. Saka *mamdra* is borrowed from Sanskrit. Compare also the Sogdian *m'rkr'k* " magician ".

dars

The verb *dars* means " to load " (a camel, etc.). The noun *darsa* = " a load " (equivalent to *nadha* which occurs more often) 329, *edaṣa*

ca Opḡeyasa hastanmi ratra divasa pañca uṭana masu viṣarjidayā eka uṭasa darṣa masu milima 1 khi 1 "And in the hand of this by day or night wine (that can be carried) by five camels must be sent; the load of one camel is 1 *milima 1 khi* of wine." 431, *eda vastu ṣarva tomgha śājaena atra Kuhani darṣida* "All these things were packed by the *tomgha Śāja* there at *Kuhani*" 40, *yadi . . . darṣidaḡena marisṣyati valaḡa dharanaḡa bhaviṣyati* "If it shall die on account of its load, its keeper shall be owing for it."

An Iranian loan-word. Av. *darəz-* "to bind". Saka *dalsā* (2nd plural of **dalys* translating *piṇḍī-ky*. Konow, *Saka Studies Vocabulary*). The change from the dental to a cerebral spirant is paralleled in certain native names and words. We find doublets such as *Larsu* and *Larṣu Koltarsa* and *Koltarṣa*, *tirṣa* (epithet of a horse) and *tirsa*. The *ṣ* quite probably stands for *ṣ* (*darṣida*) on the analogy of the other sibilants, when medial, *ś* becoming *ṣ* (*ś*) and *s*, *jh* (*z*). In Saka the voicing of internal *ṣ* is attested by the spelling (*ṣṣ* = *ṣ*. *ṣ* = *ṣ*. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 38).

truṣḡa

Only in 581, *naṃnuṣa Dhamaśa nama bhiti Tirira Ramsotsa ca truṣḡa kalaṃmi trubhičha kalaṃmi kraya vikraya kiḡanti* "A man called *Dhamaśa* and a second the scribe *Ramṣotsa* in a time of drought, in a time of famine made a transaction of buying and selling." Probably an Iranian *huška-* "dry" with the Indian prefix *dur-*. If the word *huška-* existed as a loan-word, it would be quite natural to add the prefix *dur-*. The omission of *h-*, the elision of the vowel, and the writing of *t-* for *d-* are all characteristic of the language of the documents. The transition of *-šk-* to *ṣḡ* appears also in *muṣḡeṣu* (540) = S. *muška-*. (Professor F. W. Thomas compares English "dry", "drought" from an I.E. $\sqrt{dhrugh-}$.)

ṣitiyaṃmi

The meaning is roughly clear from 67, *mahaṃta nagaraśa dačhina ṣitiyaṃmi bhuma* "land situated to the right of the great city, land on the right side of the great city" = Av. *ṣiti-* (= *kṣiti-*)? One expects as a rule the cerebral *ṣ* to correspond to Iranian *š*, as in Saka. Perhaps it was palatalized because *-i* tended to be pronounced *yi-* (e.g. *yīyo* = *iyam*). Saka *śśāra* "good" = Sogd. *šyr* may be a parallel (= *ṣ* out of *sr* = Av. *srīra-*?).

It must be borne in mind that the reading *ṣitiyaṃmi* is not absolutely

certain, it may be *yiti-* (see the account of the alphabet *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, p. 308).

thavaṃnaḡa

That *tāvastaḡa* is an Iranian loan-word meaning carpet has already been pointed out by Professor F. W. Thomas (see *Khar. Inscr., Index Verb.*). Connected with it and forming a close parallel with Saka is *thavaṃnaḡa* (also written *thavaṃnae*) *tavanaḡa*. Cf. also *thavaṃna-mae* “made of *thavaṃna*”). It is apparently the same word as appears in Saka as *thavna* “cloth”.

nokṣari

195. *mase nokṣari* “in the month of the new year” Iranian as pointed out by Konow (*navaka-sarəd-*). Probably Saka, although the Saka for “year” in the existing documents is *salī* (*-rd-* becoming *l* regularly, Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 29). On the other hand, Saka *ysiri* (Gen.) corresponds to Av. *zərəd-* (as H. W. Bailey suggests to me), so that perhaps final *-rd* became *r* while medial *rd* became *l*. *-sar-* (*-sari* being the Locative Singular inflected according to the Indian type), would thus correspond regularly to the consonantal base Av. *sarəd-*, while *salī* would be equally regularly developed out of an extended base. In Sogdian the *-d* is preserved *srδ*.

spāsa

spāsa seems not to be an official (“spy”) but an abstract noun, “the function performed by a *spāsavaṃna*”. The word *spāsa* occurs usually in connection with the verb *račk-*. It might be the thing guarded or a cognate Accusative. The latter is shown to be the case by the variant *spāsa kartarya 578 ma imci tusya niryoḡa* (for *niryōḡa*) *bhavidavya nitya kalammi Sacammi spāsa kartarya* “Let there be no slackness on your part, at all time watch is to be made at Saca”, compared with 541 *immude spāsavaṃnaḡa mamnuša viṣarjīdemi supiyana paride spāsa račkamnae* “From here I have sent a scout man to keep watch from the Supis”. The word regularly appears in the formula at the head of documents sent to the governor of the province, e.g. 272 *avi spāsa jivītaparicaḡena anada račkīdavya* “Also watch is to be kept carefully (*anada*, or “properly”) even at the expense of your life.” The *spāsavaṃna*'s were frontier guards or scouts, whose business it was to look out for approaching enemies (541); also to see that no unauthorized persons crossed the frontier. 71, *Suḡīka taya dhitu smaḡasae ca ukastaṃti palayamni gataṃti, eṣa pitu saca spāsavaṃmana ḡulha pače gataṃti, eda uṭi padu* (for *padama* “back”?)

nivartavitanti. "Suḡika and the daughter of that (woman) departed and went as fugitives: she and her father along with the scouts went after them, and they turned back this camel." Cf. also 471.

The word is no doubt Iranian **spāsa* (Sogdian *sp's*) derived from the verb Av. *spas-* "to spy, to keep watch". It cannot be Indian, because the palatal *ś* is preserved in this dialect. *sp* is developed out of *sp* also in *paraspara* "one another". *spāsavamna* seems to be a compound containing the $\sqrt{pā}$ "to protect". Compare the (Saka) proper name in N.W. India *Nahapana* "protector of the people".

spāsa- developed the meaning of "service" in middle Iranian (e.g. in Sogdian, and cf. H. H. Schaeder *Iranica*, 1934, Abh. G. W. Göttingen). This meaning would suit admirably the phrase (see above) *avi spāsa jividaparicaḡena anada račhidavya* "also your duty is to be kept even at the expense of your life". This would mean that the two meanings existed side by side in this language, because in other passages (e.g. 541 quoted above) the more limited (and original) meaning is obviously required.

denuḡa

Only 418. A title. *denuḡa Aṃtoaṣa paride* "from the *denuḡa* Aṃto". Can this be connected with Av. *daēnā* "religion"? For the suffix *-uḡa* applied to other than u-stems cf. *revatuḡa* from *vivāda*.

načira

načira is used in phrases with the verb *gam* "to go". *načira gachanti*, *načira gaṃdavo*. It is probably not a place-name since in this language the Locative has completely superseded the Accusative in expressing the goal with verbs of going, etc. They say invariably *Caḡotammi gaṃdavo*, *Khotanammi gata*, etc. The Accusative is only used in stereotyped phrases like the frequent *asamna gaṃdavo*, which seems to mean "take possession of", and presumably = S. *āsanaṃ gantavyam* (like "possess" from *sedeo*).

Dr. H. W. Bailey has suggested to me a comparison with Sogd. *nyš'yr* "wild animals, game" *nyš'yrkr'y* "hunter" (New Pers. *naxčir* "game"), which would give very good sense. Cf. 13 *yatha etaṣa kabhoḡhami vaḡavi storam ca, taha jamna tatra načira gachanti, vaḡavi aṣpa vijanti* " (he complains) that in his *kabhoḡha* there are mares and horses, people go hunting there and shoot the mares and horses". The *kabhoḡha* would be some privately owned pasture land.

ṣada

= "pleased", is compared in the Index. Verb to Av. *ṣyāto*. If so it is borrowed from Sogdian (*š't*) and not Saka (*tsāta*). But it may quite probably be Indian = Pali *sāta* "pleasant, sweet". The negative *assāta* shows that there was a double consonant there originally, and if this is the same word it must have been *śr* because in this dialect *śr* becomes *ṣ* (e.g. *ṣamaṃna*, *ṣayati* = *śrayate*, *maṣu* = *śmaśru*) *śrāta* means "cooked" in Sanskrit and the meaning might then develop into "pleasant to taste" and then "pleasant, sweet" in general.

OTHER IRANIAN WORDS

stora "horse" S. *sthora* occurs meaning a "beast of burden" in the *Divyavadāna*, but that may be a loan-word too. *divira* "scribe" compounds with *-vara uṣpavara storavara utavara*. *saste* "day" which Konow derives from Iranian *sad-* "to shine". *ratu* "authority, supervisor", *prahuni* (only 318) may be = Saka *prahona* "garment". Further (as pointed out by Konow) *jheniḡa* "under the care of" = Saka *ysīnīya*, Sogd. *zynyh*, *lastana* 298 = Saka *lāstana* "quarrel".

Hinajha

Title of a king of Khotan mentioned in 661 *Khotana maharaya rajatiraya hinajhasya Arījūdasimhasya*. The title can be explained as a translation into Iranian of the Greek title *στρατηγός*. The term *στρατηγός* was current in N.W. India, being found, for instance, on the coins of Aśpavarman, with the inscription *Indravarmaputrasa Aśpavarmasa strategasa jayatasa*. That Iranian kings should translate a foreign term like that into their own tongue was quite natural. The translation is literal, Saka *hīnā* "army" (Av. *hāēnā*) and *-aza* or *āza* from the verb *az-* "to lead" (= *āyω*). For the use of *az-* of leading armies cf. Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* s.v.; and for compounds with *-āza* compare words like Av. *garāza* and *navāza*.

This points to the existence of an Iranian dynasty in Khotan at the date of this document. (What the date was is quite uncertain. The document is the only one we possess in the Khotan Prakrit. It may be earlier or it may be later than the documents of Niya.) Later of course (eighth century) the Saka language was used for literary and administrative purposes in the Khotan realm. How long before that there had been Iranians in the area is not known. The following facts bearing on the question can be stated.

(1) There were practically no people bearing Iranian names in the Shan-Shan kingdom at the time of the documents. The only certain ones are *Tiraḥhara* = **tiyrax'arəma* (or it may contain the divine name *Tira*, frequent in the west. *τιριδάτης* etc. as Dr. H. W. Bailey suggests. *Tamasṣa* = **Tarmāspa*. The element *-aspa* occurs also in other names in which the first member is not so clear, e.g. *Ratasṣa Śarasṣa*, *Śanasṣa*. Iranian *-razma* seems to occur in *Namarasma* and *Lpīparasma*. Like *-sena* it is added to bases in the native language. *Lpīparasma* presumably contains the same base as *Lpīpeya* which is, of course, not Iranian. Similarly *-ḥhara* in *Cinaḥhara* compared with *Cinaṣena* and *Cinika*. Apart from these the mass of native names are definitely not Iranian.

(2) The names which appear in the solitary document from Khotan are quite different from the usual type at Niya, and, so far as can be judged from such small evidence, would point to a different language being spoken there. *Aḥhīṇanu* contains the sound *ḥh* (= *f*) which does not occur in native proper names in the Niya documents (only in the Iranian *-ḥhara* and *Phumāseva*, *Phuḥṣena*). *Khcarurse* might be Iranian containing Av. *x'arənah-* (*x'arənaršū* like *xsayarsā*). The name *Spaniyakā* may be connected with Avestan *spanyah-* "more holy" and Middle P. *spēnāk* (from **spanyaka-*, cf. Bartholomae, s.v.). Thus in one document we have two names which are probably Iranian.

(3) The change from *e* to *ī* which is characteristic of Saka had occurred at the time of this document, e.g. *Hinajha*. Similarly of *o* to *ū* *cudiyadi* = (Niya) *coteyati*. It had not occurred at the time the word *ḥhēniḡa* was borrowed into the Niya Prakrit.

(4) There are a great number of Indian words in Saka which are definitely Prakrit and not Sanskrit. Quite different from the other Central Asian languages, Sogdian (with hardly any loan words, and Tokharian with words borrowed straight from Sanskrit. For instance, the Saka for "attendant" is *raṭāyaa* = *raḥḥayāḡa* of the Kharoṣṭhi documents. In Tokharian we have *upasthāyak* borrowed straight from Sanskrit. This can be best explained by assuming that an Indian Prakrit had been used by the Sakas of Khotan as an administrative language, and that must have been at the time of this document.

(5) Of the Iranian loan-words occurring in the Kharoṣṭhi documents, a number occur in North India. *sthora gañja gañjavara aśvavāra divīra draṅga* are borrowed into Sanskrit. *saste* occurs in inscriptions in N.W. India. This suggests that the Iranian loan-words were not borrowed in Central Asia, but in N.W. India during the

time of Iranian domination, and imported into Central Asia as an integral portion of the Prakrit.

✓(6) *Additional note.*—A few men of Khotan are mentioned in the documents from Niya. Their names are not Iranian. Examples are : *Ṣaṃṅó* 322, *Śakha* 335, *Moṣana* 517, *Khoṣa* 362, *Kanasága* 30, *Preṣām-ḍha* 216. It looks as if the population of Khotan was definitely not Iranian at the time of the documents from Niya, i.e. in the third century A.D.

Beiträge zu einer Milindapañha-Bibliographie

VON SIEGFRIED BEHRING

(continued from p. 348)

III. DER PĀLI-MILINDAPAÑHA

A. TEXTE

1) *Manuskripte*

a) *In Ceylon*

Hier ist vielleicht zuerst

38. das Palmblatt-MS. zu nennen, welches de Zoysa in seinem *Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit MSS. in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon* (Colombo, 1885)¹, p. 9, als „common“ bezeichnet. Es enthält 178 Blätter, 17 Zoll lang, 9 Zeilen auf der Seite.

39. Bentotte, Tempel von (Bentoṭa Vanavāsa Vihāra): 5 MSS. des M. und 1 sannē.²

40. Colombo: Museum. 1 MS. in birmanischer Schrift.³

41. Colombo: Museum. 1 MS. in singhalesischer Schrift.⁴

42. Matura, Tempel von: 5 MSS. des M. und 1 sannē.²

43. Mulgiri Galle, Tempel von: 5 MSS. des M.²

44. Sammlung Spence Hardy, No. 282: *Milindaprashnē*. (Singhalesisch oder Pāli?)⁵

¹ Leider konnte ich mir diesen Katalog nicht beschaffen, er ist in deutschen öffentlichen Bibliotheken nicht vorhanden. Wenn ich trotzdem Angaben daraus bringen kann (ausser in der vorliegenden Stelle noch *Bibl.* 78 und 85), so verdanke ich dies Herrn Geheimrat Geiger, München, der die Gute hatte, mir auf meine Bitte hin die auf den M. bezüglichen Stellen aus seinem Privatexemplar abzuschreiben. In d'Alwis: *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pāli, and Sinhalese Literary Works of Ceylon* (Colombo: Skeen, 1870) und in Spence Hardy's Aufsatz "The Language and Literature of the Singhalese", *JCBRAS.*, 1846-7 (Colombo, 1861), pp. 99-104, habe ich, abgesehen von einer beiläufigen Erwähnung des „Milindappanna“ auf p. 30 des ersteren Werkes, nichts über den M. finden können. Auf dem Titelblatt von d'Alwis Katalog steht „Part 1“, doch scheinen keine weiteren Teile erschienen zu sein, denn Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, gibt auf p. 318 nur den 1870 erschienenen Band an.

² Vgl. Upham, *The Mahāvāsi, the Rājā-Ratnācari, and the Rājā-Vāli* . . . London, 1833, vol. iii, pp. 170, 177, 181, 184, 191. Ein ebenfalls in der Tempelbücherei von Bentoṭa befindliches singh. MS. mit Erklärung schwieriger M.-Stellen s. *Bibl.* 85.

³ Vgl. *JPTS.*, 1882, p. 51, No. 29. Die hier von Rhys Davids pp. 46-58 gegebene Liste von MSS. ist aufgrund eines von de Zoysa 1876 herausgegebenen Katalogs zusammengestellt.

⁴ *JPTS.*, loc. cit., No. 30.

⁵ s. Spence Hardy „List of books in the Pāli and Singhalese Languages,“ in *JCBRAS.*, 1847-8 (Colombo, 1870), pp. 198-208. Diese Liste erwähnt auch Tennent, *Ceylon*, 4. Aufl. (1860), vol. i, p. 515 n. Wo die MSS. nach Hardy's Tode geblieben sind, ist mir nicht bekannt.

45. Sammlung Spence Hardy, No. 283: *Milindaprashnasanné*.¹
Pälitext in singhalesischer Umschrift mit singhalesischer Paraphrase.²

ß) *In Europa*

46. Cambridge: Mr. Scott. 1 MS. birmanisches nissaya.³

47. Cambridge: Trinity College, 1 MS. in siamesischer Schrift.⁴

48. Cambridge: University Library No. Add. 1251. 1 MS. auf
Palmblatt in singhalesischer Schrift. 154 Blätter.⁵

49. Kopenhagen: Kgl. Bibliothek, No. xxxiii, 183 Palmblätter
in singhalesischer Schrift.⁶

50. Kopenhagen: Kgl. Bibliothek, No. xxxiv, 117 Palmblätter
in singhalesischer Schrift.⁷

51. Leipzig: Indisches Institut der Universität. 1 Palmblattms.,
194 Blätter zu je 7 und 8 Zeilen (die Vorderseiten des 1. u. 2. Blattes
sind unbeschrieben). Singhalesische Schrift.⁸

52. Leningrad: Asiatisches Museum. 1 Palmblatt-MS. (MS.
Ind., vii, 44) von 172 + 2 Blättern zu je 8 Zeilen. Singhalesische
Schrift.

Weicht im allgemeinen nicht vom Text der Trenckner'schen Aus-
gabe ab.⁹

¹ s. Anm. 5 auf der vorhergehenden Seite.

² Hardy erklärt sanné folgendermassen: „paraphrases of the discourses of Budha, the Pali text being given, and then an explanation, clause by clause, in Singhalese. In some instances the sanné is a literal translation, and in others there is a long commentary upon a single word“ (*JCBRAS.*, 1846 7, Colombo, 1861, p. 103).

³ Vgl. SBE., 35, p. xvi, u. n. 3. Ein birmanisches nissaya entspricht, nach der dort gegebenen Beschreibung von Rhys Davids, einem singhalesischen sanné, s. Anm. 2.

⁴ Vgl. SBE., 35, p. xvii, u. n. 1.

⁵ Vgl. *JPTS.*, 1883, p. 146. Dieses MS. ist, wie mir Dr. E. J. Thomas von der Universitäts-Bibliothek Cambridge freundlichst mitteilt, eines von 16 MSS., die 1875 aus dem Besitz von Dr. Rost angekauft wurden. Dr. Thomas hat sich auch die Mühe gemacht festzustellen, dass es sich um Rost's MS. handelt, welches Trenckner bei seiner Ausgabe (*Bibl.* 65) mit „C“ bezeichnet hat. Trenckner's „D“ zu identifizieren ist mir leider nicht gelungen.

⁶ Vgl. Westergaard, *Codices indicii bibl. regiae Havnensis* (Kopenhagen, 1846), pp. 49b-50b, und *JPTS.*, 1883, p. 148. Trenckner's MS. „A.“

⁷ Vgl. Westergaard, op. cit., p. 50b und *JPTS.*, loc. cit. Trenckner's MS. „B.“

⁸ Eine genaue Beschreibung dieser Handschrift habe ich an Herrn Geheimrat Geiger in München geschickt; sie soll, wenn Raum vorhanden ist, in der *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* abgedruckt werden.

⁹ Vgl. Mironov's Katalog: *Katalog indijskich rukopisej*. Sostavil N(ikolai) D. Mironov. Vypusk I. Petrograd 1914 (= Katalogi Aziatskogo Muzeja Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk I) [Auf der letzten Umschlagseite auch lateinischer Titel: *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Indicorum qui in Academiae Imperialis Scientiarum Petropolitanae Museo Asiatico asservantur. Auctore N.D.M., Fasc. I. Petropoli 1914* (= *Catalogi Musei Asiatici I*)], p. 354 unter No. 453.

53. London : British Museum. No. Orient. 458 : 1 MS. von 392 Blättern. Birmanisches nissaya.¹

54. London : India Office. Mandalay-MS., neue No. 126 : 1 MS. von 241 Blättern zu je 9 Zeilen. Birmanische Schrift.²

55. London : India Office. Mandalay-MS., neue No. 127. 186 Blätter zu je 9 Zeilen (die Blätter kā bis nāh fehlen). Palmblatt. Birmanische Schrift.²

56. London : Bibliothek Dr. Rost. 1 MS. in birmanischer Schrift.³

57. Paris : Bibliothèque Nationale. 2 MSS. in singhalesischer Schrift.⁴

58. Paris : Bibliothèque Nationale. Zahlreiche Fragmente des M. in kambodschanischer Schrift.⁵

2) Textausgaben

a) In bengalischen Lettern

59. *Milindapañho*, *Milindaprasna*. Pālitext in bengalischer Umschrift. Herausgegeben mit einer bengalischen Übersetzung, Anmerkungen usw. von Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya. Vol. i, pts. 1–2. 4^o (27 × 16 cm.); iv, 42, viii, i, i. 325 pp. Calcutta : (Vangīyasāhitya-pariṣad) 1909 (= *Parīṣad-granthāvalī* No. 22). (Barnett, S.C. 2, Spalte 634, und J. F. Blumhardt : Bengali books (= *Catalogue of the Library of the India Office*, vol. ii, part iv, Supplement 1906–1920). London, 1923, p. 192).

β) In birmanischen Lettern

60. *Milindapañha pālīto*. Herausgegeben von Hsaya Hbe. 4^o. i, 395 pp. Rangoon : 1915. (Barnett. loc. cit.).

¹ Vgl. *JPTS.*, 1883, p. 142.

² Vgl. *JPTS.*, 1894–6, p. 40.

³ Trenckner's MS. „M“. Wo dieses MS. sich augenblicklich befindet, weiss ich nicht. Auch habe ich, abgesehen von dem, was Trenckner in seiner Einleitung zu seiner M.-Ausgabe darüber sagt, keine näheren Angaben über dieses MS. ausfindig machen können. Es mit *Bibl.* 53 zu identifizieren ist, nach einer freundlichen Mitteilung von Prof. Barnett, unmöglich, auch sind *Bibl.* 54 und *Bibl.* 55, wie mir die Bibliothek des India Office schreibt, nicht mit ihm identisch. Ich wollte hier auch Rost's singhalesisches M.-MS. aufnehmen, welches Trenckner in seiner Ausgabe mit „C“ bezeichnet, aber „C“ ist nach einer Mitteilung von Dr. Thomas von der University Library Cambridge mit *Bibl.* 48 identisch. S. Anm. 5 auf der vorhergehenden Seite.

⁴ Vgl. *JPTS.*, 1882, p. 35 (Feer). Genauere Beschreibung s. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits sanscrits et pâlis* 2^e fascicule : “manuscrits pâlis” Paris, Leroux, 1908 (= Bibliothèque Nationale. département des manuscrits), No. 358 und 359.

⁵ Vgl. *JPTS.*, loc. cit., und Cabaton. op. cit., No. 360–4.

61. *Milindapañha pālito*. Herausgegeben von Û Hpye. 4°. xvi, 353 pp. Rangoon : 1916. (Barnett, loc. cit.).

62. *Milindapañha pālito nissaya*. Mit einer birmanischen Interpretation jedes einzelnen Wortes von Ādiccavaṃsa. Herausgegeben von Û Hpye. 4°. xvi, 609 pp. Rangoon : 1916. (Barnett, loc. cit.).

Hierher¹ gehört wahrscheinlich auch :

63. *Milindapañhā*. Being the portion prescribed for the Calcutta B.A. Examination. Edited by Maung Tin. 8°. ii, 107 pp. Rangoon : 1915. (Barnett, loc. cit.).

γ) *In lateinischen Lettern*

64. Trenckner, V(ilhelm) : *Pali Miscellany*. Part i. London and Edinburgh : Williams and Norgate, 1879, 8°, 83 pp.

Enthält unter dem Titel *A specimen of Milindapañho*² auf pp. 5–28 den Text der Bāhirakathā (entspricht pp. 1–24 von *Bibl.* 65). Weitere Teile dieses Werkes s. *Bibl.* 81 und 98.

65. Trenckner, V(ilhelm) : *The Milindapañho*, being dialogues between king Milinda and the Buddhist sage Nagasena. The Pali text, edited by V. T. London and Edinburgh : Williams and Norgate, 1880, gr. 8°, viii, 430 pp.³

Die Ausgabe beruht auf *Bibl.* 49, 50, 48, 56, und einer singhalesischen Handschrift, deren Lesarten bis zum Ende der Bāhirakathā Trenckner von Childers mitgeteilt wurden und welche Trenckner mit „D“ bezeichnet.⁴

Einteilung : Einleitung (pp. iii–vii). Abkürzungen (p. viii). Text (pp. 1–420). Anmerkungen (pp. 421–430). Verbesserungen.

¹ Bei Barnett ist nichts Genaueres angegeben, doch lässt der Verlagsort Rangoon darauf schliessen, dass es sich auch hier um eine Ausgabe in birmanischen Lettern handelt.

² Auf p. 71 erfährt man, dass das *Specimen* schon 1868 geschrieben und einigen Pāliforschern im Manuskript zugesandt wurde (vgl. die anerkennenden Worte von Childers im Vorwort zu seinem 1875 erschienenen Pāli-Wörterbuch, p. xvii); die Veröffentlichung wurde jedoch verzögert.

³ Von diesem Werk ist 1928, von der Royal Asiatic Society als 5. Band der *James G. Forlong Publications* herausgegeben, ein photographischer Neudruck erschienen (xi und 466 pp.). Er ist im Vergleich zum Erstdruck um folgendes erweitert : 1) ein Inhaltsverzeichnis (pp. ix–xi), 2) einen allgemeinen Index von C. J. Rylands, pp. 433–456) und 3) einen Index der Gāthās, zusammengestellt von Frau Rhys Davids (pp. 457–66). Anzeigen dieses Neudruckes : Edward J. Thomas in : *JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 355–7 : *BB.*, fasc. 1, Nr. 46.

⁴ Diese Handschrift sowie Trenckner's „M“ (*Bibl.* 56) zu identifizieren ist mir leider nicht gelungen.

δ) In siamesischen Lettern¹

66. *Milindapañhā*. Cattasallattherena Dhammapāmokkhena Makuṭakhattiyārāmaṅgāsinā sodhitā. 2466 Buddhasake mudditā. Syāmaratṭhassa rājadhāniyaṃ [Bangkok]: Mahāmakutaṛājavidyālayena pakāsītā 2466 [1923], gr. 8°. ii. xii, xi, 534 pp. + 2 Tafeln.² (Barnett, S.C. 2. Spalte 634.)

ε) In singhalesischen Lettern

67. „*Milindaprasna*. Published by M. J. Rodrigo at the Vidyāsāgara Press, Colombo, 1896; pp. 80, demy 8vo; Part.“

Zitiert nach A. W. de Silva: A list of Pali books printed in Ceylon in Singhalese characters, *JPTS.*, 1910–12, p. 147 (No. 149).

68. *Milindapañho*, etc. Herausgegeben von Anomadassi. Teil 1, 8°, 80 pp. (Colombo), 1896. (Barnett, S.C. 1. Spalte 387.)

Die Übereinstimmung von Ort, Jahr und Seitenzahl mit *Bibl.* 67 ist auffallend, doch kann ich, da meine Quellen keine näheren Angaben machen, nichts über das Verhältnis der beiden Werke zueinander aussagen.

B. ÜBERSETZUNGEN

1. Vollständige Übersetzungen oder Übersetzungen von grösseren Teilen des M.

a) In Bengālī

69. s. *Bibl.* 59.

b) In Birmanische

Mabel Haynes Bode nennt in ihrem Büchlein: *The Pāli literature of Burma* (London, 1909) auf p. viii unter den im British Museum befindlichen Werken:

70. *Milindapañhavatthu*. Burmese translation from the Milinda. Rangoon, 1882.³

Ferner macht sie (op. cit., p. 108. No. 248) darauf aufmerksam, dass sich auf einer birmanischen Schenkungsinschrift vom Jahre 1442 ein Werk

71. *Malinapañña*, also offenbar ein birmanischer M., findet.

¹ Vgl. auch *Bibl.* 77a.

² Dieses Werk besitzt auch die Universitäts-Bibliothek Leipzig (*Orient. Lit.* 998en). Es ist, wie aus einem eingeklebeten Begleitschreiben vom „22. Tage des monats Pussa (Pusya)“ 1923 hervorgeht, ein Geschenk der Prinzessin Suddhasināta, die an ihrem 60. Geburtstag das Buch zur Erinnerung an die 1889 im Alter von 5 Jahren verstorbene Prinzessin Nabhācaracāmrāsagarī veröffentlicht hat (s. p. II). Die 2 obengenannten Tafeln bringen Photographien der beiden Prinzessinnen. Der Text weicht stark vom Trenckner'schen ab.

³ Pavolini, *Buddismo* (*Bibl.* 112) erwähnt, p. 98, eine birmanische Übersetzung Rangoon, 1893.

c) *Ins Deutsche*

72. Nyānatiloka (Anton Gueth) : *Die Fragen des Milindo*. Ein historischer Roman, enthaltend Zwiegespräche zwischen einem Griechenkönige und einem buddhistischen Mönche über die wichtigsten Punkte der buddhistischen Lehre. Aus dem Pāli zum erstenmale vollständig ins Deutsche übersetzt von N. Erster Band.¹ Leipzig : Max Altmann 1919,² 8°. xvi und 338 S. (pp. 287–338 : Anhang und Register). Zweiter Band. München-Neubiberg : Oskar Schloss 1924, gr. 8°. viii, 268 pp. (pp. 239–268 : Anhang und Register).

Der 1. Band enthält die Übersetzung bis M. 188, 7 = Q. iv, 3 (i, 260). der zweite die Übersetzung von M. 188, 8 = Q. iv. 4³ (1,261) bis zum Schluss.⁴

73. Schrader. F(riedrich) Otto : *Die Fragen des Königs Menandros*. Aus dem Pāli zum ersten Male ins Deutsche übersetzt von Dr. phil. O. Sch. Berlin : Paul Raatz o.J. (1907),⁵ 8°, xxxv + 172 + xxvii pp.

¹ Der Titel auf dem Umschlagblatt, das ein Bild der „Island Hermitage, Dodanduwa, Ceylon“ tragt, lautet: Die Fragen des Milindo. Von Bhikkhu Nyānatiloka zum ersten Male vollständig ins Deutsche übersetzt. Erster Teil.

² Zum Schluss der Vorrede (vom Oktober 1913) findet sich (p. xvi) die Anmerkung : „Obzwar vorliegendes Werk bereits Herbst 1913 in Lieferungen ausgegeben wurde, hat sein Erscheinen in Buchform infolge des Weltkrieges leider eine Verzögerung von über 5 Jahren erlitten. Blankenese b. Hamburg, 25. Mai 1919.“

³ Bei Nyānatiloka muss es auf p. 1 des 2. Bandes auch „4. Kapitel“ statt „3. Kapitel“ heissen. Nyānatiloka folgt hier dem Irrtum der Trenckner'schen Ausgabe, die M. 211, 4 „tatiyo vaggo“ statt „catuttho v.“ hat. Trenckner verbessert den Irrtum M. 431.

⁴ Im 2. Bande sind die Seitenzahlen der Trenckner'schen Ausgabe fortlaufend verzeichnet : im ersten Bande fehlt diese Erleichterung für den Benutzer.

⁵ Für dieses Werk habe ich die Jahresangaben 1905 und 1907 gefunden. Winternitz' Angabe 1905 (*Gesch. d. ind. Litt.*, 2. Band, p. 139, n. 4), die sich auch im 2. Bande der von Bertholet u. Lehmann herausgeg. 4. Aufl. von Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen 1925) auf S. 102 (Konow) und in der Zeitschrift „Buddhistischer Weltspiegel“, 1. Jahrgang, p. 128, findet, wird bekräftigt durch die *Buddhistische Welt* (Beiblatt zur Zeitschrift *Der Buddhist*), 1. Jahrg. (1905–6), wo das Werk auf p. 12 und 13 als Neuerscheinung angezeigt wird. Das Jahr 1907 bringen : Barnett, *S.C.* 2. Spalte 634 ; Dem., p. 22 n. ; Garbe, *Indien u. das Christentum* (Tübingen, 1914), p. 30, n. 1 ; Glasenapp, *Bibl.* 110, p. 140 ; Hardy, *Der Buddhismus nach älteren Pāli-Werken*. Neue Ausgabe (1919), p. 215 ; Oldenberg, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 13. Band (1910), p. 593. Auf. 1907 weist ebenfalls die Besprechung von Schrader's Übersetzung durch Seidenstucker (?) in der *Buddhistischen Warte*, 1. Jahrgang (1907–8), pp. 89–91. Da auch Hinrichs' Bücherkatalog und die *Berliner Titeldrucke* das Werk unter dem Jahre 1907 anführen, ist dieses Jahr als Erscheinungsjahr des Buches gesichert. Wodurch sich die Angabe 1905 erklärt, vermag ich nicht zu sagen ; vielleicht erschien in diesem Jahr eine erste Lieferung des Werkes ? Das Datum 1903 (*Bibl.* 104, p. xii) muss auf einem Missverständnis beruhen.

Inhalt : Vorwort (pp. iii-v). Einleitung (pp. vii-xxxv). Übersetzung (pp. 1-95). Inhaltsangabe der nicht übersetzten Stücke (pp. 97-116). Die chinesischen Ausgaben und ihr Verhältnis zum Pāli-Text (pp. 117-125).¹ Anmerkungen (pp. 127-172). Register (pp. i-xviii). Berichtigungen und Zusätze (pp. xix-xxvii).

Wie schon aus dieser Inhaltsangabe ersichtlich, übersetzt Sch. den Text nur teilweise, und zwar den Teil, welchen er für den Ur-M. hält. Die übersetzten Stellen verhalten sich wie folgt zum Trenckner'schen Text :

Schrader	Trenckner'scher Text
Einleitung [= 1. Buch] (Bāhirakathā)	
p. 3, Abs. 1. „ Es gibt . . . “ bis „ . . . aller Art “.	p. 1, 13 : „ Atthi Yonakānaṃ . . . “ bis 2, 7 : „ . . . nise- vitaṃ. “
p. 3, Abs. 2. „ Dort in Indien . . . “ bis p. 4, Zeile 9 v. u. : „ . . . lösen kann. “	3, 26-4, 15.
p. 4, Zeile 8 v. u. : „ Zu jener Zeit nun . . . “ bis p. 5, Absatz : „ . . . Nirvāṇa-Wolke der Wahrheit. “	21, 12-22, 7.
p. 4, Abs. : „ Und Devamantiya sprach . . . “ bis zum Ende der „ äusseren Erzählung “ auf p. 8.	22, 18 bis zum Schluss von p. 24.
2. Buch : „ Die Kennzeichen “ (Lakkhaṇapañha)	
pp. 11-73.	pp. 25-64.
3. Buch : „ Zweifel und Lösungen “ (Vimaticchedanapañha)	
4. Kapitel	
Abschnitt 1 und 2 (pp. 77-8).	p. 65, 1-29.
Abschnitt 6 (pp. 78-9).	pp. 68, 31-69, 15.
5. Kapitel	
Abschnitt 5 (pp. 80-1).	p. 71, 16-29.
„ 8 (p. 81).	p. 72, 19-32.
„ 10 (pp. 81-2)	p. 73, 9-22.

¹ Dieser Abschnitt wurde schon *Bibl.* 25 angezeigt.

6. Kapitel

Abschnitt 1 (pp. 83–4).	p. 73, 24–74. 17.
.. 6 und 7 (pp. 84–5).	p. 76, 16–77. 22.
.. 9 (p. 85)	p. 77, 8–22.

7. Kapitel

Abschnitt 2 (p. 86).	p. 80. 17–27.
.. 4 und 5 (pp. 87–9).	p. 82. 12–83, 20.
.. 7 und 8 (pp. 89–90).	p. 83. 31–84, 25.
.. 14–16 (pp. 90–92)	p. 86. 8–87. 19.

d) *Ins Englische*

74. Davids, T. W. Rhys: *The Questions of King Milinda*. Translated from the Pali by T. W. Rh. D. 2 Bände. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890¹ und 1894. i: xlix und 315 pp.; ii: xxvii und 383 pp. (= SBE., vols. 35, 36.)²

Einteilung: 1. B a n d: Inhaltsverzeichnis (pp. vii–x). Einleitung (pp. xi–xlix). Übersetzung von pp. 1–210 der Trenckner'schen Ausgabe (pp. 1–302). Appendix: Devadatta in den Jātakas (pp. 303–4). Addenda et Corrigenda (pp. 305–6). Eigennamen-Index (pp. 307–10). Sachregister (pp. 311–15). 2. B a n d: Inhaltsverzeichnis (pp. vii–x). Einleitung (pp. xi–xxvii). Übersetzung, pp. 211–420 der Trenckner'schen Ausgabe (pp. 1–375). Nachträge und Verbesserungen (pp. 377–8). Sachregister (pp. 381–3).

e) *Ins Französische*

75. Finot, Louis: *Les questions de Milinda (Milindapañha)*, traduit du Pāli avec introduction et notes par L. F. Bois dessinés et gravés par Andrée Karpelès. Paris: Bossard, 1923. 8°, 166 pp. (= Les classiques de l'orient, vol. viii.)

Übersetzt die Bücher i–iii = M. 1–89 = Q. (i, 1–136). Einteilung: Einleitung (pp. 9–15). Übersetzung (pp. 19–147). Anmerkungen (pp. 149–157). Bibliographie (p. 159).³ Inhaltsverzeichnis (pp. 161–6).

¹ Vom 1. Band (SBE., 35) ist 1925 ein photographischer Neudruck (Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford) erschienen. Ob auch vom 2. Band ein Neudruck erschienen ist, weiss ich nicht.

² Die in dieser Übersetzung behandelten Pāliwörter sind im „Index to Pāli Words discussed in Translations“ von Mabel Haynes Bode in *JPTS.*, 1897–1901, pp. 1–42, mit berücksichtigt worden.

³ Verzeichnet *Bibl.* 65, 74, 27, 23, und 108.

f) *Ins Italienische (nach der engl. Übersetzung)*

76. Cagnola, G.: *Dialoghi del Re Milinda*. Versione dall'Inglese, di G. C. Milano: Casa Editrice Isis, 1923.¹

g) *Ins Siamesische*

77. *Pānhā Pha: ja mīlin* (Die Fragen des Königs Milinda). Erster Band. Bangkok 2472 (1929–1930). 8°, xviii + 106 pp.

„Nouvelle² traduction siamoise publiée par les soins de l'Institut royal du Siam“ (Raymonde Linossier in *BB.*, fasc. 2, No. 38).

77a. H. G. Rawlinson erwähnt „a Siamese version of the Milinda Pañha“ (*Intercourse between India and the Western World*, 2. ed., Cambridge, 1926, p. 82), doch macht er leider keine genaueren Angaben darüber. So ist nicht zu entscheiden, ob es sich um eine Übersetzung ins Siamesische oder um einen in siamesischer Schrift geschriebenen Pāli-M. handelt.

h) *Ins Singhalesische*

78. Hīnaṭikumburē Sumaṅgala: *Milindaprasānaya oder Śrī Dharmādāsaya*. Herausgegeben von Mohoṭṭivatte Guṇānanda. Koṭahena (Colombo): Buddhist Press 1877–8 (2420 nach Buddha) 8°, 628, 12, iv pp.³

Zu dieser Ausgabe, welche Rhys Davids bei seiner Übersetzung des M. benutzt hat (s. SBE., 35, p. xii) vgl. Z.W. 2, Spalte 129, und Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon* (London, 1928), pp. 303–4. Erwähnungen der Ausgabe bei Trenckner, *Bibl.* 65, p. vii (T. bemerkt, dass ihm die Ausgabe leider nicht zugänglich war) und Pavolini, *Bibl.* 112, p. 98, n. 1. Die Namen der fünf singhalesischen Herren, auf deren Kosten die Ausgabe gedruckt wurde, bringen Rhys Davids, SBE., 35, p. xii. und Malalasekera, op. cit., p. 304.

Die Übersetzung selbst war schon 100 Jahre früher unter dem Könige Kirtti Śrī Rājasimha, der 1747 den Thron bestieg,

¹ Dieser Übersetzung habe ich leider nicht habhaft werden können; ich erfuhr von ihr durch die Besprechung, die Frau Rhys Davids ihr *J.R.A.S.*, 1925, pp. 130–2, gewidmet hat.

² Die vorhergehenden siamesischen Übersetzungen sind mir leider unbekannt geblieben.

³ Andersen und Smith kennen eine Neuausgabe desselben Werkes: Colombo, 1900. S. *Bibl.* 100, p. xvii, unter „Hīnaṭ“.

angefertigt worden.¹ Eine aus dem 19. Jahrhundert stammende Palmblatthandschrift der Übersetzung, aus 284 Blättern bestehend, beschreibt de Zilva Wickremasinghe, Z.W. 1, unter No. 22 (pp. 27-8); eine andere Handschrift (400 Palmblätter) erwähnt de Zoysa in seinem *Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon* (Colombo, 1885), p. 9.

2. *Übersetzungen oder Referate von kleineren Abschnitten des M.*

a) *der Bāhirakathā*

79. *Milindappasnakathāva* (No. xii der Elu und Singhalesischen HSS. der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Kopenhagen), 46 Blätter.

Übersetzung der Bāhirakathā ins Singhalesische.²

80. *Nāgasenakathāva*.

Bildet den 3. Abschnitt eines im oder vor dem 13. Jahrh. kompilierten umfangreichen singhalesischen Werkes, des *Saddhamaratnāvaliya* oder *Ratanāvaliya*, das zum grössten Teil Geschichten aus dem Dhammapadakommentar enthält. Nach dem Zeugnis von Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe, der eine Handschrift dieses Werkes. Z.W. 1, pp. 11 ff., beschreibt, stellt das *Nāgasenakathāva* eine singhalesische Übersetzung der Bāhirakathā dar (Z.W. 1, p. 28).

81. Trencner, V(ilhelm): „Pali Miscellany“ (Titelangabe s. *Bibl.* 64).

Enthält auf pp. 29-54 eine Übersetzung der Bāhirakathā ins Englische.

82. Turnour, George: „Examination of some points of Buddhist Chronology.“ In *JASB.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 521-536.

Hier finden sich Erwähnung des M. (*Milindapanno*) und

¹ Nach Malalasekera, op. cit., p. 284, im Jahre 1777-8 (2320 nach Buddha) in Sirivaddhanapura (Kandy). Spence Hardy, *Bibl.* 102, gibt auf p. 538 der Ausgabe 1880 Kandy als Ort und 1777 als Jahr der Übersetzung an. Auf den Angaben von Hardy fussen: Silbernagl, *Der Buddhismus nach seiner Entstehung, Fortbildung und Verbreitung*, p. 81 n. 5, und Weber, *Indische Studien*, iii, p. 122. Frau Rhys Davids nennt *Bibl.* 104, p. 5, als Übersetzungsjahr „1777 oder 1747“.

² Da aus der Westergaard'schen Beschreibung dieser Handschrift (West., p. 69a) nicht mit genügender Deutlichkeit hervorging, ob es sich nur um eine singhalesische Übersetzung des Textes oder ein sannē handelt, welches auch den Pālitext enthält, wollte ich diese HS. ursprünglich auch in der Abteilung III A 1β bringen. Die Behebung meiner Zweifel verdanke ich Prof. Dines Andersen-Kopenhagen, der die Freundlichkeit hatte, Rask's Collectaneen (West., p. 95, No. 19) durchzusehen und hierbei feststellte, dass Rask zur in Frage stehenden HS. bemerkt: „1. Del af Milindaprasne i blot Sing. Oversættelse.“

Inhaltsangabe der Bāhirakathā (mit stellenweiser Übersetzung) auf pp. 530–4. In derselben Zeitschrift, vol. vi (1837), p. 509, bezieht sich Turnour auf diese Untersuchung: „The NĀGASĒNO¹ of Pāli annals, whose history I have touched upon in a former article.“

b) *anderer Teile des M.*

83. Burlingame, Eugene Watson: *Buddhist parables translated from the original Pāli by E. W. B.*, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Lecturer in Pāli (1907–8) at Yale University. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922. gr. 8°, xxix, 348 pp.

„Chapter xi [p. 201–245] contains numerous selections from a collection of imaginary dialogues between Menander, Greek king of Bactria, 125–95 B.C., and the Buddhist sage Nāgasena“ (p. xxii).

Im einzelnen werden übersetzt: pp. 201–4 (§ 1): M. 25, 1–28,12. pp. 204–6 (§ 2): M. 40,1–41,10. pp. 206–9 (§ 3): M. 46,5–48,29; 49,13–27. pp. 209–210 (§ 4): M. 49, 28–31; 50,20–51,12; 51,23–4. pp. 210–212 (§ 5): M. 52, 28–54,16. pp. 213–15 (§ 6): M. 54,17–57,3. pp. 215–17 (§ 7): M. 67,4–68,23. pp. 217–19 (§ 8): M. 313,1–315,27. pp. 219–224 (§ 9): M. 315,28–323,4. pp. 224–8 (§ 10): M. 323, 5–326,14. pp. 228–230 (§ 11): M. 326,15–328,16. pp. 230–243 (§ 12): M. 329,1–341,25. pp. 244–5 (§ 13): M. 353,28–355,12.

84. Kilner, Rev. Thomas: „The Power of Truth.“ In: Gogerly, Daniel John, *Ceylon Buddhism*, being the collected writings of D. J. G., edited by Arthur Stanley Bishop (Colombo, 1908), pp. 293–6.²

Ist ein Referat mit teilweisen Übersetzungen der Geschichte vom König Sivi, M. 119, 11–123, 7 = Q. iv, 1, 42.

85. *Milindappraṣṇa Geṭapadē*. Ein in der Tempelbücherei von Bentota in Ceylon befindliches MS., „a little Sinhalese work explanatory of some difficult passages of the Pāli text of Milinda Pañha“ (de Zoysa, *Catalogue* . . ., Colombo, 1885, p. 9). Ich nehme

¹ Den Turnour noch = Nāgārjuna setzt.

² Erschien zuerst in der Zeitschrift *The Friend* für 1839 mit einer Ergänzung und Berichtigung von Gogerly, „Observations on the article entitled: The power of truth,“ die man *Ceylon Buddhism*, pp. 296–307, findet. G. übersetzt hier unter anderem als Parallele zur Sivi-Erzählung und zur saccakiriya in M. 119,11–123,7, die Geschichten von Sivi und vom Fischkönig aus dem Cariyāpīṭaka.

an, dass das Werk Übersetzungen von Stellen des M. ins Singhalesische enthält und habe es daher hier eingeordnet.

86. Perera. K. R. : „Nāgasēnasvamin . . . gē saha Milindurajatumāget Jivita-kathāva.“ Kolamba (Colombo) : 1890, 8°, 14 pp.

„A legendary account of the Buddhist sage Nāgasena and king Milinda, in 216 stanzas.“ sagt de Zilva Wickremasinghe von diesem in der Bibliothek des British Museum vorhandenen Werk (Z.W. 2, Spalte 149). Da der Charakter des Werkes durch diese Bemerkung nicht genügend bestimmt erschien, um die Einrichtung einer neuen Abteilung für dieses Werk allein zu rechtfertigen, habe ich es unter die Teilübersetzungen eingeordnet.

87. da Sylva, Lewis : „Le bonheur du Nirvāna,“ extrait du Milindapprashnaya ou Miroir des doctrines sacrés. Traduit du Pāli par L.d.S., Pandit de Colombo (Ceylan). In : *RHR.* vol. xi (1885, i), pp. 336–352.

Übersetzung von M. 313, 1–326, 14.¹

88. Warren, Henry Clarke : *Buddhism in Translations.* Cambridge, Mass., 1896.² 4°. xx, 520 pp. (= HOS., vol. 3).³

Übersetzt verschiedene Abschnitte aus dem M., von dem Warren sagt, er sei „strictly speaking a North Buddhist work, but it is considered so orthodox by the South Buddhists, i.e. by the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, that I have felt bold to draw upon it freely in this book“ (p. xix).

Die übersetzten Abschnitte sind : § 14. King Milinda and Nāgasena come to an understanding (pp. 128–9) : M. 28,28–29, 11. § 15. There is no Ego. a. (pp. 129–133) : M. 25,1–28,12. § 17. No continuous personal identity. a. (pp. 148–150) : M. 40, 1–41,10. § 28. Consciousness. a. (pp. 182–3) : M. 62,8–23. § 31. Contact (pp. 186–7) : M. 60, 10–23. § 39. The cause of inequality in the world (pp. 214–15) : M. 65, 11–29. § 44. The round of existence (p. 232) : M. 77, 8–22. § 45. Cause of rebirth (pp. 232–3) : M. 32, 12–19. § 46. Is this to be my last existence ? (p. 233) : M. 41, 11–28. § 47. Rebirth is not transmigration. a. und b. (pp. 234–8) : M. 71, 16–29 und 46,5–48,29.

¹ Rhys Davids' Kritik dieser Übersetzung s. SBE., 36, p. 181.

² Im 4. Abdruck (1906) findet sich der Vermerk : *First issue*, 1,000 copies, May, 1896. *Second issue*, 500 copies, February, 1900. *Third issue*, 500 copies, edition for India, February, 1900. *Fourth issue*, 500 copies, June, 1906.

³ Zu diesem Werk hat Miss C. B. Runkle im *JPTS.*, 1902–3, pp. 96 ff., einen Index zusammengestellt. Der M. ist dort auf pp. 100–101 zu finden.

§ 50. How existence in hell is possible (pp. 253-4): M. 67,4-68, 23. § 66. Spiritual law in the natural world (pp. 306-307): M. 82,12-83,20. § 87. The value of training in religion (pp. 420-1): M. 264, 29-266,3. § 88. The colourless life (p. 421): M. 76, 23-77, 2. § 90. The body is an open sore (p. 423): M. 73, 24-74, 17. § 98. No Buddhist should commit suicide (pp. 436-440): M. 195,1-197, 29.

89. Windisch, Ernst: *Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1908. 4°, 235 pp. (= *Abhandlungen d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. Kgl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Band 26, No. 2).

Enthält auf pp. 20-7 die erstmalige¹ Übersetzung des Abschnitts M. 123-130.

C. LEXIKOGRAPHISCHES UND GRAMMATISCHES

90. Andersen, Dines: s. *Bibl.* 94, 99, und 100.

91. Childers, Robert Caesar: *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*. London: Trübner & Co., 1875. 4°, xii, 624 pp.

Zitiert den M., dessen 1. Buch ihm durch eine Abschrift von Trenckner (vgl. Einleitung, p. xvii) bekannt geworden war, als „Mil. P.“

92. Davids, T. W. Rhys, und William Stede: *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*. Chipstead, Surrey: Pali Text Society, 1921-5. 4°, xiv, 749 pp. (173 + 99 + iv (Nachruf auf T. W. Rhys Davids) + 114 + 167 + 192) + 9 pp. Verbesserungen + 5 pp. Nachwort von W. Stede.

Wörter aus dem M. mit „Miln.“ bezeichnet.

93. Kern, H(endrik): *Toevoegselen op't Woordenboek van Childers* door H. K. Amsterdam: Müller, 1916 (= *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*. Afdeeling Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks. Deel xvi, No. 4 (i) und 5 (ii)). I (Ohne alphabetische Ordnung und A-N): 179 pp. II (O-Y): 140 pp.

Enthält viel Material aus dem M., der hier, wie in *Bibl.* 91 (Childers). „Mil. P.“ abgekürzt wird.

94. Konow, Sten: „Words beginning with H“ (*JPTS.*, 1906-7, pp. 152-171), und: „Words beginning with S.“ Revised and enlarged by Dines Andersen (*JPTS.*, 1909, pp. 1-235).

M. = „Mil.“

¹ In *Bibl.* 74 ist dieser Abschnitt nicht übersetzt. In Nyānatiloka's Übersetzung (*Bibl.* 72): Band 1, pp. 200-209.

95. Morris, Rev. Richard : „ Notes and Queries.“ In *JPTS.*, 1884, pp. 69–108 ; 1885, 29–76 ; 1886, 94–160 ; 1887, 99–169 ; 1889, 200–212 ; 1891–3, 1–75.

In dieser Sammlung lexikographischer Notizen ist auch der M. stark vertreten. Ich bringe hier nur als Beispiel die M.-Stellen aus dem *JPTS.* für 1884. p. 72 : M. 75, 18 (āsīyati) und Trenckner's Bemerkung dazu M. 422 ; M. 375,¹ 2 (saṃvaddham²). p. 73 : M. 47, 1–2 (aggim . . . visīvetvā) ; M. 102, 19 (saṃsibbita-visibbita). p. 75 : M. 393, 30 (-upasimsako). p. 75 n. : M. 5, 2–3 (pattakkhandho). p. 76 : M. 358, 6–7³ (kammakaraṇam) ; M. 197 (Strafenaufzählung). p. 77 : M. 413, 10 (kālasutta). p. 79 : M. 151, 18–19 (koḷāpa). p. 80 : M. 197 (Strafenaufzählung). p. 81 : M. 340, 27 (tamam). p. 82, n. 1 : M. 405, 19 (asecanaka). p. 82 und n. 2 : M. 259, 31 ; 260, 4, 21 (disāvidisaṃ). p. 83 : M. 398, 14, 16 ; 251, 10 (disāvidisā). p. 85 : M. 90, 21 (paṭṭisāka) ; M. 367, 24 (paripātiyanto). pp. 87–8 : Analyse des Satzes M. 152, 15–17. p. 87 : M. 150, 11–12 (paccācamapeyya). p. 92 : M. 197, 18–19. p. 94 : M. 266, 4 ff. (satisammoso). p. 95 : M. 367, 23 ; 368, 17 (lakuta). p. 96 : M. 39, 10, 15, 17/18 (vidamseti) ; M. 37, 6, 7, 15/16 (apilāpana). p. 101 n. : M. 378, 9 (lakāra). p. 104 : M. 253, 9 (bhava bhava).

96. Nyanatiloka : *Pali-Anthologie und Wörterbuch*. Eine Sammlung progressiv angeordneter Palitexte mit einem nach wissenschaftlichen Grundsätzen verfassten und mit etymologischen Anmerkungen versehenen Wörterbuch. A : Pali-Wörterbuch. München-Neubiberg : Schloss 1928. gr. 8°, xii, 129 pp.⁴

Enthält auch Wörter aus dem M. („Mil.“) zu den entsprechenden Übungsstücken aus dem M. in Teil B (*Pali-Anthologie*. 1928. 8°, 71 pp.) : M. 69.16–70, 16 ; 71. 16–29 ; 72, 1–8.

97. Smith, Helmer. s. *Bibl.* 100.

98. Trenckner, V(ilhelm) : *Pali Miscellany* (genauen Titel s. *Bibl.* 64).

¹ So muss es auch *JPTS.*, 1884, p. 72, statt 378 heissen.

² So Trenckner. Morris · dḍham (Druckfehler).

³ Morris gibt hier auch noch M. 290 an, doch kann ich dort das Wort kammakaraṇa nicht finden.

⁴ Angezeigt *BB.* fasc. 1, No. 35.

Bringt auf pp. 55–83 „Notes“ und „Supplementary Notes“ zur Bāhirakathā des M. Einen verbesserten Neudruck dieser Bemerkungen stellt *Bibl.* 99 dar.

99. Trenckner, V(ilhelm): „Critical and philological notes to the first chapter (Bāhirakathā) of the Milindapañha.“ Revised and edited, together with an index of words and subjects, by Dines Andersen. In *JPTS.*, 1908, pp. 102–151.

Ist ein verbesserter Neudruck von *Bibl.* 98. Einteilung: Einleitende Bemerkungen von Andersen (pp. 102–3). Trenckner's Anmerkungen (pp. 104–138). Indices: a) Sachregister und Eigennamenindex (pp. 139–141). b) Grammat. Index: Laute, Suffixe usw. (pp. 141–3). c) Pāliwörter (pp. 143–151).

100. Trenckner, V(ilhelm): A critical Pāli dictionary begun by V. T., revised, continued, and edited by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith. Published by the Royal Danish Academy. Copenhagen: Høst and Son, 1924 ff. 4^c.¹

Bis jetzt sind fünf Lieferungen dieses grossangelegten Werkes, das zum ersten Mal die umfangreichen lexikographischen Zettelsammlungen Trenckner's systematisch ausgewertet, erschienen. Die erste Lieferung (1924–6) enthält eine kurze Lebensbeschreibung Trenckner's von Andersen (pp. iii–viii), ein Vorwort der Herausgeber (pp. ix–xi), Abkürzungen, Konkordanzen d. Ausgg. von Kaccāyana, Petavattu u. Vimānavattu und Transkriptionssystem (pp. xii–xxii). Das Wörterbuch ist in den bis jetzt vorliegenden Lieferungen (pp. 1–234) bis „anodissa“ geführt.

Der M. wird hier „Mil.“ abgekürzt, die singhalesische Übersetzung (*Bibl.* 78) „Hīnaṭ“.

D. WERKE, DIE VIEL ÜBERSETZUNGEN UND AUSZÜGE AUS DEM M. ENTHALTEN

101. Hardy, Spence: *Eastern Monachism*. An account of the origin, laws, discipline, sacred writings, mysterious rites, religious ceremonies, and present circumstances of the order of mendicants founded by Gótama Budha (compiled from Singhalese MSS. and other original sources of information); with comparative notices of the usages and institutions of the Western ascetics, and a review of the

¹ Die zweite bis vierte Lieferung angezeigt *BB.*, fasc. ii, No. 90 und fasc. iv–v, No. 158

monastic system. London : Partridge and Oakey. 8°, xi, 443 pp. Neudruck, 1860, xii, 444 pp.¹

Der M. ist eine wichtige Quelle für Hardy's Arbeit ; in *Bibl.* 101 und 102 bringt er so viel Übersetzungen und Auszüge aus dem M., dass Weber, *Indische Studien*, Band iii, p. 121, meinte, der M. scheine in den beiden Werken „ziemlich vollständig aufgenommen zu sein“. Das stimmt nicht ganz, aber die folgenden Listen der von Hardy übersetzten Stellen werden zeigen, dass Hardy den M. eifrig benutzt hat, den er ja auch *Bibl.* 102, pp. 532 ff., als eine seiner Hauptquellen angibt.

<i>Eastern Monachism</i> <i>Ausgabe 1850</i>	<i>Trenckner'sche</i> <i>Text-Ausgabe</i>	<i>Übersetzung von</i> <i>Rhys Davids</i>
7, 9–28	272, 10–273, 13	iv, 7, 20 (ii, 109–111)
9, 28–10, 5	359, 13–22	vi, 20 (ii, 268)
15, 24–17, 24	348, 1–357, 7	vi, 1–15 (ii, 244–261)
32, 9–15	?	
33, 2 v. u.–34, 32	80, 28–82, 11	iii, 7, 3 (i, 124–6)
34, 33–35, 8	73, 24–74, 11	iii, 6, 1 (i, 115)
35, 9–39 ²	246, 12–252, 30	iv, 6, 23–39 (ii, 63–75)
36, 7–37, 10	255, 1–256, 31	iv, 6, 45–9 (ii, 78–81)
72, 14–40	229, 15–231, 24	iv, 5, 30–3 (ii, 33–7)
73, 25–74, 7	8, 23–9, 27	i, 20–1 (i, 14–16)
94, 34–95, 8	214, 17–23	iv, 5, 6 (ii, 6)
113, 23–28	11, 6–15 ³	(i, 19)
130, 20–34	211, 5–213, 4	iv, 5, 1–3 (ii, 1–4)
143, letzte Zeile—144, 4	108, 5–11	(i, 163)
152, 1–2	195, 1 197, 29	iv, 4, 13–15 (i, 273–8)
152, 12–25	?	
211, 25–34	80, 17–27	iii, 7, 2 (i, 123–4)
228, 23–232, 4	95, 8–102, 3	iv, 1, 10–18 (i, 144–154)
250, 14–20	74, 12–16	(i, 115)
267, 12 ff.	!	
269, 27–40	85, 18–30	iii, 7, 11 (i, 130–1)

¹ Vgl. Weber, *Indische Streifen*, ii, p. 188. Die Ausgaben 1860 von *Bibl.* 101 und 102 waren mir leider nicht zugänglich ; die Universitätsbibliotheken von Leipzig und München sowie die Preussische Staatsbibliothek besitzen diese Ausgaben nicht.

² In Trenckner's Text ist nur eine Andeutung der Papageiengeschichte. Die ausführliche Geschichte, welche Hardy in seiner *Milinda-sannē* vorlag, findet sich, wie Rhys Davids, *Q.* (ii, 6 Anm.), sagt, *Jātaka* Nr. 429 (*Mahāsukajātaka*) und 430 (*Cullasukajātaka*).

³ Hat 16 „Hindernisse“ ; Hardy 15.

<i>Eastern Monachism</i> <i>Ausgabe 1850</i>	<i>Trenckner'sche</i> <i>Text-Ausgabe</i>	<i>Übersetzung von</i> <i>Rhys Davids</i>
275, 3-276, 16	198, 1-200, 15 ¹	iv, 4, 16 (i, 279-283)
279, 29-280, 18 ²	121, 24, 123, 7	iv, 1, 47-8 (i, 182-5)
283, 25-284, 15	264, 3 v. u.-266, 3	iv, 7, 7-8 (ii, 96-8)
285, 31-286, 5	84, 26-85, 9	iii, 7, 9 (i, 129-130)
286, 6-39	266, 4-267, 8	iv, 7, 9-10 (ii, 98-101)
286, 1 v. u. -287, 7	44, 19-31	ii, 2, 4 erste Hälfte (i, 69)
287, 8-16	145, 25-148, 1	iv, 2, 6-9 (i, 206-9)
287, 17-24	44, 31-45, 6	ii, 2, 4 zweite Hälfte (i, 69-70)
287, 25-38	207, 23-209, 21	iv, 4, 44-5 (i, 297-300)
287, 39-288, 32	253, 1-254, 28	iv, 6, 40-4 (ii, 75-80)
288, 33-291, 26	102, 13-106, 6	iv, 1, 20-6 (i, 155-160)
292, 24-6	323, 5-7	iv, 8, 76 (ii, 195)
292, 27-34	69, 23-70, 3	iii, 4, 8 (i, 108)
292, 35-9	69, 16-21	iii, 4, 7 (i, 107)
293, 34-295, 28	268, 10-271, 6	iv, 7, 13-17 (ii, 103- 107)
295, 29-296, 8	310, 5-312, 32	iv, 8, 53-7 (ii, 176- 181)
296, 9-297, 2	313, 1-315, 27	iv, 8, 58-60 (ii, 181-5)
297, 3-298, 20	315, 28-323, 4	iv, 8, 61-75 (ii, 186 195)
298, 21-299, 29	323, 5-326, 14	iv, 8, 76-84 (ii, 195- 201)
299, 30-300, 19	326, 15-328, 16	iv, 8, 85-8 (ii, 202-5)
300, 20-30	73, 9-22	iii, 5, 10 (i, 113-14)

102. Hardy, Spence: *A Manual of Buddhism in its Modern Development*. Translated from Singhalese MSS. London: Partridge and Oakey, 1853. gr. 8^c. xvi, 533 pp.³

¹ Hier ist die Geschichte nur kurz erzählt. Hardy's sannē bringt die Sāma-Erzählung ausführlicher, ebenfalls die singhales. Übersetzung, vgl. Q. (i, 283 Anm.).

² Hardy's Bemerkung, er hatte diese Stelle „from the same source“ wird man auf das Cariyāpīṭaka beziehen, aus welchem er kurz vorher 2 Proben in der Übersetzung von Gogerly gebracht hat. Nun steht aber die Geschichte von der Bindumati garnicht im Cariyāpīṭaka. Ich erkläre mir das so, dass H. die Stellen aus dem Cariyāpīṭ. später in den Text hineingenommen und vergessen hat, das „from the same source“ das sich bis dahin auf den M. bezog, zu ändern.

³ Ein Neudruck vom „Manual“ erschien — gleichzeitig mit dem Neudruck von *Eastern Monachism* (Bibl. 101) — 1860 bei Williams & Norgate in London, gr. 8^c. xvi, 534 pp., vgl. Weber, *Indische Streifen*, Band ii, p. 188, und Barth, *Œuvres*, Paris, 1914, vol. 1, p. 100 n. Ein weiterer Neudruck erschien 1880, ebenfalls bei Williams

<i>Spence Hardy</i>			<i>Rhys Davids'</i>
1. Aufl.	2. Neudr.		Übersetzung
1853	1880	<i>Trenckner</i>	
12, n. 3	12, n. 3	68, 24-9	iii, 4, 5 (i, 106)
22	22	1	
60	61-2	149, 4-150, 21	iv, 2, 12-14 (i, 211-13)
60-1	62-3	67, 4-68, 23	iii, 4, 4 (i, 103-6)
61, 19-27	63, 3-12	101, 22-5 ²	(i, 153) ²
87	89	284, 23-285, 10	iv, 8, 18 (ii, 132-5)
153 n.	156 n.	235, 1-236, 25	iv, 6, 1-3 (ii, 43-6)
214-16	220-2	231, 18-21 ³	(ii, 37)
315-320	326-331 ⁴		
363-4	376-7	134, 9-138, 16	iv, 1, 62-6 (i, 190-5)
373 4	387	159, 6-160, 21	iv, 2, 29 (i, 225-7)
375-7	389-390	164, 17-167, 22	iv, 3, 5-10 (i, 234-7)
	390-1	186, 25, 188, 6 ⁵	iv, 3, 38-9 (i, 257-260)
379-380	393-4	232, 7-234, 29	iv, 5, 35-7 (ii, 38-42)
381-6	396, 3-397, 10	154, 18-158, 16	iv, 2, 20-6 (i, 219-223)
	397, 11-37	179, 7-181, 22	iv, 3, 27-30 (i, 248-251)
	397, 38-398, 6	209, 22-211, 3	iv, 4, 46-7 (i, 201-2)
	398, 7-26	70, 5-71, 11	iii, 5, 1-3 (i, 109-110)

und Norgate, xii, 566 pp. Diesem 2. Neudruck hat der Verleger folgende Notiz vorangeschickt: „The present volume having been out of print for some time, the demand for it, however, still being so great that copies have been sold in public sales for several pounds, the publishers have been induced to reprint a small edition of the work. They have taken the opportunity of correcting a few errors, and adding a much more complete Index, which has been kindly compiled by Dr. Frankfurter of Berlin, who is pursuing Pāli studies in London. In every other respect the present is an exact reproduction of the first edition.“

Die Ausgabe von 1860 habe ich mir, wie schon n. 1 auf p. 532 bemerkt, nicht verschaffen können: so gebe ich in der Liste der Stellenvergleiche die Seitenzahlen nach den Ausgaben von 1853 und 1880.

¹ Diese Stelle aus dem „Milinda Prasna“ kann ich im M. nicht nachweisen: es handelt sich offenbar um einen kosmographischen Exkurs in Hardy's sannē.

² Hier werden auch fünf zur Holle gefahrene Leute erwähnt, doch stimmen nur drei (Ciñcā, Suppabuddha und Devadatta) mit den bei Hardy genannten überein.

³ Hier ist nur eine Anspielung auf die Begegnung Buddha's mit Kasibhāradvāja. Hardy's ausführliche Erzählung der Begebenheit, die er in seiner sannē fand, entspricht dem Kasibhāradvājasutta des Suttanipāta (pp. 12-16 der von Andersen und Smith besorgten PTS.-Ausgabe, 1913) und dem Samyutta-Nikāya, vii, 2, 1 (i, 172-3).

⁴ Obgleich sich Hardy bei der Erzählung von Devadatta und Ajātasattu bis p. 331, 9 auf den M. beruft, kann ich im M. gerade zu diesem Stück keine Parallele finden. Dafür haben die gleich darauf folgenden Stellen (p. 331, 10 ff.) sachliche Entsprechungen in M: Hardy, p. 331, 10-18 entspricht M. 136, 3-13 und 179, 7-181, 23, und die Geschichte vom Elefanten Mālāgiri-Dhanapāla (im M.: Dhanapālaka), p. 331, 19 ff., behandelt der Abschnitt M. 207, 23-209, 21.

⁵ Hardy gibt diese Geschichte — vgl. Majjh. Nik. 67 (i, 456 ff.) — ausführlicher wieder: ebenfalls Hinatikumburē, vgl. Q. (i, 257, n. 2).

<i>Spence Hardy</i>		<i>Rhys Davids'</i>	
1. Aufl.	2. Neudr.	<i>Trenckner</i>	<i>Übersetzung</i>
1853	1880		
381-6	398, 27-38	74, 18-31	iii, 6, 2 (i, 116)
	398, 39-399, 17	142, 14-144, 10	iv, 2, 1-3 (i, 202-4)
	399, 18-400, 30	107, 27-113, 8	iv, 1, 28-34 (i, 162-170)
	400, 31-401, 7	102, 4-13	iv, 1, 19 (i, 154)
391	405-406	Anspielung auf das 1 ff.	Wagengleichnis M. 25,
396-7	411-412	46, 16-29; 47, 31- 48, 14; 47, 16-30	(i, 72-4)
399 n.	414 n.	Hinweis auf den M.	als Quelle
404	419	60, 10-23	ii, 3, 9 (i, 92-3)
405	420, 1-12	60, 24-61, 8	ii, 3, 10 (i, 93)
406	421, 7-20	61, 21-62, 5	(i, 94-5)
406-8	421, 21-423, 6	77, 23-80, 16	iii, 6, 10-7, 1 (i, 120-3)
408	423, 26-8	62, 24-8	ii, 3, 13 (i, 95-6)
	423, 29-34	62, 29-63, 3	ii, 3, 14 (i, 96)
	424, 32-425, 6	36, 19-37, 4	ii, 1, 11 (i, 57)
	427, 6-428, 9	34, 26-36, 18	ii, 1, 10 (i, 54-6)
	428, 16-429, 4	37, 5-38, 17	ii, 1, 12 (i, 58-60)
	429, 2 v. u. -430, 10	39, 5-21	ii, 1, 14 (i, 61-2)
	430, 11-431, 4	41, 29-44, 1	ii, 2, 3 (i, 66-9)
	436, 21-438, 6	57, 4-60, 9	ii, 3, 7-8 (i, 89-92)
	438, 28-439, 3	62, 8-23	ii, 3, 12 (i, 95)
	440, 17-441, 30	25, 1-28, 12	ii, 1, 1 (i, 40-5)
424-5	443, 22-444, 16 ¹	28, 13-31, 11	ii, 1, 2-4 (i, 45-9)
	444, 17-445, 22	40, 1-41, 10	ii, 2, 1 (i, 63-5)
	445, 23-454, 15	46, 5-57, 3	ii, 2, 6-ii, 3, 6 (i, 71- 89)
	454, 16-35	71, 30-72, 18	iii, 5, 6-7 (i, 111-12)
	454, 36-455, 26 ²	86, 17-87, 19	iii, 7, 15-16 (i, 132-4)
	455, 26-35 ³	63, 13-64, 10	(i, 97-8)
	455, 36-456, 2	39, 22-32	ii, 1, 15 (i, 62)
	456, 3-13	77, 8-22	iii, 6, 9 (i, 120)
	456, 14-28	71, 16-29	iii, 5, 5 (i, 111)
	456, 29-457, 8	82, 29-83, 20	iii, 7, 5 (i, 127-8)
427-440	460, 33-461, 23	258, 27-261, 12	iv, 6, 54-8 (ii, 85-9)

¹ Stark gekürzt.² Hardy gibt M. 86.17-87.2 etwas ausführlicher: ebenso Hinatikumburē, vgl. Q. (i, 132, n. 2).³ Diesen Vergleich, den Hardy's Vorlage unmittelbar an den vorhergehenden anschliesst, bringt M. an anderer Stelle.

<i>Spence Hardy</i>			<i>Rhys Davids'</i>
1. Aufl.	2. Neudr.		Übersetzung
1853	1880	<i>Trenckner</i>	
448	464, 20-8	72, 19-32	iii 5, 8 (i, 112-13)
451-2	468, 6-469, 32	290, 5-294, 8	iv, 8, 24-8 (ii, 141-151)
453-4	470, 13-36	45, 8-24	(i, 70-1)
455	472, 10-22	200, 16-205, 8	iv, 4, 17-41 (i, 283-293)
455-6	472, 23-473, 14	188, 8-189, 31	iv, 4, 2-3 (i, 261-3)
458-9	475, 6-476, 34	294, 9-297, 26	iv, 8, 29-33 (ii, 151-157)
461	478, 26-31	?	
	{480, 38-481, 12	? ¹	
463-5	{481, 13-482, 13 ²	195, 1-197, 29	iv, 4, 13-15 (i, 273-8)
469-470	486-8 ³	192, 15-193, 21	iv, 4, 9-10 (i, 268-270)

Im „Appendix“ werden auf pp. 532-8 der Ausg. v. 1880 eine allgemeine Beschreibung des M., ein Referat über die Bāhirakathā, ein Exkurs über Nāgasena = Nāgārjuna und einige Bemerkungen über die singhales. Übersetzung des M. gegeben.

WERKE, AUFSATZE ODER KAPITEL, DIE SICH MIT DEM M. ALS
GANZEM BEFASSEN.⁴

103. Copleston, Reginald Stephen: *Buddhism, primitive and present, in Magadha and in Ceylon*, by R. St. C., Bishop of Colombo. London: Longmans, 1892. 8°, xv, 501 pp.

Beschäftigt sich pp. 366-374 mit dem M. Auf pp. 371-4 ein Abschnitt „Questions of Milinda“, der Herkunft, Inhalt, Stil des M. behandelt. Weitere Erwähnungen des M.: pp. 353, 368-371. 419, n. 2.

104. Davids, Mrs. Rhys: *The Milinda Questions*. An inquiry into its place in the history of Buddhism with a theory as to its author.

¹ Vielleicht eine erklärende Geschichte zu M. 158.17-159.5, die in Hardy's Vorlage stand?

² Bei Hardy Fortlassung der ganzen dukkha-Serie (M. 196-7), dafür Hinzufügung eines Beispiels zur Illustration der Buddha-Aussprüche.

³ Der grösste Teil von p. 487 fehlt in M.. vgl. aber *Q.* (i, 269, n. 2).

⁴ Hier hätte auch ein Aufsatz von Burnouf, den er über den M. schreiben wollte (s. seine *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*. p. 621 = p. 560 des Neudrucks von 1876), seinen Platz gefunden. Leider hat er diesen Plan nicht zur Ausführung gebracht: in L. Feer's *Papiers d'Eugène Burnouf conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1890) ist, wie mir Professor Pelliot, der die Freundlichkeit hatte, dieses mir nicht zugängliche Werk daraufhin durchzusehen, mitteilt, der M. garnicht erwähnt. Nach einer frdl. Mitteilung von Prof. Sylvain Lévi geht das von Specht und Lévi *Bibl.* 26, p. 520 n., erwähnte *Mémoire malheureusement resté inédit* von Burnouf auch nur auf die eingangs dieser Anm. erwähnte Bemerkung Burnouf's in der „*Introduction*“ zurück

London : Routledge, 1930. 8°, xvi, 169 pp. + 2 Tafeln. (= Trübner's Oriental Series).¹

Sieht im M. das Werk eines Verfassers (von Frau Rhys Davids Māṇava genannt), der im Laufe seines Lebens die verschiedenen Bücher geschrieben hat — der Kern ist M. 25–89 —, aus denen das Werk heute besteht. Eine Zusammenfassung der Gedanken dieser, soweit mir bekannt, einzigen etwas umfangreicheren M.-Monographie findet sich im Schlusswort, pp. 161–6.

105. Davids, Mrs. Rhys : *Buddhist Psychology*. An inquiry into the analysis and theory of mind in Pāli literature. London : G. Bell and Sons, 1914. kl. 8°, 212 pp. (= The Quest Series).

Enthält (auch in der 2. Aufl., London 1924) ein Kapitel : „ Psychological Developments in the Milinda “ (pp. 156–172). Weitere Erwähnungen des M. : pp. 27, 92 n. 2, 184, 192. Ausserdem in den zusätzlichen Kapiteln der 2. Aufl. : pp. 223–4, 250, 265–6, 271 n. 2.

106. Davids, T. W. Rhys : Artikel „ Milinda “ in *ERE.*, Band viii (1915), pp. 631–3.

Handelt zum grössten Teil vom M., seinem Inhalt und seinen Problemen.

107. Farquhar, J(ohn) N(icol) : *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*. Oxford : University Press, 1920. 8°. xxviii, 451 pp. (= The Religious Quest of India.)

Der § 115 (pp. 104–5) ist dem M. gewidmet. In der Bibliographie unter iii, iii, 1 (p. 393) Hinweise auf *Bibl.* 74, 106, 108, 73, 88. p. 115 wird die chines. Übersetzung des M. erwähnt.

108. Garbe, Richard : *Beiträge zur indischen Kulturgeschichte*. Berlin² : Gebr. Paetel, 1903. 8°, 268 pp.

Der 3. Aufsatz (pp. 95–140) dieser Sammlung ist betitelt : „ Der Milindapañha. Ein kulturhistorischer Roman aus Altindien. “

Er ist im Vergleich zu seiner ursprünglichen Fassung, „ Ein historischer Roman aus Altindien, “ erschienen im Augustheft 1902 der Zeitschrift *Deutsche Rundschau* (Band 112, pp. 261–281), nur unwesentlich, hauptsächlich um einige Fussnoten, erweitert worden.

109. Geiger, Wilhelm : *Pāli. Literatur und Sprache*. Strassburg : Trübner, 1916. 4°, iv, 181 pp. (= Grundriss d. indo-iran. Philologie u. Altertumskunde, 1. Band. 7. Heft).

¹ Angezeigt von J. Przyluski in *BB.*, fasc. 2, Nr. 101.

² So ist auch *Bibl.* 104, p. xii, statt Tübingen zu lesen.

Der M. (oder, wie G. das Werk nennt, „die Milindapañhā“) wird im Abschnitt 20 behandelt (pp. 18–19).

110. v. Glasenapp, Helmuth: *Die Literaturen Indiens von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. In Verbindung mit Dr. Barnarsi Das Jain, Dr. Wilhelm Geiger, Dr. Friedrich Rosen, D. Hilko Wiardo Schomerus von Dr. H. v. G. Wildpark-Potsdam: Athenaeon o.J. (1929). 4°, 339 pp. (= Handbuch d. Literaturwissenschaft, hrsg. v. Dr. Oskar Walzel).¹

Auf pp. 138–9 eine kurze Charakteristik des M. An Übersetzungen sind auf p. 140 verzeichnet: *Bibl.* 72–5.

111. Keith, A(rthur) Berriedale: *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. 8°, 339 pp.

Bringt im Kapitel „The Psychology of Consciousness“ einen Abschnitt *The Milindapañhā* (pp. 191–5). Ferner finden sich in diesem Werk, im Text wie in den Noten, zahlreiche Hinweise auf den M. (ich habe mir 58 Stellen notiert; der Index ist unvollständig).

112. Pavolini, Paolo Emilio: *Buddismo* per P. E. P., professore nel R. Istituto di Studi superiori di Firenze. Milano: Hoepli, 1898. kl. 8°, xv, 163 pp. + 64 pp. Katalog der Manuali Hoepli (= *Manuali Hoepli* 264).

Dem M. sind die Abschnitte 42 und 43 gewidmet (pp. 97–101)²; 42 handelt im allgemeinen von diesem Werk, 43 bringt Übersetzungen daraus nach Warren (*Bibl.* 88), §§ 28a, 31, 90.

113. Pfungst, Arthur: *Die Fragen des Königs Milinda*. In: *Gesammelte Werke*. hrsg. in Gemeinschaft mit Dr. Franz Angermann u. Emil Doctor von Marie Pfungst. Frankfurt a. Main: Neuer Frankfurter Verlag, 8°. Band ii (1926), pp. 105–120.³

114. Walleser, Max: *Die philosophische Grundlage des älteren Buddhismus*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1904. 8°, xi, 148 pp. (= *Die buddhistische Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* 1.)

¹ Angezeigt *BB.*, fasc. 2, Nr. 13.

² p. 97 braucht P. die Namensform Milindra ohne Quellenangabe; diese Form des Namens ist m. W. nur in Ksemendra's *Bodhisattvāradānakalpatā* belegt.

³ Der Aufsatz, ursprünglich im Feuilleton der *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 1. Morgenblatt vom 23. Jan. 1894, veröffentlicht (nach einer frdl. Mitteilung der Redaktion dieser Zeitung), war schon in den 1904 erschienenen Sammelband Pfungst'scher Arbeiten *Aus der indischen Kulturwelt* (Stuttgart, Fromann) aufgenommen worden, vgl. Held, No. 1497.

Enthält einen Abschnitt „Die philosophische Grundlage des Milindapañha“ (pp. 111–13).

115. Winternitz, M(oriz): *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*. 4 Bände. Leipzig: Amelang 1908–1922. 8°. I: 1908, xii, 505 pp. II, 1: 1913, vi, 288 pp. II, 2: 1920, x, 117 pp. (pp. 289–405). III: O.J. (1922), xii, 697 pp.

Dem M. sind die pp. 139–146 des 2. Bandes gewidmet. Weitere Erwähnung des M.: Band 1, pp. 26, 297 n. 2; Band 2, pp. 9 n., 14 und n. 1, 15 n. 1, 45 n. 2, 61 n. 1, 91 n. 5, 97 n. 2.

NACHTRAG

Einer brieflichen Mitteilung (v. 1. Juli 1934) von Prof. H. Ui vom Seminar für Indische Philosophie an der Kaiserlichen Universität Tokyo verdanke ich folgende Ergänzungen zum Abschnitt C des 1. Teils meiner „Beiträge zu einer Milindapañha-Bibliographie“ (p. 341 ff. dieser Zeitschrift):

Nachtrag 1. Ikeda, Chōtatsu 池田澄達: Über das Nāgasena-Sūtra (那光比丘經に就いて) in der Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Prof. Tokiwa (常盤博士還暦記念佛教論叢). pp. 23–34.

„Discusses some special points contained in the work.“

Nachtrag 2. Yamamoto, Chikyō 山本智教: Über den Milindapañha (ミリンダパンハ書史私考) in: Mikkyōkenkyū (密教研究) 1932, No. 47, pp. 105–123.

„Tries to explain what appears to be the original part of the work“.

Ferner hatte Prof. Ui die Freundlichkeit, mich auf folgende Druckfehler aufmerksam zu machen:

p. 337, l. 33, muss es 北 statt 比 heissen.

p. 341, l. 13, ist Hori, Kentoku statt: Kanenori, Hari zu lesen.

p. 341, l. 19, lies: Kimura, T(aiken) statt: Kimura, J.

p. 342, letzte Zeile, lies: Oda statt: Ōda.

Nach Korrektur der Fehler und Einsetzen der Ergänzungen würden sich folgende Umstellungen ergeben:

p. 341, 13. Genshin . . . (wie bisher).

14. Hori, Kentoku . . . (bisherige No. 15).

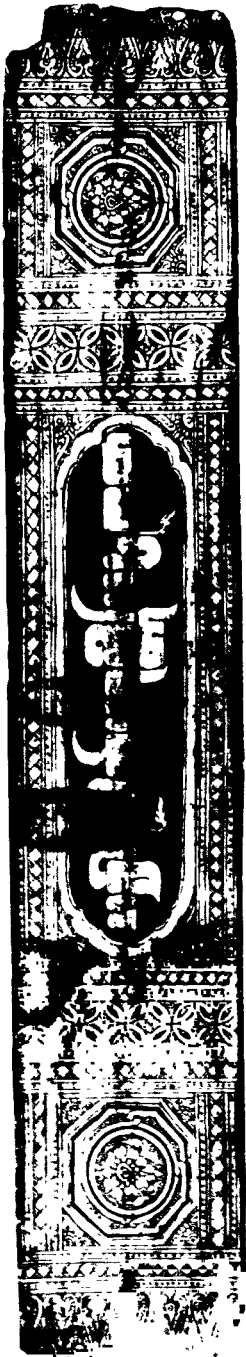
14a. Ikeda, Chōtatsu . . . (s. oben Nachtrag 1).

15. Ivanovski . . . (bisherige No. 14).

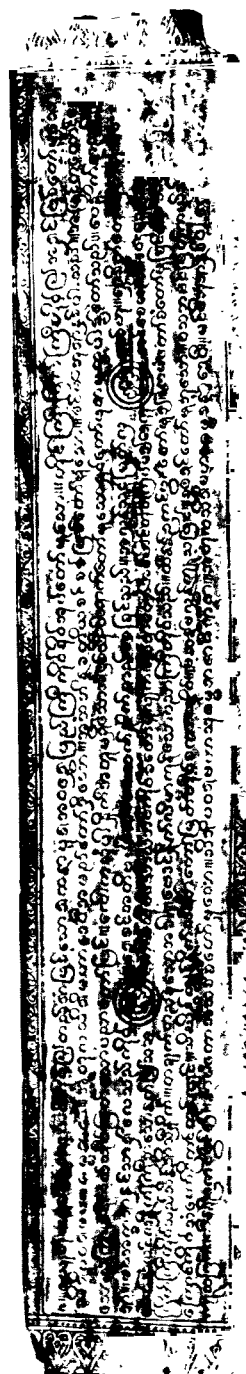
15a. Kimura, T(aiken) . . . (weiter wie bisher).

p. 346, wäre vor II. einzuschieben:

32a. Yamamoto, Chikyō . . . (s. oben Nachtrag 2).



(Obverse)



BURMESE DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION (Reverse)

Burmese Dedicatory Inscription of A.D. 1683

By J. A. STEWART

(PLATE IV)

THE inscription here reproduced appears on the covering leaf of a gilt palm-leaf manuscript, 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. by 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ in., in the possession of the Java Head Bookshop, Great Russell Street, the proprietors of which have kindly agreed to its publication.

TEXT

Obverse (square gilt letters on red lacquer)

ပဉ္စမိ[နိပ]တ် အ ၇ ဣရိ အဋ္ဌကထာ ^[၆]

Reverse (cursive writing in black lacquer on gilt)

Line 1. ဇယုတု။။။ ရတနာ အပေါင် တို၍ ၏ တည်ရာ ဖြစ် သော ရတနာပူရ အဝ
ရွှေပြည်ကြီးကိုစိုက်အပ်တော် မူသော။။ တိုင်ကြီးပြည်ကြီး တို၍ ၏ အရှင်ဖြစ်တော် မူသော။။

Line 2. သိရိပဝရမဟာဓမ္မရာဇာ။။ အတုလသိရိ မဟာဒေဝီ အမည် တော် ရှိ သော။။
အသံဘိန္န ခတ္တိယ စင်စစ် ဖြစ် တော် မူ သော။။ မင် မိဘုရာ နှစ် ပါးသည်။။ အမြင် တ တော်
ဆောင်

Line 3. သော သကြားမင် ကယျံ သို၍ မြတ်သော ပညာ တော် ဖြင့်။။ လောကသုံပါး
နှိုက် အတု မ ရှိ သော အဖြစ် သို၍ ရောက် တော်မူသော ရှင် တော် ဖရာ မုက္ခပါဌ် တော် သည်။။
ပေ နှိုက် ကညစ် အက္ခ

Line 4. ရာ။။ မင် အက္ခရာ နှင့် သာ ရှိလေ သည် ကို၍။။ ရွှေ စင်အတိမ္မာ သော ပေ
ထက် နှိုက် တည်စေခြင် သည်။။ အလွန် သင့် မြတ် လှ မည် ဟု။။ ရွှေ စိတ်တော်ပိုက်၍။။
၁၀၄၂ ခု

Line 5. တော်သလင် လ နှိုက်ကြီး၍ သော နတ်၏ သဘင် ကယျံ သို၍ သောသဘင် ကို၍
ခံ တော် မူ လျက်။။ ဆရာ တော် အပေါင် တို၍ ကြပ် မ ၍ ရေကု တင်စေ သည်။။ ၁၀၄၂ ခု
ရောက် လတ်သော်။။

Line 6. ဂြိုဟ်ကြီး တို၍ သည် သိန် ရာသီ နှိုက်။။ တ ချက် တည် စု သော အခါ။။ ဗေဒင်
နှိုက် လိမ္မာ ကုန် သော ပညာ ကြီး တို၍ သည်။။ ထိ နန် ဥကင် ဖွင့် တော်မူ၍။။ နာမံ တော် ခံ
တော် မူခြင် အစီ အရင် သင့် မြတ်

Line 7. ကြောင့် ကို၍ သံတော် ဦ တင် ကုန် လှင်။။ သီသို၍ ကွန် နှိုက် သံဃာ် တော်
မြတ် တို၍ စကားကို၍။။ မ ဆန် မ လွန် ကျ သဖြင့်။။ စီရင် တော် မူတူ သော။။ ဝ သ ဘ
မင်မြတ် ကယျံ သို၍။။ မ ဆန် မ လွန်

Line 8. ကျ သဖြင့်။။ ထိ နန် ဥကင် ဖွင့် ၍။။ နါမံ တော အသစ် ခံ တော် မူ သော။။
သိရိပဝရမဟာဓမ္မရာဇာဓိရာဇာ။။ အတုလသိရိ မဟာဓမ္မစန္ဒာ ဒေဝီ။။ မင် မိဘုရားနှစ်ပါး
ကောင် မူ တော်။။။

TRANSLATION

Obverse. Commentary on the five-fold Anguttara Nipata.

Reverse. May he be victorious. Of Ratanapura Ava the great golden country where all precious things abide, ruler, of great realms and great countries lord : Siripavaramahadhammaraja and Atulasirimahadevi, of the pure unmixed race of the Khatiyas, king and queen, resembling Indra of the thousand-fold vision in excellent wisdom, having conceived in their golden minds that the sacred word of Lord Buddha, who reached a state incomparable in the three worlds, which exists only on palm-leaf in stilus-writing and in ink-writing, would very fittingly be inscribed on palm-leaf overlaid with purest gold ; in the month Tawthalin of the year 1042 holding a great festival like a festival of the Devas, caused the copying to be done under the supervision of all the Royal Teachers. In the year 1045 when the great planets were together in the sign of the lion, as the great wise men skilled in the Vedas reported that it would be fitting to appoint the opening of the throne-door of the palace and the taking of royal names ; even as in the island of Ceylon, not contravening or transgressing the words of the excellent order, the excellent King Vasabha appointed ; of the royal pair who likewise not contravening or transgressing opened the throne-door and took new royal names, Siripavaramahasudhammarajadhiraja and Atulasirimahadhammacandadevi, this is the meritorious deed.

NOTES

Historical Setting

Phayre's account of the reign of this king, commonly known as Minyèkyawdin, is as follows :—

“The nobles then consulted . . . and, passing over several elder princes, selected the youngest son of the prince of Prome, who was proclaimed king, with the title of Sri Pawara Mahâ Dhammâ Râjâ. His elder brothers and other members of the royal family showed signs of active opposition to the young king, and many of them were secretly put to death by the party in power.

“The king reigned for twenty-six years [1673–1698]. From the absence of powerful enemies, internal and external, the kingdom, under vigorous rule, might have been restored to the position it had under Ngyaung Ram Meng and his son. But the young king, as years passed, showed no qualities fitted to rule an empire. Though the

monarchy suffered no great disaster, its power gradually declined. The chief of Manipur occupied the Kubo valley without any real effort being made to check the encroachment. Other outlying districts were lost. The king, devoid of energy, failed to assert the power of the kingdom, and dying, was succeeded by his son, who did nothing to retrieve the losses which had occurred." (p. 140.)

It would appear, however, that the kings of Ava even in the late seventeenth century still enjoyed considerable prestige. The dynasty had started with Tabin Shwe Hti in A.D. 1538, and it claimed descent from the old kings of Pagan. Guns mounted on its walls secured the inviolability of the capital, and the Glass Palace Chronicle shows that attention was devoted to the maintenance of kingly pomp—in which, from the frequent mention of courts and conferment of titles, Minyèkyawdin seems to have been particularly interested. A point more germane to the subject of the inscription is brought out in Mrs. Mabel Bode's *Pali Literature of Burma*, namely, the new tendency which manifested itself in the seventeenth century, to abandon the study of Pali grammar in favour of study of the Pitakas, particularly the Abhidhamma. The kings encouraged these studies not only in the interests of the religion but in the hope of thereby conjuring the secular ills of the kingdom. Minyèkyawdin's *thera* was Devacakkobhasa, whose system of Abhidhamma teaching was recommended to the Order by the king. This *thera*'s influence with the king is said to have been based on his learning in the Vedasatthas (chapter iv). In this connection it may be noted that in lines 6 and 7 of the inscription "men skilled in the Vedas" and "the members of the excellent order" are identified.

Decipherment

The square characters of the title, in themselves difficult to read, are somewhat rubbed. The MS. itself is in Pali and from the labial letters used to indicate the order of the leaves, it appears to be one of the later volumes of some work, which I have not been able to identify. *Pañcaka*, here represented by *pañcā*, is ordinarily contracted to *pañcā* in Burma. The Rangoon Bernard Free Library Catalogue lists MSS. with the title *Pañca anguttoraṭṭhakatha*, but none in which *nipat* and *anguttora* both appear. Both words, however, occur in the titles given by Mrs. Bode at p. 103 of her *Pali Literature of Burma*.

Script

The great interest of the dedication is that it gives us a specimen of seventeenth century penmanship. Manuscripts in Burma are short-lived, and while palm-leaf MSS. written in the latter half of the eighteenth century are not uncommon, anything earlier is rarely met with.

With the exception of *r* the form of the letters is fairly modern. The omission in most cases to indicate the heavy falling tone is typical of the indifference in these matters which continued till the middle of last century. The creaky tone is indicated by two faint dots below the line instead of by one dot as at present. The long *i* is usually indicated by a dot in the centre of the superscript circle, as in Mon. instead of by the present-day half-moon at the bottom of the circle. The level tone in the *aw* group of sounds is indicated as at present by the *she-do*, or pennant, symbol, except in one case in line 8 where the symbol is omitted. Important divergences from modern spelling are *phura* : (Buddha) and *thighol* (Ceylon) for the modern *bhura* : and *thihol*. In the latter case, *gh* is the regular Mon spelling and is still occasionally found in comparatively modern Burmese books.

A Topographical Fragment from Tunhuang

By LIONEL GILES

(PLATES V AND VI)

THE manuscript numbered S. 788 in the Stein Collection at the British Museum is a fragment, only about a foot square, containing on one side of the paper part of two ballads descriptive of fighting in the frontier regions, the second of which is entitled 燕歌行一首 "the Ballad of Yen". Both the writing and the paper point to a date in the late ninth or beginning of the tenth century. On the back, in a more careless hand, some scribe has copied out a topographical text similar in character to the *Tun huang lu*, the *Sha chou chih* (belonging to the Pelliot Collection in Paris), or the treatise of 886 translated in *Bull. SOS.*, VI, pp. 825-846. It describes the same district as the *Tun huang lu*; but whereas the latter works its way methodically round the compass, starting from the north-east and ending up in the north, our present text is merely a fragment of some rough notes thrown together more or less at haphazard. Though very short, it is not without interest, and may serve as a convenient peg on which to hang a discussion of certain points, both historical and geographical, connected with this fascinating region.

[Li Kuang-li] drew the sword suspended at his waist and stabbed the mountain, whereupon a waterfall gushed forth, so that men and horses could drink . . . [its flow] has never been interrupted.

The legend of the Èrh-shih (or more correctly, Ni-shih) Spring is related in *Tun huang lu* (*JRAS.*, July, 1914, pp. 705-7), and also in *Sha chou chih*, ff. 2 v^o, 3 r^o, under the heading 懸泉水 "Waterfall Stream". The latter is quoting from 西涼異物志 *Hsi liang i wu chih*, and the words are nearly identical with those of our present text: 以佩劍刺山飛泉涌出以濟三軍. The spring was 130 *li* east of Sha-chou, and has been identified by Stein with 綠草溝 *Lü-ts'ao-kou*, "the Nullah of Green Grass", situated 45° 33' long., 40° 20' lat. See "Serindia", pp. 1089 seq.; map 81. c. 3.

Eastern Salt Lake. 50 *li* east of the *hsien* [i.e. the walled city of Tang times, about a mile to the west of the present Tunhuang]. Salt is got out of the water and forms into natural lumps; men strain

away the water and dry the salt, which is all in crystals. The taste is more insipid than that of the salt in Ho-tung, though it is similar in appearance.

This may be the 黃草泊 Yellow Grass Lake of the *Tun huang lu*. Stein identifies it with the salt marshes near Hsin-t'ien-tzū, about 15 miles E.N.E. of the T'ang city of Tunhuang. See "Serindia", map 81. a. 4. 刑 for 形.

Western Salt Lake. 117 li north-west of the *hsien*. It is popularly known as Sha-ch'üan (the Sand Spring). The salt is of the same kind, but it has a nice taste and is of a pink colour.

According to Stein, this is the dry bed of the salt marsh north-west of the spring Chien-chüan-tzū (Yantak-bulak, Shōr-bulak), which is referred to below as the Hsing-hu Lake. Position, 94° 28' long., 40° 27' lat. See "Serindia", map 78. b. 3.

Next is the *Tang Ch'üan*.

See *Tun huang lu*, p. 708. It is not the same as the Tang River, as there stated, but a smaller stream flowing from the south through the valley in which the Ch'ien-fo-tung grottoes are situated, which finally loses itself through evaporation. See "Serindia", pp. 791-2.

Northern Salt Lake. 45 li north-west of the *hsien*. The taste of the salt is not so good as that of the salt from the Western Lake.

Stein would identify this lake with the salt marshes near Yang-chüan, about ten miles north of Tunhuang town, which he passed in March, 1914. Position, about 94° 42' long., 40° 19' lat. See "Serindia", map 78. c. 3.

Next are the *San-wei Hills*.

A barren range east of Ch'ien-fo-tung Valley. Cf. *Tun huang lu*, p. 708. A view of these hills will be found in "Serindia", fig. 194.

Story of old ruins. Story of Lo-tsun. Next, the story of the victims thrown to the dragon. In the sand well.

These seem to be memoranda suggested by the locality of the San-wei Hills.—For the first two characters I read 古迹. It is interesting to meet even the bare name of Lo-tsun, the Buddhist priest who is said to have begun the construction of the Ch'ien-fo-tung grottoes in A.D. 366: for I have found no other reference to him in the Stein MSS. All we know of him is derived from an inscription of A.D. 698 preserved in *Hsi yü shui tao chi*, iii, 12 seq., and translated by Chavannes, "Dix Inscriptions," p. 59. 投龍事 is evidently the story of the dragon recounted below, and more at length in *Tun*

huang lu, pp. 718-720. The "sand well" may be the mysterious spring on the Hill of Sounding Sand (*ibid.*, p. 711). Miss E. F. French, who has visited the spot, informs me that there still exists here a sheet of water, about a mile in circumference and apparently fed by a hidden spring, which resists all encroachments of the desert sand. Cf. 太平寰宇記 *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, cliii, 4 r°: 又山之陽有一泉云是沙井綿歷古今沙填不滿 "On the southern slope of the Sand Hill there is a spring. This sand-well has been here continuously from ancient times until now, for the sand is never able to fill it up."

An earth-dyke surrounds the *chou* territory on all sides.

土河, literally, "earth-river": but 河 is possibly a mistake for 阿, one meaning of which is "embankment". From *Sha chou chih*, f. 14 v°, we learn that "on the east it stretches to the 磧口亭 Chi-k'ou Station, 500 *li*, 100 paces, from the *chou*; on the west, to the 白山烽 Pai-shan Beacon, 30 *li* from the *chou*; on the south, 7 *li* to the Sand Hill; on the north, to the 神威烽 Shên-wei Beacon, 37 *li* from the *chou*. 爲 evidently stands for 圍.

It was built by Wu Ti of the Han in the sixth year of *Yüan-ting* [111 B.C.] as a barrier to keep out the Hsiung-nu.

This sentence also occurs in *Sha chou chih* (*loc. cit.*), which then continues: "In the 11th year of *Chien-ch'u* [A.D. 415], Li Kao, king of Western Liang, built up the dyke once more as a protection against marauders. In the 16th year of *K'ai-huang* of the Sui dynasty [596] it was abandoned." 111 B.C. was the year in which Chiu-ch'üan Chün was extended so as to include the Tunhuang district.

The two Hsing-hu Lakes. 110 *li* north-west of the *hsien*. All the other water [in the vicinity] is bitter: this water alone is drinkable. Foreign traders on their journey to or from the Jade Gate Barrier all stop here.

The word 涼 is inexplicable here unless it be taken as a homophone for 兩 "two". What renders this emendation more probable is the fact that there are actually two small lakes in the required position as shown on Stein's map 78. b. 3. in "Serindia". It is true that the *Sha chou chih*, f. 7 r°, mentions only one lake, and gives its dimensions as follows: 19 *li* east and west, 9 *li* north and south. Depth, 5 feet. Then it continues: "The water is brackish: only the spring is fit for drinking. Foreign traders (*shang hu*) going and returning along the road of the Jade Gate Barrier make this a halting-place,

hence its name." (It would appear that 輿 was pronounced more or less like 商 at that time, and this is confirmed by Karlgren's Analytic Dictionary.) Cf. "Desert Cathay", p. 7. The Jade Gate of the T'ang dynasty, of course, was east of Tunhuang. Chien-chüan-tzu, or Shōr-bulak, marked on Stein's map 38. a. 4 in "Innermost Asia", is still a regular halting-place for travellers from the Lop side.—The twelve characters that follow are out of place; they recur in the next column.

The Tomb of K'an. 20 li east of the *hsien*. This is the tomb of Liang, grandfather of K'an Yin.

From the *Sha chou chih*, f. 13 v°, which gives the correct reading 涼 instead of 涼, we get the following particulars: "According to the 後魏書 *Hou wei shu*, [K'an] Yin's *tzü* was 玄陰 Hsüan-yin. He was a native of Tunhuang, and his grandfather Liang had a great reputation in the West. His father 玫 Mei was a man of culture in his day, who as an official rose to be magistrate of Kuei-chi (in Chekiang). The tomb is 35 feet high and 35 paces in circumference." The reference in the *Wei shu* is chüan 52, f. 11 v°. We learn from it, further, that K'an Yin was very studious, and after a single perusal of the Three Histories [*Shih chi*, *Han shu*, and *Hou han shu*] he was able to repeat them word for word. Thus he acquired the nickname of 宿讀 "All-night reader". He wrote a commentary on 王朗 Wang Lang's 易傳 *I chuan*, and compiled gazetteers for thirteen *chou*, which had a wide circulation. The king of Northern Liang, Chü-ch'ü Mêng-hsün, thought very highly of him, and his successor Mu-chien promoted him to be Minister of State. When 丕 P'ei, Prince of Lo-p'ing, became Governor of Liang-chou, he took K'an with him as his lieutenant, but after his death the latter returned to the capital. In spite of his high rank, his family was very poor, suffering even from hunger and cold. He was a heavy eater, consuming as much as three *shêng* (about four pounds) of food at a single meal. He died without issue.

Next, the *Spring of the Jade* [*i.e.* *Beautiful*] *Maiden*. 70 li north-west of the *hsien*. A water dragon had its lair here.

Tun huang lu places the spring 85 li west of the city. Stein thinks it may possibly be one of the spring-fed lagoons near Camp cxix of 1914, about 16 miles N.N.W. of the T'ang town of Tunhuang. 蛟 is a mistake for 蛟. What this ancient counterpart of our Loch Ness monster can have been must be something of a puzzle to zoologists. A 蛟 *chiao* is a scaly dragon, so one would expect some species of

saurian reptile. But it does not appear that any such creature has been observed in that region; and we are told in 敦煌耆舊記 *Tun huang ch'i chiu chi* (quoted in *I tung chih*, clxx, 3 r°) that "in its streams there are no venomous reptiles, in its jungles there are no rhinoceros or tigers" (川無蛇虺, 澤無兕虎).

In the *Chêng-kuan* period of the T'ang [627-650], the prefect Chang Hsiao-kung offered up prayer and sacrificial meats to the dragon, which then came forth. Grasping his sword, he cut off its head and bequeathed it to his posterity. The dragon's tongue is still preserved at Ch'ang-an, being on exhibition in the temple of his descendants there.

The text of the above passage is somewhat confused, and appears to be corrupt. I read: 唐貞觀刺史張孝恭鑄 (for 禱) 織 (for 旨?) 餽之龍乃出手劍斬賜子孫今長安有龍舌 [伐見?] 存今有子孫宮在言 (for 焉). "Chang Hsiao-kung" is a mistake for Chang Hsiao-sung (嵩). In the *Chiu tang shu*, ciii, 2 v°, he is called Chang Sung, and it is stated that he succeeded 郭虔瓘 Kuo Ch'ien-kuan as Protector of An-hsi. Tall and of a commanding presence, he devoted his life to the frontier regions, and when he was at An-hsi fostered agriculture and carried out a bold military policy, so that the granaries were full to overflowing. Finally, he was made Governor of T'ai-yüan, and died in office, being succeeded as Protector of An-hsi by 杜暹 Tu Hsien. That he was a man of note appears from the statement in *Hsin tang shu*, ccxxi A, 15 r°: 都護以政績稱華狄者 田揚名郭元振張孝嵩杜暹云 "The Protectors who gained renown among Chinese and barbarians alike for the merits of their administration were T'ien Yang-ming, Kuo Yüan-chên, Chang Hsiao-sung, and Tu Hsien".

It is rather surprising that he should not have been deemed worthy of a separate biography in the dynastic histories. As things are, only a few scattered notices can be pieced together. In the first place, of course, our present text is wrong in assigning him to the *Chêng-kuan* period. According to the *Tun huang lu*, he was made prefect of the dragon-infested region in 705-6, and we do not hear of him again until 715, in which year a resounding feat of arms against the Pretender to the throne of Ferghana is recounted in *Tzŭ chih tung chien*, ch. cexi, f. 19, as a result of which "his prestige put fear into the western kingdoms, and eight of them sent in their submission". (Cf. Chavannes, "Tou-kiue Occidentaux," p. 148, note 3.) In 722 Chang Hsiao-sung,

now holding the high position of Governor of Pei-t'ing, appears as the champion of the State of 小勃律 Little Po-lü (Gilgit), which was being attacked by the Tibetans. He said: "Po-lü is the western gate of China; if Po-lü is lost, then all the Western Regions will become Tibetan." Thanks to his energy, a great victory was gained over the Tibetans: myriads of their troops were slain, and the nine towns they had seized were recaptured. (*T'ung chien*, ccxii, 20; *Hsin t'ang shu*, ccxxi B, 6 v^o.) We get a last glimpse of Chang Hsiao-sung as Protector of An-hsi, when he was promoted to be Governor of T'ai-yüan. This seems to have been in 724; at any rate, that was the year in which Tu Hsien succeeded him as Protector. Cf. *Hsin t'ang shu*, cxxvi, 6 v^o, and *Kang mu*, xlili, 63 v^o.

The story of the dragon is told more fully in *Tun huang lu* (*JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 718-20; 1915, pp. 45-6). I have also found a version of it in *T'ai ping kuang chi* (printed in 981), ccccx, 6 v^o, for which see Appendix A.

Shou-ch'ang Hsien. *Hsien* of the third class. 120 *li* south-west of the *chou*. Houses built by the Government, 195. Households, 359. Country districts, 1.

For Shou-ch'ang Hsien, see *Tun huang lu*, p. 712, note. It was situated in the present Nan-hu Oasis: see "Serindia", pp. 620 seq. The distance here given would seem to be under-estimated. For 解 and 千, see *Bull.SOS.*, VI, pp. 831-2. It has occurred to me that 千 may have some connection with the Tibetan *ston-sde*, a "thousand-district", itself rather an obscure term. See Prof. Thomas' translation of Tibetan documents, *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 563.

The above is the Lung-lo Hsien of the Han dynasty. In the sixth year of *Chêng-kuang* [A.D. 525] its name was changed to Shou-ch'ang Chün. In the second year of *Wu-tê* [619] it became Shou-ch'ang Hsien. In the sixth year of *Yung-hui* [655] it was abandoned. In the second year of *Ch'ien-fêng* [667] it was again established as Shou-ch'ang. At the beginning of the *Chien-chung* period [780-4] it was conquered by the Tibetans. In the second year of *Ta-chung* [848] Chang I-ch'ao recovered it.

These details agree roughly with *I t'ung chih*, clxx, 8 v^o, which says: "West of the military station of Sha-chou. Founded under the Han dynasty and made subordinate to Tunhuang Chün, an arrangement which was continued under the Later Han and the Chin. The Later Wei established Shou-ch'ang Chün. In the Later [i.e. Northern]

Chou period, both *chün* and *hsien* were incorporated in Ming-sha. Under the T'ang it was re-established as Shou-ch'ang Hsien, subordinate to Sha-chou, but later was abandoned." According to *T'ang shu*, xl, 10 v°, Shou-ch'ang Hsien was established independently of Tunhuang in 619, then abolished in 650, but in 667 again established. In 738 it was once more abolished, but afterwards re-established. For the date of the Tibetan conquest of the Tunhuang region and its recovery by Chang I-ch'ao, see Appendix B. It should be noted that the second character in Chang I-ch'ao's name is given as 議, which agrees with the geographical text S. 367 (see *Bull.SOS.*, VI, 834). I must call attention, however, to another text in the Stein Collection (S. 5835, a brief explanation of the 大乘稻芋經 *Ta shêng tao kan ching*) which bears the following signature: 清信佛弟子張義朝書 "Copied by the Buddhist disciple of pure faith, Chang I-ch'ao". In all probability this is the famous leader's autograph, written in his youth when he was a lay-student in a monastery. That it was customary for boys of good families to obtain their schooling in this way appears from the similar case of Ts'ao Yüan-shên, another future *chieh-tu-shih*, mentioned in *Bull. SOS.*, VI, 836. A reproduction of both autographs will be found on an accompanying plate.

Buddhist monasteries, 1: Yung-an (Perennial Peace).

We learn from S. 2729 v° (1) that this monastery contained eleven monks in A.D. 800. It is frequently mentioned in the Stein MSS.

Chên (market towns). 2: Lung-lo.

The second town is omitted. Lung-lo is one of the twelve *hsiang* or country districts of Tun-huang Hsien enumerated in S. 2669. The other eleven are: (1) 燉煌 Tun-huang; (2) 慈惠 Tz'ü-hui; (3) 平康 Ping-k'ang; (4) 玉關 Yü-kuan; (5) 洪池 Hung-ch'ih; (6) 効穀 Hsiao-ku; (7) 神沙 Shên-sha; (8) 赤心 Ch'ih-hsin; (9) 莫高 Mo-kao; (10) 洪潤 Hung-jun; (11) 青水 Ch'ing-shui. In addition, 西宕 Hsi-tang is mentioned in S. 113, 懸泉 Hsüan-ch'üan in S. 514, and 龍泉 Lung-ch'üan in S. 6014.

Forts, 5: Western Shou-ch'ang; Western Barrier.

With regard to the number, it looks as if 二 had been written originally, and afterwards changed into 五.

Frontier garrisons, 3: Ta-shui (Great Flood); Hsi-tzũ-t'ing (Station of Hsi Tzũ); Tzũ-chin (Purple and Gold).

Beacons, 34. Stockades, 2. Chên, 3.

I understand neither the repetition of this item nor the discrepancy in the number.

City Hsien. 25 li west. Established in the eighth year of Wu-tê [625].

Stein thinks that this may perhaps be identified with one of the villages near Camp 159, about five miles west of the T'ang town of Tunhuang.

P'o-ch'iang T'ing (Defeat Ch'iang tribe Station). 65 [li] east of the *hsien*. The Historical Record says: "The P'o-ch'iang General Hsin Wu-hsien of the Han defeated the Ch'iang and the Jung at this spot." The station that was built here was therefore called P'o-ch'iang.

On Hsin Wu-hsien, the *Chung kuo jên ming ta tz'ü tien*, p. 510, has the following: "A native of 狄道 Ti-tao (south of Lanchow). Governor of Chiu-ch'üan (Su-chou in Kansu) in the reign of Hsüan Ti (73-49 B.C.). Distinguished for his martial daring. He asked permission to smite the Han and Ch'ien tribes. The Emperor received his despatches with admiration, and bestowed on him the title of General, Vanquisher of the Ch'iang. He was cashiered in consequence of a memorial from 趙充國 Chao Ch'ung-kuo, and returned to Chiu-ch'üan. Afterwards, he again received the title, and was sent to attack the Wu-sun, but got no further than Tunhuang, where he died of disease." See *Han shu*, xcvi B, 4 r°; also lxix, 4 v°, and elsewhere in the biography of Chao Ch'ung-kuo. 記 is not the *Shih chi* of Ssü-ma Ch'ien, for the campaign referred to was in 61-60 B.C.

Yü-mên (Jade Gate) Barrier. 160 li north of the *hsien*. The *Ti li chih* (Topography) says: "Established by Wu Ti in the Hou-yüan and Yüan-k'ang periods [88-87 and 65-62 B.C]."

後元康 seems to be an instance of haplography. But *Hou-yüan* was Wu Ti's last nien-hao, and *Yüan-k'ang* was in the reign of Hsüan Ti. Stein's excavations have made it practically certain that the Jade Gate which he locates at T. XIV was established about 100 B.C. It was really situated north-west of the Nan-hu Oasis, but the distance agrees fairly well with Stein's estimate of 36 miles. The *Ti li chih* is not that of the *Han shu*. The following passage occurs in xcvi A, 1 v° of that work: 驃騎將軍 . . . 初置酒泉郡後稍發徙民充實之分置武威張掖敦煌列四郡據兩關焉 "The Light Horse General [Ho Ch'ü-ping] . . . began by founding Chiu-ch'üan Chün (Su-chou), and then gradually

brought colonists to people this territory. He separately established Wu-wei (Liang-chou), Chang-i (Kan-chou), and Tunhuang, thus making four *chün* side by side, and maintained two Barriers there."

Ho Ch'ü-ping died in 117 B.C., before the extension of the Great Wall, so that it is hardly possible that the Yü-mên Kuan located at T. XIV should have then been in existence. But the passage must not be understood so literally as to imply that these measures were all taken by Ho Ch'ü-ping himself. In fact, from another passage of the *Han shu* (ch. vi, f. 12 v°), we know that Tunhuang did not become a separate *chün* until 111. Nor can we suppose that the two barriers were erected simultaneously. All we can say is that at a somewhat later date both barriers were in existence, but there is no reliable evidence to fix the exact date of their erection. One of them, however, must have been earlier than the other, and there is little doubt that this earlier one was the Yang Kuan. It was situated in the Nan-hu Oasis, some 30 to 40 miles W.S.W. of Tunhuang, and is likely to have been established about the time that this city was made into a *chün*, i.e. 111 B.C. It would then have been known as the Yü-mên or Jade Gate Barrier. The later Jade Gate at T. XIV, on the line of the extension of the Great Wall, 50 to 60 miles west of Tunhuang, would certainly not have been established until the Wall had reached that point in the desert; and that, according to Stein, cannot have been until after 103, and perhaps as late as 96 B.C. But meanwhile we know that there was a Jade Gate somewhere; and on the strength of a passage in the *Shih chi*, discussed by Chavannes in "Documents Chinois", Introduction p. vi, by Stein in "Serindia", p. 726, and myself in *Tun huang lu*, pp. 715-16, Chavannes assumes that it must have been situated east of Tunhuang; Stein, following him, is inclined to place it in a defile between Bulungir and An-hsi. Seeing, however, that its purpose was to serve as a frontier gate, and that Tunhuang was at that time being colonized by the Chinese, this does not appear to me at all likely. Moreover, the theory takes no account of Yang Kuan and its relation to the other barrier. On the whole, then, I am inclined to accept the statement in *Tun huang lu* that Yang Kuan was really the ancient Yü-mên Kuan. In other words, the furthest outpost of the Chinese Empire from about 111 until about 100 B.C. was the Barrier in the Nan-hu Oasis, and only later was it the Barrier on the limes at T. XIV. Stein does not accept this view, but I cannot understand the reasons given in "Serindia", p. 624: "In view of what combined geographical and archaeological facts conclusively

prove as to the quite distinct original purposes and positions of the two 'barriers' of Yang and Yü-mên . . ." This seems to be merely begging the question; for no one denies their distinct positions after the end of the second century B.C. But that their original purposes were also "quite distinct" is a surprising assertion, unsupported by any evidence; one would like to know what other purpose was served by the Yang Kuan than that of frontier gate and fortress to guard the oasis against external enemies. The strength of my argument lies in the fact that between 111 and about 100 B.C. the frontier lay not east but west of Tunhuang. Ssü-ma Ch'ien's statement (*Shih chi*, cxxiii, 6 r°) that (in 108 according to the *T'ung chien*) "a line of posts and small forts was established from Chiu-ch'üan as far as the Jade Gate" cannot, I think, as Stein assumes (p. 725), refer to the extension of the Great Wall; for a similar statement is made about a line of posts to Lopnor, where there was no wall (*ibid.*, f. 10 r°). The Jade Gate in this case would be the Yang Kuan.

The Account of the Western Regions says: "In the east, they border on China at the Yü-mên and Yang Barriers." This is the barrier in question.

See *Han shu*, xcvi A, 1 r°.

The Li-pi Mountain is 50 *li* south-west of the *hsien*.

Reading the character after 西 as 南.

Lien-yen . . .

A flick of the pen shows that the two characters are to be transposed, as above.

APPENDIX A

沙州黑河 THE BLACK RIVER AT SHA-CHOU

At Sha-chou in the north-west of Pei-t'ing [*Note*.—In Han times, the territory occupied by the Northern Hsiung-nu was called Pei-t'ing, by which the Western Regions are meant. Under the T'ang, Pei-t'ing became the seat of a Protector-General] there is the Black River, which is deep enough to float a boat. The river used to be constantly in flood, sweeping away houses and turning the plain into a marsh. On this account crops entirely disappeared from the north-west, and the land remained wild and uncultivated. The inhabitants, too, migrated to a distance in order to escape the danger of being overwhelmed and drowned. The officials at Sha-chou would only venture

to attend to the administration after having prepared sacrificial victims and liquor for libation which they offered up on the banks of the river. Unless this was done, there would be torrents of rain lasting for months, or great inundations destroying whole cities and towns, so that the villagers of the neighbourhood one and all joined the finny tribe.¹

In the K'ai-yüan period of the T'ang, 張嵩 Chang Sung of Nan-yang was appointed Protector of Pei-t'ing, and no sooner had he arrived in the district with his seals of office than he convened a meeting of his subordinates in order to acquaint himself with the facts. He was told that there was a huge dragon in the river which was fond of devouring lambs, horses, dogs, and pigs, and was perpetually rising to the surface and swimming among the waves in its craving for the sacrificial victims offered by the burghers on the river banks. "Only too long," said they, "have we known this affliction." Thereupon Chang Sung gave orders for a feast to be spread, with sacrificial animals and wine, but secretly instructed his followers to be ready near at hand with bows and arrows. He then led a party of officials to the river, wearing a high hat and holding a ceremonial tablet, bending his body with reverent mien. All of a sudden the dragon appeared: it was a hundred feet long, and it leaped out of the waves, finally landing on the bank. Its eyes flashed fire, and it was only thirty or forty paces away when Sung ordered his men to draw their bows and have their shafts in readiness. Soon the monster had actually reached the banqueting-table, when its body began to diminish in length until it was only three or four feet long. Then it made as though to eat, but before it could do so Sung shot his arrow, which was the signal for a general discharge, and the dragon, unable to put forth its strength, was destroyed. As soon as it was dead, all the people from the countryside came to gaze upon it, and there was all the noise and commotion of a market-day.

Sung was so pleased at having rid the people of this pest that he formally presented it to the Emperor. The Emperor, admiring his courage and resolution, gave orders that the tongue should be cut out and presented to Sung, and, moreover, decreed that the governorship of Sha-chou should become an hereditary office for his descendants. Thus down to the present day he is known as "Mr. Chang of the Dragon's Tongue". [*T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, ccccx. 6 v°.]

¹ For this apt rendering of 則里中民盡魚其族也 I am indebted to my friend Mr. L. C. Hopkins.

APPENDIX B

HISTORY OF THE TUNHUANG REGION FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

An Lu-shan's rebellion, which broke out in 755, dislocated the Chinese administrative system in the Western Regions and, by opening a door to Tibetan aggression, finally led to their severance from the Empire. The general trend of events may be gathered from the following extract: "In the flourishing period of the T'ang, Ho-hsi and Lung-yu comprised 33 *chou*, of which Liang-chou was the largest. The soil was fertile and produce abundant, and the inhabitants well-off and happy. The country was suitable for horse-breeding, and the T'ang established eight centres for the tending of 300,000 horses. The An-hsi Protectorate was responsible for the control of thirty-six kingdoms in the Western Regions, and T'ang troops acted as protection for over 300 cities, which were constantly garrisoned by Chinese soldiers, the centre of administration being at Liang-chou.

"During An Lu-shan's rebellion, when the Emperor Su Tsung took up his residence at Ling-wu,¹ he recalled all the troops in Ho-hsi to deal with the emergency. Taking advantage of this, the Tibetans attacked and subdued the million Chinese inhabitants of Ho-hsi and Lung-yu, who thus came under the barbarian yoke. In the reign of Wên Tsung [827-840],² envoys were sent to the Western Regions in order to visit Kan, Liang, Kua, and Sha-chou. The towns were still there, and the people, who had been enslaved by the barbarians, on seeing the Chinese envoys, lined the streets and welcomed them with acclamation. Shedding tears they said: 'Does our Emperor still bethink him of us poor souls who are now under Tibetan rule?' These people were the descendants of those who were subjugated by the barbarians in the *T'ien-pao* period [742-755]. Their speech had been slightly modified, but the fashion of their clothes had undergone no change.

"By the time of the Five Dynasties, the Tibetans had become weaker, and various barbarian tribes, including the Uighurs and the Tang-hsiang, invaded different parts of the country without, however, interfering with the population. At that time China was in a state of decadence and disorder, and was unable to extend a helping hand. Only the four *chou* of Kan, Liang, Kua, and Sha remained in regular

¹ Near Ning-hsia, Kansu, in A.D. 756.

² *Chiu wu tai shih* narrows the margin to 836-840.

communication with China. Kan-chou became the official centre of the Uighurs, but in the other three *chou* the military and civil officials still regarded themselves as in the service of the T'ang, and several embassies were sent to do homage at the Chinese Court. From the time of T'ai Tsu of the Liang [907-914], the *chieh-tu-shih* of Ling-wu also held the governorship of Ho-hsi and the Inspectorship of the *chou* Kan, Su, and Wei. But though this was nominally so, Liang-chou appointed its own military rulers.

“In the fourth year of Ch'ang-hsing of the [Later] T'ang [933], Sun Ch'ao, the *lin-hou* of Liang-chou, despatched the generalissimo Chih-pa Ch'êng-ch'ien and the Buddhist and Taoist elders Yang T'ung-hsin and others to the capital with a request for official insignia. Ming Tsung asked about the pedigree of Sun Ch'ao and his people, and Ch'êng-ch'ien replied: ‘After the Tibetans had conquered Liang-chou, Chang I-ch'ao, a native of Chang-yi, levied troops, smote the Tibetans, and drove them out. In requital of his services, the T'ang made him *chieh-tu-shih* and sent 2,500 soldiers from Yün-chou for garrison duty. At the downfall of the T'ang the Empire fell a prey to revolution, and the country from Liang-chou eastwards was cut off by the T'u-chüeh and the Tang-hsiang. Thus the Yün-chou soldiers had to remain, being unable to get home; and now the Chinese population of Liang-chou are all descendants of those garrison troops.’ Ming Tsung then appointed Sun Ch'ao *chieh-tu-shih*.” (*Hsin wu tai shih*, lxxiv, 4-5; cf. *Chiu wu tai shih*, cxxxviii, 1-2.)

It would appear from the above, and from other passages in the standard histories, that Stein has some justification for saying (“Serindia,” p. 816) that the territory of Tunhuang was conquered by the Tibetans about 759, and that by 766 they had definitely established their power over the whole of Kansu. Yet there is good ground for believing that these accounts are by no means strictly accurate. In his Appendix to “Ancient Khotan”, vol. i, p. 536, Chavannes, indeed, concludes that by the year 766 or thereabouts the Tibetans had succeeded in *isolating* Eastern Turkestan, that is to say, in cutting it off from China; but it is clear, as we shall see, that Chinese rule was still maintained in most of the important places, Sha-chou included, for several years after that date. The *Shui tao chi*, iii, 19, is quite definite on the subject: “The name Sha-chou originated with Chang Chüin of the Former Liang.¹ At the beginning of the T'ang, Kua-chou

¹ Reigned 324-345. The actual year when Sha-chou is first mentioned is 335.

was divided off from it . . . In the second year of *Chien-chung* [781] it was conquered by the Tibetans. According to Yen Lu-kung's note on the memorial tablet of Sung Kuang-p'ing, his sixth son, Hêng, having been exiled to Sha-chou, became an assistant counsellor at military headquarters. When control was lost over the provinces of Ho-hsi and Lung-yu, he acted as intermediary with the Tibetans, and for his numerous services was made *lang-chung* of the Board of Works and also *yü-shih*, *chieh-tu* of Ho-hsi, and *hsing-chün ssü-mo*. In conjunction with the *chieh-tu* 周鼎 Chou Ting he defended Tun-huang for just over ten years, and was honoured with the title of *chung-ch'êng ch'ang-shih*. But before the Emperor's gracious decree reached him the Tibetans had invested the city, and after soldiers and ammunition were exhausted it was taken by the rebels. This is the story of Sha-chou's conquest by the Tibetans."

Now, this is certainly the same siege that is described at greater length in *T'ang shu*, cxxvi B. 8 v°, but assigned to the year 819: "In the beginning the prefect of Sha-chou, Chou Ting, held the city resolutely for the T'ang. The Gialbo shifted his tent to the Nan Shan, and sent Shang Ch'i-hsin-êrh to attack the place. Ting appealed to the Uighurs for help, but a year went by and they did not come. A plan was discussed for burning the city and suburbs, and fleeing eastwards with the whole population; but all agreed that it was not feasible.

"Ting sent the cavalry officer 閻朝 Yen Chao with a picked force in search of water and fodder. In the early morning this officer came in for a farewell visit, and engaged in a shooting-match with Ting's confidential attendant Chou Sha-nu. After the usual ceremonious salutation, he drew his bow to the full and shot Sha-nu, who fell dead on the spot. Then he seized Ting and put him to death by strangling, and himself took over the administration of the *chou*.

"In the eighth year of the siege the defenders of the city brought out a quantity of silk cloth, and offered each roll of it (18 Chinese feet in length) in exchange for a *tou* (10 catties) of wheat. So many responded to the offer that Yen Chao was delighted and exclaimed: 'Now that the people have enough to eat, we can hold out to the last man!'

"Two years later, both arms and provisions were exhausted, so Chao mounted the city wall and shouted: 'I will surrender the city on condition we are not sent away to other lands.' Ch'i-hsin-êrh consented to this, so he came out and surrendered. This was in the

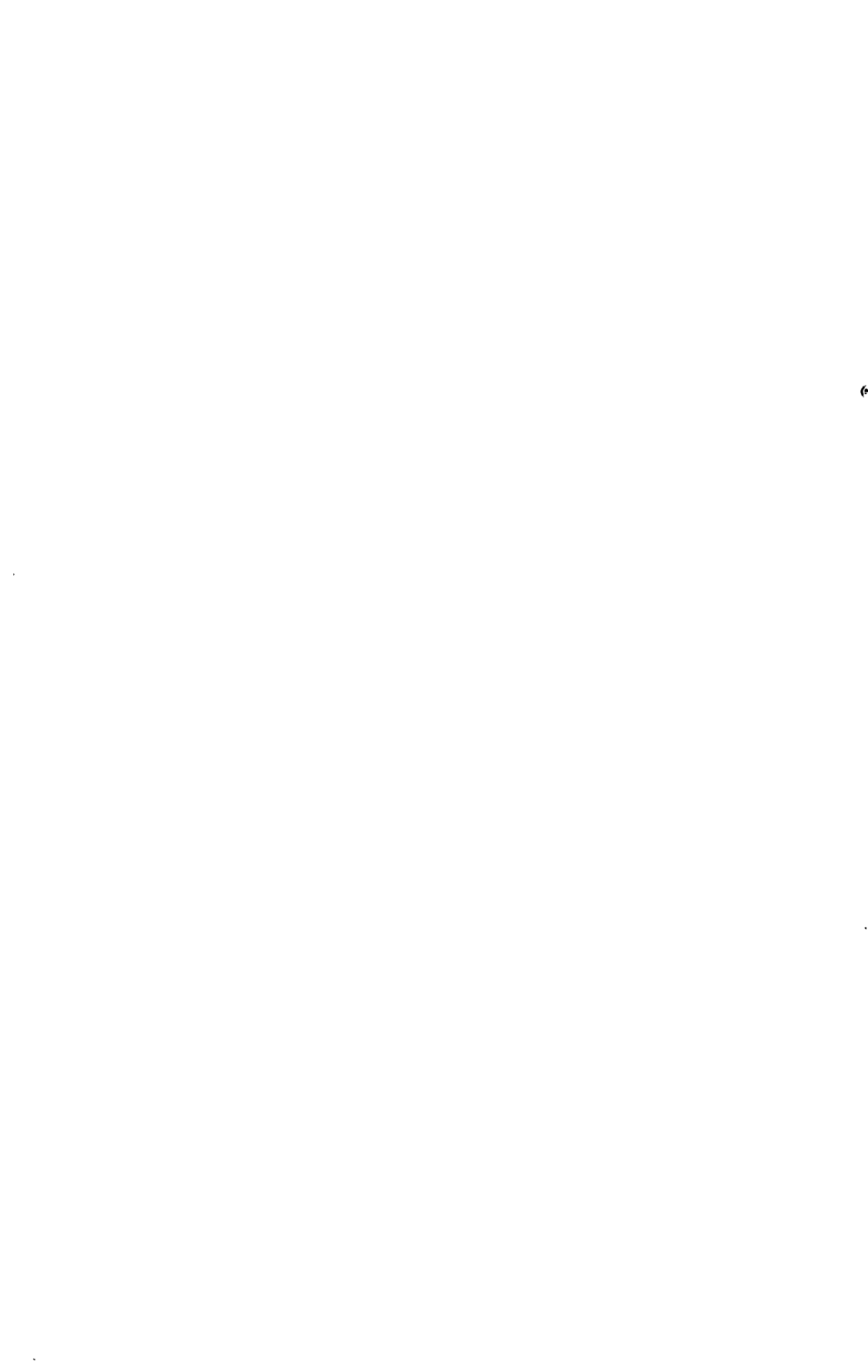
漢堤人飲水涇出曝煎至是積鹽味
 味於河東者即利積類
 泉鹽者類焉
 牙其味美又紅色久不變
 北鹽池 縣西北五里 久三崑山右邊
 鹽味不鹹
 事梁傳事久投龍事在沙井土河周圍州境漢武皇帝
 元易之年於以為因如禁陳涼興胡泊
 王女泉 縣西北十里 按龍曾近地唐貞觀朝刺史張子美鑄鐵情主龍
 壽昌縣 下東古州百北里 右邊龍勒縣正光六年改為
 壽昌郡 成德二年為壽昌縣 永徽六年廢 對壽昌後改為壽
 昌軍 建中初陷吐蕃 大中幸蘇 蘇潮以復
 寺永安 鎮龍勒 堡五 壽昌西關 立大水 西子宮 坐
 金烽世四 柵一 鎮三 城 縣 西五里 破者 壽昌東去十五
 漢破老將軍 幸破 破老 柵北 築 序 故 日 破 老 玉門關
 縣北百十里 地理志 漢代 法 師 後 元 康 中 宣 西 城 縣 東 東 別 接
 廣 之 玉 門 鳴 鞠 是 志 里 泉 山 縣 西 而 五 十 里 必 東

A TOPOGRAPHICAL FRAGMENT FROM TUNHUANG.

克己教其愚故上下法能相親轉之心乎愛以選不謂志
 大德之河曰忘之 齋銀章第十 子曰孝子之志類矣不悛
 然亦空言不聞服美不事聞樂不樂介言不甘此其厥之精
 而而貪教氏之以死傷生毀不滅性此聖人之政實不過三年未
 公相然為之排擽衣食而舉之陳其篋篋帶哀戚之辭
 陽安法象以送之其宅地而垂指足為之榮膺以塊享知
 春秋際祀以時思之生事愛敬死事哀愍生人之本俗矣死生之
 義洽矣孝子之事孰終矣 二家 孝學 孝學 孝學
 孝經二卷 二家 孝學 孝學 孝學
 陽歷二年七月國歲有八月三學寺學社命即君魯書深書記
 聖賢利樂一初有情故 言證豈大者為其福種二種之宏儲故子應大
 者身完較初極元上善柱故 言成孰大者為其元器考諸大切德故
 所言其者運執存善義相如船欲樂生自生元善德令且坦勝至統
 所故所言極羊者天一切皆以四教而立世 言何人立善者 經言使德
 一前言度所者如楞伽經 言何人立善者 經言使德
 善行如大雲若皆受其後名 實實 實實 實實 實實 實實
 善字統統 故 言經者准証論中釋多念今略舉二義 一者
 帝義古今不易竟道不蓋故名者帝 德稱諸法無之象
 清信何者不存義制于

AUTOGRAPHS OF TWO GOVERNORS OF TUNHUANG:

Left, the end of a Buddhist commentary copied by Chang I-ch'ao in his youth; Right, the end of the Classic of Filial Piety, copied by Ts'ao Yuan-shên on the 26th November, 925.



eleventh year after the beginning of the siege. Ch'i-hsin-êrh was appointed by the Gialbo to succeed to the governorship; and later on, suspecting that Yen Chao was plotting a *coup d'état*, he had him removed by putting poison in his boots.

"After their enslavement, all the inhabitants of the *chou* adopted the barbarian costume; but every year at the ancestral sacrifices they wore Chinese clothes, and wept bitterly when they put them away again."

If the *T'ang shu's* dating is correct, this passage would seem to show that Tunhuang remained practically autonomous until 819, but that in or about 809, for reasons which are obscure, the Tibetans found it necessary to reduce the place to submission, an object which they achieved only after an eleven years' siege. This conclusion is so surprising, not to say improbable, that it cannot be accepted without further investigation.

It is obvious that Chinese historians could know little or nothing of what was happening in Tunhuang during the period of Tibetan rule, and that avenue of information is therefore closed. But the MSS. recovered from Ch'ien-fo-tung, and now distributed among the national libraries of London, Paris, and Peking, form a possible source of enlightenment which has yet to be thoroughly explored. In the Stein Collection alone the number of dated rolls, ranging from A.D. 406 to 995, runs into hundreds. Between 803 and 851, however, there comes a very remarkable gap during which no exact dates occur. It is all the more noticeable because in the fifty years preceding there are over thirty dated MSS., and in the half-century following as many as fifty. This points almost unmistakably to a period of repression, during which the normal activities of Buddhist monks were perforce suspended, or at any rate diminished.

Nine rolls in the Stein Collection have notes or colophons mentioning the Great Tibetan Kingdom or Dynasty (大蕃國), and eight of these contain cyclical dates, at least two of which can be fixed with practical certainty. Let us take them in order:

(1) On the back of S. 779 there are two scribbled notes, one of which reads: 大蕃沙州釋門教口和尚洪習修功德 "Meritorious work accomplished by the Buddhist priest Hung-pien of Sha-chou in the Great Tibetan Kingdom". This personage is the Bishop of Ho-hsi to whom is addressed an edict on a stone tablet dated 851, transcribed in "Serindia", p. 1332, and translated by Chavannes. His names should be read Hung-pien, not Hung-jên, as

the latter has it. It was largely owing to his co-operation that Chang I-ch'ao was able to carry out his memorable revolution. We may take it that this note was penned shortly before that event.

(2) In S. 796, there is a colophon inside the roll referring to a text on the outside, the relevant portion of which runs: 乙巳年三月廿一日於大蕃國沙州永壽寺僧法原寫畢 "Copying completed by the monk Fa-yüan of the Yung-shou Monastery at Sha-chou in the Great Tibetan Kingdom on the 21st of the 3rd moon of the *i-ssü* year." This is more likely to be 825 than 765, the only possible alternative.

(3) The colophon of S. 1520 is dated 蕃中末年三月十一日 "the 11th day of the 3rd moon of the *wei* year of the Tibetan dynasty". A *wei* year recurs every twelve years, so this is of little value as a date. It might be 767, 779, 791, 803, 815, 827, or 839.

(4) S. 1686 opens with the date 大蕃歲次辛丑五月丙申朔二日丁未 "the 2nd day, *ting-wei*, of the 5th moon, of which the first day was *ping-shên*, of the *hsin-ch'ou* year of the Great Tibetan Dynasty". This is almost certainly 821, as 761 is too early.

(5) The fragmentary colophon of S. 2729, a treatise on divination, reads: 大蕃國庚辰年五月廿三日沙州口 "[Copied by] . . . of Sha-chou on the 23rd of the 5th moon of the *kêng-ch'ên* year in the Great Tibetan Dynasty". This date can be fixed positively as the 18th June, 800.

(6) S. 3475 yields some interesting data. Here we find two colophons, from which we may extract the following: 巨唐大曆七年三月廿八日沙門體清於號州開元寺。寫此經。又至辰年九月十六日俗弟子索遊巖於大蕃管沙州。轉寫此卷訖。 "On the 28th day of the 3rd moon of the 7th year of *Ta-li* in the Great Tang Dynasty [5th May, 772] the priest T'i-ch'ing made a copy of this commentary at the K'ai-yüan Monastery in Kuo-chou [Honan] . . .

"Again, on the 16th day of the 9th moon of the *ch'ên* year, the lay disciple So Yu-yen finished copying out this roll afresh at Sha-chou, a dependency of the Great Tibetan Kingdom." This second date might be either 776 or 836. So far as I can judge, the handwriting of both colophons and of the text itself (a commentary on the first four chapters of the Vimalakīrti-sūtra) is the same. This would be rather puzzling did we not know from another MS. of the same commentary (S. 2496) that T'i-ch'ing *composed* this work in 767. It would appear,

then, that the whole roll, including T'i-ch'ing's colophon, was copied by So Yu-yen from a draft made by the author himself.

(7) The short colophon to S. 3485 is worth transcribing in full: 大番歲次己巳年七月十一日王土渾爲合家平善國下 [for 家?] 投亂敬寫 "On the 11th of the 7th moon of the *chi-ssü* year of the Great Tibetan [Dynasty], reverently copied by Wang T'u-hun to secure the blessing of peace for his whole family, the country having fallen into turmoil". This date might be the 11th August, 789, as the next *chi-ssü* year fell in 849, when the Tibetan power had already collapsed in Tunhuang and elsewhere. On the other hand, we do not know of any particular "turmoil" that took place in 789.

(8) S. 3966, colophon: 壬寅年六月大蕃國有讚普印信并此十善經本傳流諸州流行讀誦後八月十六日寫畢記 "In the 6th moon of the *jên-yin* year a letter was issued with the seal of the Gialbo, to be circulated throughout the departments of the Great Tibetan Kingdom with copies of the present *Shih shau ching*, for widespread recitation. On the 16th day of the following 8th moon [5th September, 822], this note was written after the completion of the copying". Here the only possible alternative to 822 is 762, which again seems to be too early.

(9) S. 6503, colophon: 時蕃中歲次乙酉冬末月下旬二日於報恩寺寫訖比丘神應記 "Copying completed in the Pao-en Monastery on the 2nd day of the third decade of the last moon of winter in the *i-yu* year of the Tibetan dynasty. Note by the bhikshu Shên-ying". This is the 15th January, 806.

To sum up: the two certain dates we arrive at are 800 and 806, while those that are fairly certain range from 789 to 825. This agrees well enough with the supposition that Tunhuang remained virtually independent until 781, and regained its liberty about 848; it is hardly consistent with the theory that Tunhuang did not finally surrender until 819. S. 514 v^o records a census of 宜禾里 I-ho Li in Tunhuang Hsien, that is to say, a register of the Chinese population with their holdings in land, which was compiled in 769. That such an undertaking should have been carried out except under stable Chinese rule is unlikely. In 781, the Gialbo of Tibet claimed practical equality of status with China, as well as a revision of the frontier. Both claims were conceded. Such arrogance may well have been prompted by a military success like the capture of Tunhuang. In the following year, a sworn covenant between the two nations was signed. In 787, Sha-

chou reappears in the news under the name 鳴沙 Ming-sha (Sounding Sand), where a Tibetan leader is said to have encamped after a raiding expedition.

Though it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Sha-chou fell into the hands of the Tibetans in or about 781, a remarkable laxity in their government is shown by the fact that some of our MSS. continue to bear Chinese *nien-hao* for over twenty years longer: the dates are 781, 782, 787, 790, 793, and 803. After that comes the long gap of forty-eight years which we have previously noted. Evidently the Chinese population suffered a severe restriction of their liberty during the first half of the ninth century. If the somewhat doubtful Tibetan date of 789 be disregarded, we find that Chinese and Tibetan dates overlap only to a slight extent, for the latest Chinese date is 803, while the earliest Tibetan date would then be 800. But in any case there can be little doubt that the *T'ang shu* is wrong in placing the capture of Sha-chou as late as 819. Apart from the positive statement to the contrary in *Shui tao chi*, it is significant that the 歷代紀事年表 *Li tai chi shih nien piao*, usually so full, omits the whole episode. Moreover, in 819 the Tibetans were merrily raiding the province of Shansi; can it be supposed that they would leave Sha-chou, still untaken, so far in their rear?

Passing now to Chang I-ch'ao, we may note that he bears the same surname as the doughty Governor Chang Hsiao-sung, whose descendants, according to the *T'ai ping kuang chi* (a rather dubious authority, it is true) were to inherit the governorship of Sha-chou. 850 is the earliest year in which Chang I-ch'ao figures in the Histories, so that the statement in our present text (see p. 550) that Shou-ch'ang was recovered by him in 848 is of no small interest; for it implies that, contrary to the hitherto accepted belief, Tunhuang itself must also have been reconquered in that year, or perhaps even earlier. Confirmation is afforded by a passage in S. 3329, one of the very few historical texts in the Collection: 燉煌晉昌收復已訖時當大中二載。沙州既破吐蕃大中二年遂善押牙高進達等馳表函入長安城以獻天子 "After the reconquest of Tunhuang and Chin-ch'ang¹ was completed, it was the second year of Ta-chung [848] . . . In that year, accordingly, when Sha-chou had defeated the Tibetans, the *ya-ya* Shan, Kao Chin-ta, and others hastened to the city of Ch'ang-an with despatches which they presented to the Son of Heaven".

¹ Part of the Kua-chou district.

For the next two centuries, Tunhuang remained in a state of *quasi*-independence, owning a nominal allegiance to China, but really governed by rulers drawn from two powerful families. Of this period we possess four somewhat scanty accounts by different historians, none of them wholly accurate. The first and second, from the *T'ang shu*, ccxvi B, 13 v°, and *Wu tai shih*, lxxiv, 5 v°, were translated by me in *Bull.SOS.*, VI, 834-6. The third, from the *Sung shih*, cccxc, 15 v°, has been translated into French by Chavannes (see "Serindia", pp. 1338-9), but its importance is such that it will bear re-translating here :—

"Sha-chou was formerly the ancient territory of Tunhuang under the Han. At the close of the *T'ien-pao* period of the T'ang [755] it was conquered by the Western Jung. In the fifth year of Ta-chung [851] ¹ Chang I-ch'ao brought the *chou* back to allegiance, and an edict was promulgated conferring upon Sha-chou the title of Military District of Kuei-i, and upon I-ch'ao that of *chieh-tu-shih*, with authority over the departments (*chou*) of Ho, Sha, Kan, Su, I, and Hsi, Inspector, Commissioner of Settlements, and Legal Commissioner. When I-ch'ao visited the Chinese Court, he left his nephew Wei-shên in charge of the *chou*.

"In the time of the Liang dynasty founded by Chu, the Chang line came to an end, and the inhabitants of the *chou* elected the *chang-shih* Ts'ao I-chin as their chieftain. When I-chin died, he was succeeded by his son Yüan-chung. In the second year of Hsien-tê of the Chou [955] he came to render homage to the Court, and was appointed *chieh-tu-shih* of his district, Controller, Commandant, Associate of the *chung-shu mên-hsia*, and *p'ing-chang-shih*. A seal of office was cast and presented to him. In the third year of *Chien-lung* [962] his honours were increased by the rank of *chung-shu-ling*, and his son Yen-kung was made *fang-yü-shih* of Kua-chou. In the fifth year of *Hsing-kuo* [980] Yüan-chung died, and his son Yen-lu sent an embassy with tribute. On Yüan-chung was conferred the posthumous title of Prince of Tun-huang Chün, on Yen-lu that of *chieh-tu-shih* of his district, while his younger brother 延晟 Yen-shêng was made Prefect of Kua-chou, and another younger brother, 延瑞 Yen-jui, *tu-yü-hou* [Superintendent] in the Yamên. In the fourth year of *Hsien-p'ing* [1001] Yen-lu was made 譙郡王 Prince of Ch'iao Chün. In the fifth year [1002] Yen-lu and Yen-jui were murdered by their nephew Tsung-shou. The latter took provisional command as *lin-hou*, and

¹ Chavannes gives the year wrongly as 852.

appointed his younger brother 宗允 Tsung-yün to take provisional charge of Kua-chou. Then he made formal application to the Court for the insignia of office, with flag, whereupon Tsung-shou was made *chieh-tu-shih* and Tsung-yün was made Controller, *shang-shu tso-p'u-yeh*, and Governor of Kua-chou. Tsung-shou's son Hsien-shun was made Chief of the Staff within the Yamên. At the close of the *Ta-chung Hsiang-fu* period [ca. 1016] Tsung-shou died, and Hsien-shun was made *chieh-tu-shih* of his district, while his younger brother Yen-hui became Controller, President of the Ministry of Justice, and Governor of Kua-chou. Hsien-shun sent up a memorial to the Throne, begging for a copy of the Buddhist Canon in gold characters, as well as tea, drugs, and gold-leaf. An Imperial decree sanctioned these gifts. At the beginning of the *T'ien-shêng* period [1023] he sent an embassy to express his thanks, and bearing tribute of frankincense, sal ammoniac, and lumps of jade. From the *Ching-yu* [1034-7] to the *Huang-yu* period [1049-1053], this country sent seven lots of tribute consisting of local produce."

There are at least two errors in the above account: (1) Ts'ao Yüan-chung is named as his father's immediate successor, whereas two other brothers, Yüan-tê and Yüan-shên, intervened; (2) Ts'ao Yen-kung is not mentioned as *chieh-tu-shih*, which we now know him to have been. A few sentences may be added from the chapter on the kingdom of Hsia in *Sung shih*, cccclxxxv: "In the sixth year of *T'ien-shêng* [1028] Tê-ming sent his son Yüan-hao to attack Kan-chou, which he captured. In the eighth year [1030] the King of Kua-chou with a thousand horsemen surrendered to Hsia." In the tenth moon of the following year Tê-ming died, and was succeeded on the throne by Li Yüan-hao (f. 8 v^o). In 1035, Yüan-hao was attacking certain Tibetan cities when his return was intercepted by the general An Tzû-lo. Yüan-hao waged a desperate battle on two flanks, fighting night and day: at the end of a period of over 300 days Tzû-lo was defeated, whereupon he took possession of Kua-chou, Sha-chou, and Su-chou (f. 10 r^o).

The fourth account is a continuation of what has already been quoted from *Shui tao chi*, iii, 19: "Seventy years after its fall, the Prefect of Sha-chou, Chang I-ch'ao, sent his elder brother 義潭 I-t'an¹ to announce the return of Kua, Sha, and nine other *chou* to their allegiance to the T'ang: whereupon the Court changed the name

¹ 義潭 I-tsê in *T'ung chien*. 義渭 I-wei in *T'ai p'ing huan yu chi*.

Sha-chou into 'Military District of Kuei-i'; and the Chang and Ts'ao families acted for generations as protectors of the region. In the eighth year of *Hsien-t'ung* [867] Chang I-ch'ao went to Court, making Chang Huai-shên *liu-hou* (Resident). In the thirteenth year of *Hsien-t'ung* [872] Huai-shên died, [Note.—This according to the 方鎮 Fang-chên Tables in the *T'ang shu*¹; according to the stone tablet commemorating the meritorious act of [the prefect] Li [Ming-chên] in repairing a building, which was engraved in the first year of *Ch'ien-ning* [894], Chang Huai-shên was then still alive and credited with several titles of rank. I suspect a mistake in the Tables] and Ts'ao I-chin became *liu-hou*, afterwards receiving the title of *chieh-tu-shih*. In the second year of Hsien-tê in the reign of Shih Tsung of the [Later] Chou dynasty [955], I-chin died, and was succeeded by his son Yüan-chung. In the fifth year of *T'ai-p'ing Hsing-kuo* in the reign of T'ai Tsung of the Sung [980] Yüan-chung died, and was succeeded by his son Yen-lu.² In the fifth year of *Hsien-p'ing* in the reign of Chên Tsung [1002] Yen-lu was slain by his nephew Tsung-shou, who succeeded him as *chieh-tu-shih*. In the seventh year of *Ta-chung Hsiang-fu* [1014] Tsung-shou died and was succeeded by his son Hsien-shun. After the ninth year of *T'ien-shêng* in the reign of Jên Tsung [1031] the family does not appear again in history, so presumably the line died out with Hsien-shun.

“At the beginning of the *Ching-yu* period of the Sung [1034–7] Sha-chou was absorbed in the Hsi-hsia Empire. Li Tao says in his 通鑑長編 *T'ung chien ch'ang pien*: ‘In the 12th moon of the 2nd year of *Ching-yu* [January, 1036] Yüan-hao attacked Chia-lo-ssü-lai. In the 12th moon of the 3rd year [December, 1036–January, 1037] he again raised an army, attacked the Uighurs, and took Kua-chou, Sha-chou, and Su-chou.’ But the *Hsia kuo chuan* of the *Sung shih* puts the capture of these *chou* in the second year—a mistake which is corrected in the *Ch'ang pien*. According to the *Ch'ang pien*, however, in the 12th moon of the 4th year of *T'ien-shêng* [January–February, 1027] the Khitans sent the Inspector of Sha-chou, 石宇 Shih Yü, to offer congratulations on the New Year [to the Chinese Court]: so it would seem that before the State was absorbed by Hsi Hsia the Ts'ao family had entered into intimate relations with

¹ The passage in *T'ang shu* is really ccxvi B, 14 r², and it is I-ch'ao's death that is chronicled, though a careless reader might take the words to refer to Huai-shên. Correct also Chavannes, “Dix Inscriptions,” p. 80, n. 1.

² Again we see that the reigns of Yuan-tê, Yuan-shên, and Yen-kung are omitted.

the Khitans, and the latter had set up an Inspector in the land. By the time of the *Huang-yu* period [beginning in 1049] Sha-chou had long been incorporated in Hsi Hsia, yet in the 4th moon of the 2nd year of *Huang-yu* [1050] and in the 10th moon of the 4th year [1052] we again find Sha-chou sending tribute [to China]. Whether at that time Hsia was already submitting to the Sung or allowed Sha-chou to send in tribute, we cannot say."

So much for our historical sources. I will conclude by drawing up a tentative list of the successive rulers of Tunhuang, with a concise statement of the facts it has been possible to ascertain about each, and with particular reference to MSS. in the Stein Collection. It can only be regarded as a skeleton account, to be supplemented and corrected by future discoveries.

張議潮 CHANG I-CH'AO: 848-867

Native of 張掖 Chang-i (the modern Kan-chou). Lay-student in a monastery. Re-conquered Tunhuang and Chin-ch'ang, 848 (S. 788, 3329). Presented to the Throne maps of eleven *chou*, 850. Made *fang-yü-shih* of Sha-chou after sending in his allegiance to China, and subsequently *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün, 851. Re-conquered Liang-chou, 861. (This statement in the *T'ang shu* is confirmed by the official report, S. 6342.) Migrated to Ch'ang-an, 867, and died there, 872.

張淮深 CHANG HUAI-SHÊN: 867-886 (?)

Nephew or cousin of the preceding. Called 張維深 Chang Wei-shên in *Sung shih* and *T'ung chien*. Appointed *liu-hou* or Deputy Governor in Chang I-ch'ao's absence, but it is doubtful whether he became *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün. In the mutilated inscription of 894 (*Sha lu*, p. 27 v°; "Dix Inscriptions," p. 96) he is referred to as *chieh-tu-shih* of I. Hsi. and other *chou*, and also, it would seem, as former *chieh-tu-shih* of Sha, Kua, I, and Hsi. Professor Pelliot speaks of a short epitaph to this personage among the documents he found at Ch'ien-fo-tung, according to which he died on the 22nd of the 2nd moon of the first year of *Ta-shun* [16th March, 890]: see *BEFEO*, viii. 522. The inscription of 894 alludes to the outbreak of disturbances in Ho-hsi (河右磨戈) more than twenty years after Chang I-ch'ao's son-in-law Li Ming-chên had his interview with the Emperor Hsüan Tsung, who reigned 847-859. The interview cannot

very well have taken place before 852, so the trouble must have occurred after Chang I-ch'ao's death in 872. It is quite possible that other unknown rulers may have followed Chang Huai-shên.

索勳 So Hsün: 886 (?)–893 (?)

Literary name, 封侯 Fêng-hou. Member of a respected Tunhuang family, and son-in-law of Chang I-ch'ao. One of the Tunhuang documents in Paris (*Sha lu*, f. 30) records his appointment as prefect of Kua-chou. He is there given the title of 中丞 *Chung-ch'êng*, and his martial prowess is enlarged upon. He is not mentioned in the standard histories, and what else we know of him is derived from an inscription of 892, reproduced in *Shui tao chi*, iii, 20, where he is entitled *chieh-tu* of Kuei-i Chün. The author of that work, 徐松 Hsü Sung, decides that he must have succeeded Chang Huai-shên in 872, when the latter was transferred to the post of *chieh-tu-shih* of I-chou and Hsi-chou. The author of the *Sha chi*, on the other hand, thinks 892 a more likely date. I have adopted neither conjecture, but would suggest the year 886 on the strength of a Stein MS. (S. 1156), unfortunately incomplete, which records the sending of a special commission to the Chinese Court in 887 in order to sue for the insignia of *chieh-tu-shih*; for we know that it was customary for a ruler to do this soon after his accession to power. So Hsün may also be referred to in the colophon to a prayer, with confession, dated 20th June, 888 (S. 1824): 。。。於城東索使君佛堂頭寫記 “Written in the family oratory of His Excellence So, east of the city”.

張承奉 CHANG CH'ENG-FENG: 893 (?)–910 (?)

Hitherto only known as 張奉 “Chang Fêng” from a passage in *Wu tai shih*, lxxiv, 5 v°, quoted in my previous article, where he is said to have called himself “The White-robed Son of Heaven of Chin Shan”. This person is evidently identical with the 金山白衣王 *Chin shan po i wang* whose edict is reproduced in *Sha lu*, f. 28 v°. Chin-shan is another name for 交河郡 Chiao-ho Chün in Hsi-chou. In addition, he is mentioned in at least four of the Stein MSS., from which we learn the proper form of his personal name. (1) S. 4470 v° is the record of a donation dated the 10th day of the 3rd moon of the 2nd year of *Ch'ien-ning* [8th April, 895], made by the *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün, Chang Ch'êng-fêng, and the Assistant Commissioner 李弘願 Li Hung-yüan. (2) S. 2263 v°. “Notes on Sepulture” by 張忠賢 Chang Chung-hsien, mentions “the *chieh-*

tu-shih of Kuei-i Chün, Chang of Nan-yang, whose personal name is Ch'êng-fêng". Another short piece just before this bears the date 896. Chang Chung-hsien was *chieh-tu ya-ya* at the same place, and probably a relative of the Governor. (3) S. 1604 is a letter from the [*chieh-tu*] *shih* of Sha-chou to the Buddhist Bishop of that district, with his reply. It bears three impressions of a seal reading 沙州節度使印 *sha chou chieh tu shih yin*, and is dated the 30th May, 902. (4) S. 5747 is a fragment of a letter from the Kuei-i Chün *chieh-tu-shih* Chang, dated the 10th February, 905. There can be no doubt that all these texts denote the same person—the Chang Fêng of the *Wu tai shih*. He is said to have been reigning in the *K'ai-p'ing* period of the Liang [907–910], but we do not know when he died. Possibly the downfall of the T'ang had its repercussion in Tunhuang, and led to the disappearance of the Changs and the instalment of the Ts'ao family in their place.

曹義金 Ts'AO I-CHIN: 910 (?)–940

Raised to power through election: see *T'ang shu*, ccxvi B, 13 v°. *Wu tai shih*, lxxiv, 5 v°, says that Ts'ao I-chin, *liu-hou* of Sha-chou, sent envoys to China in the time of Chuang Tsung of the Later T'ang, who made him *chieh-tu-shih* and died shortly afterwards. According to the same work, v, 5, this happened in the first moon of 926. That was the beginning of intercourse between the Ts'ao dynasty and China. Previously, I-chin appears to have been known as 府主 "Lord of the Prefecture": for S. 4240, a Buddha-nāma sūtra, has a colophon dated the 15th of the 5th moon of Kêng-ch'ên, the 6th year of *Chêng-ming* of the Great Liang dynasty [4th June, 920], in which 曹公 "Ts'ao Kung" (who is almost certainly I-chin) is given that title. In S. 3875 r° and v°, containing forms of prayer, there is a string of titles and the date "11th day of the 11th moon of the 3rd year of Ch'ing-t'ai", from which it appears that there was a "*chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i and other military districts in Ho-hsi" on the 27th November, 936. Again, on the 10th of the 2nd moon of the 5th year of *Ch'ing-t'ai* [13th March, 938] we find the Governor Ts'ao writing an official letter (S. 4291). There is a character after the surname which I have not been able to decipher. Finally, S. 6255 contains two fragments of a colophon to a Buddha-nāma sūtra in which there is a prayer for 府主太保曹公 *fu chu t'ai pao Ts'ao kung*. This may be I-chin before he received the title of *chieh-tu-shih*. He died in the 2nd moon of the 5th year of *T'ien-fu* [940] and received

the posthumous title of 太師 *T'ai-shih* (*Chiu wu tai shih*, lxxix, 1 v°).

曹元德 TS'AO YÜAN-TÈ: 940-942

Son of the preceding. We know practically nothing of this ruler except the date of his accession (*Hsin wu tai shih*, lxxiv, 5 v°). S. 4363 is an official order from the Kuei-i Chün *chieh-tu-shih* Ts'ao, dated 4th September, 942; this is probably Yuan-tê, unless his successor was anticipating the title which he actually received a few months later. But his authority was apparently contested, for we are told (*ibid.*) that in 942 both Ts'ao Yüan-chung of Sha-chou and Ts'ao Yüan-shên of Kua-chou sent envoys to China.

曹元深 TS'AO YÜAN-SHÊN: 942-946

Brother of the preceding. According to *Chiu wu tai shih*, lxxxii, 6 v°, in the first moon of the 8th year of *T'ien-fu* [943] the *liu-hou* of Sha-chou, Ts'ao Yüan-shên, was appointed *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i; and in the 3rd year of *K'ai-yün* [946] the prefect of Kua-chou, Ts'ao Yüan-chung, was made *liu-hou* of Sha-chou. So it seems that Ts'ao Yüan-shên, like his brother Yüan-chung after him, was prefect of Kua-chou, then *liu-hou* of Sha-chou, and finally *chieh-tu-shih*; and I was therefore wrong in saying on p. 836 of my previous article that he never became *chieh-tu-shih* or Governor of Sha-chou.

曹元忠 TS'AO YÜAN-CHUNG: 946-974

Brother of the preceding. He seems to have been, first, prefect of Sha-chou, then of Kua-chou, and in 946 *liu-hou* of Sha-chou. According to the *Sung shih* he was made *chieh-tu-shih* in 955, when he visited the Chinese Court, and a seal of office was then cast and presented to him. Cf. also 太平寰宇記 *T'ai ping huan yü chi*, cliii, 2 r°. Yet among the printed documents in the Stein Collection there are two prayer-sheets, both dated the 15th of the 7th moon of the 4th year of the *K'ai-yün* period in the Great Chin dynasty [4th August, 947],¹ in which he is styled *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün. And S. 518 is a short edict in which the title 河西歸義軍節度瓜沙等州 *Ho hsi kuei i chün chieh tu kua sha têng chou* is conferred upon him; it is dated the 22nd of the 8th moon of *ping-wu*, the 14th year of *T'ien-fu* of the Great Han dynasty. Though the

¹ Evidently the change of dynasty which took place in the 6th moon of this year had not yet been reported in Tunhuang.

cyclical date does not agree, and indicates 946, this must be the 17th September, 949, as the Hou Han dynasty did not begin until 947. More interesting still, we have in S. 4398 a letter from Ts'ao Yüan-chung dated in the 5th moon of the 14th year of T'ien-fu [June, 949], in which he is described as "newly created (新授) *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün". What is one to make of these facts? I think the only way to reconcile them is to suppose that he received the same title three times over from successive dynasties, namely, the Chin, Han, and Chou. It is possible that the title was again confirmed by the first emperor of the Sung, since we find on S. 4632, a prayer dated May, 968, a large red seal reading 歸義軍節度使新鑄印 "Newly cast seal of the *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün". It should be noted that in this document he assumes the title 燉煌王 "Prince of Tunhuang", which also appears in the roll S. 5973. This last MS. is important historically because it proves the interposition of another ruler, unknown to the standard histories, immediately after Yüan-chung. It contains copies of four letters accompanying donations to a temple. The first two, dated in the first and second moon of 974, are from the *chieh-tu-shih* Ts'ao Yüan-chung; the other two, dated in the first and second moon of 975, are from his son Ts'ao Yen-kung, who is also entitled *chieh-tu-shih*. This points unmistakably to his having abdicated in favour of his son some time in 974. He died in the intercalary third moon of the 5th year of T'ai-p'ing *hsing-kuo* [980].

曹延恭 TS'AO YEN-KUNG: 974-980

Son of the preceding. According to *Ch'ang pien*, quoted in *Sha chi*, 6 v°, his original name 延敬 Yen-ching was formally changed to Yen-kung. Only mentioned in the Histories as *fang-yü-shih* of Kua-chou in 962; but, as we have seen, he certainly succeeded his father as *chieh-tu-shih*, and may have held the office until 980, when his brother Yen-lu seems to have taken the opportunity of his father's death to seize power. What became of Yen-kung we do not know.

曹延祿 TS'AO YEN-LU: 980-1002

Brother of the preceding, and son-in-law of the King of Khotan. Probably the 皇太子 Crown Prince of S. 6178 (the end of a letter dated July-August, 979). The *Ch'ang pien* (*Sha chi*, 3 v°) says that on his father's death Yen-lu assumed the title of 權節度兵馬留後 provisional *chieh-tu ping-ma liu-hou*. He sent envoys with

tribute to the Sung Court, and in the 4th moon an imperial edict bestowed on him the title of Kuei-i *chieh-tu-shih*, while his father, as a posthumous honour, received that of Prince of Tun-huang Chün. Author of a prayer dated 984 in S. 4400 (2), where he figures as "Ts'ao, Prince of Tunhuang"; and he also appears as 西平王 Hsi-p'ing Wang in the heading of a letter preserved in S. 5917. S. 4453, dated 991, is stamped with the seal of the "chieh-tu-shih of Kuei-i Chün". In 1001 he was made 譙郡王 "Prince of Ch'iao Chün" (already in 949 Yüan-chung was styled 譙郡開國侯 *Ch'iao chün k'ai kuo hou*: see S. 518). Murdered in 1002 by his nephew (從子 *tsung tzü* in *Sung shih*, 族子 *tsu tzü* in *Shui tao chi*) Tsung-shou.

曹宗壽 TS'AO TSUNG-SHOU: 1002-1014

Nephew of the preceding. Took provisional command of Sha-chou as *liu-hou*, and appointed his younger brother 宗允 Tsung-yün to take provisional charge of Kua-chou. In the 8th moon he sent envoys to the Sung Court with tribute, and made formal application for the insignia of office, whereupon he was made *chieh-tu-shih*. (*Sung shih*, vi, 11 r°.) The *Liao shih*, xiv, 5 v°, says that "in the 8th moon of the 24th year of *T'ung-ho* [1006] Ts'ao Shou [*sic*], Prince of Tun-huang in Sha-chou, sent envoys with Arab horses and fine jade". It appears, then, that he wisely paid court to the Khitans, who were then occupying the north of China, as well as to the Sung. The year of his death was 1014, according to the *Shui tao chi*.

曹賢順 TS'AO HSIEN-SHUN: 1014-1035 (?)

Son of the preceding. Neither he nor Tsung-shou is mentioned, so far as I know, in the Stein MSS. According to *Ch'ang pien*, in the 4th moon of the 7th year of *Huang-fu* [May, 1014] he was made *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i. He had previously sent tribute, notifying the Court that on the death of his father, his mother and others of his countrymen wished him to succeed to the throne. There are three entries about him in the *Liao shih*, xvi, 2 v°, 4 r°: in 1019, "Ts'ao Shun [*sic*], *chieh-tu-shih* of Sha-chou, was created Prince of Tun-huang Chün." In the 7th moon of 1020, "envoys were sent with gifts of clothing to Ts'ao Shun, Prince of Tun-huang Chün and the Uighurs in Sha-chou." In the 9th moon of the same year, "Ts'ao Shun sent envoys with tribute." According to the *Sung shih*, he sent tribute again about 1023, but after this we hear no more of him.

With regard to the subsequent history of Sha-chou, though historians agree in saying that it was annexed by Hsi Hsia, the process of annexation seems to have been much more gradual than one would have expected. The date given in the *Sung shih* is 1035, in the *Ch'ang pien* 1037; but, as Hsü Sung observes, it is hard to reconcile either of these statements with the record of tribute sent by Sha-chou to the Sung Court in 1050 and 1052. The explanation may be that, although Yüan-hao took Sha-chou, he was unable to hold it, and the Chinese official system continued to function there. After 1053 all communication with China ceased; yet from a casual reference in 文昌雜錄 *Wên ch'ang tsa lu* (quoted in *Sha chi*) we can infer that as late as the *Yüan-fêng* period [1078-1085] Sha-chou still existed as a separate political entity. In fact, it was not until the *Shao-shêng* period [1094-7] that, as we learn from *Sung shih*, cccxc. 5 v^o, the three *chou* of Kan, Sha, and Su were attacked, overwhelmed, and finally incorporated in Hsi Hsia.

The Verb "to say" as an Auxiliary in Africa and China

By A. WALEY and C. H. ARMBRUSTER

IT is well known that the verb *yen* 言 "to say" has some very peculiar usages in early Chinese. In about forty instances in the *Book of Odes* it obviously has not its normal meaning "to say" (or "what is said", i.e. words). For example (Legge's edition, p. 62), 公言錫爵 does not mean "The duke says he bestows a goblet", but simply "The duke bestows a goblet". 駕言出遊 (p. 64) does not mean "we will drive and talk about wandering forth", but "we will drive and wander forth". The example on p. 87 does not mean "I drove my steeds on and on, talking about reaching Ts'ao", but "I drove my steeds on and on all the way to Ts'ao".

The old commentators tell us that *yen* 言 means "I". Where the sentence happens to be in the first person this works well enough. But frequently that is not the case, and the commentators fall back on the explanation that *yen* is "a particle", which is merely a way of saying that they do not know what it means.

In an article¹ written a good many years ago Hu Shih pointed out the inadequacy of the current explanations and suggested that *yen* had three separate usages: (1) as a conjunction, similar to *êrh* 而; (2) as a conjunction, similar to *nai* 乃 (so, therefore); (3) as a pronoun "him", "it", similar to 之. He made, however, no attempt to explain why a character meaning "to speak" should have these three usages. His argument assumes that the character 言 is in these usages a phonetic substitute for particles of identical sound. Such a theory is rendered most unlikely by the fact that not merely one word for "to speak" but all the ordinary words for "to speak" are used in this way. For example (p. 418), 道之云遠 "The way is distant"; literally "The way, it says it is distant". Or, again (p. 155), 既曰歸. Here we have a third word for "to speak" used in just the same way; for the phrase does not mean "now that she says she has gone to be married", but "now that she has gone", etc. It looks, indeed, as though all three words for "to say", "to speak" were capable of functioning simply as verbal auxiliaries. Such a usage would be hard

¹ *Hu Shih Wên Tsun*, vol. ii, p. 1. See also Wu Shih-ch'ang, "A new interpretation of the word *yen* in the Shih Ching," *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, No. 13 (June, 1933), pp. 153-170.

to explain did it not exist in numerous living languages. The extent to which this is so is well illustrated by an extract which Mr. C. H. Armbruster has made from his forthcoming Nubian grammar, and which he has kindly allowed me to print here. Further examples will be found in Miss Alice Werner's *The Language-families of Africa*.¹

I take the first stage of the idiom to be purely onomatopœic statements, such as "the kettle says phizz", i.e. the kettle is boiling. Hence (as in the example quoted above) "the way, it says far", i.e. the way is far.

yün 云 is particularly used in questions, and this use has survived in literary Chinese. For example, "Saying what, does he go?" i.e. "why does he go?"

There are in the Odes nearly a hundred examples of the verb "to say" (expressed by 言, 云 or 曰) used in this auxiliary way. I only know of one case which is difficult to explain on my hypothesis that the idiom grew up exactly as in the African languages. 願言則嚏 (Legge, p. 47) is usually interpreted "I think of him and thereupon snivel".² Upon this and one other very doubtful passage Hu Shih builds his theory that 言 can stand for 之. It is true that "my longing says 'therefore sniff'" is a very strange way of saying "Such is my longing that I sniff". But it is no odder than many of the examples quoted by Mr. Armbruster, who writes as follows:—

After describing animism (the attribution of personality to inanimate objects and natural phenomena) in Nubian:

This animism, as a salient and constantly recurring characteristic of the language, is well illustrated by the uses of the two verbs *án* "say" and *é* "say". These two verbs are widely and variously used; each appears originally to have signified "tendency", "inclination", or "intention", from which their other present meanings have apparently developed thus:—

án ("have a tendency, intend", and so)

(a) Express an intention, i.e. "say".

(b) Communicate, direct or permit a tendency, i.e. "say to", "tell", "bid", "let".

¹ 2nd ed., 1925, p. 71: "He broke a stick so that it said *poqo*," i.e. snapped. Also the same writer's *The Bantu Languages*, 1919, p. 158: "The cloth which says red," i.e. red cloth.

² A sign of grief. Legge says, "We must cast about surely for some other meaning." But there is no getting round the fact that people who have been crying do snivel.

(c) Develop a tendency or quality, i.e. "become", "get", "go", "turn".

(d) Exhibit a tendency or quality, i.e. "be".

(e) Follow a particular tendency, i.e. "move along towards", "go to".

E.g. (a) *nóg_ándi* "I say 'go'".

(b) *tékkv_nogándi* "I tell him to go" ("I let him go").

álq_íngv_nál-an "let ʿali see this", lit. "to Ali 'this see'-say".

(c) *dál* "great", "old".

dál-an- "(to) become great", "grow old".

This combination provides numerous adverbs: *sér-an-túrbi!* "sleep well!", lit. "'good'-saying sleep!".

(d) *-tar-an* "it is", "that is".

(e) *hartám-an-* "(to) go to Khartoum".

Similarly *é-* (a) "say" = *án* (a).

(b) "be" = *án* (d).

(c) behave according to a tendency or intention, i.e. "act".

E.g. (a) *íng_éran* "they say this".

(b) *índ_éran* "they are here".

(c) in composition, verbs in *-ε, -ĕ-*

úff-ε lit. "say *úff* to" = "blow" (t).

gúrr-ε lit. "say *gúrr*" = "rejoice"; (*gúrr-* ? < *قُرَّ* in

Ar. *قُرَّة* "joy").

kítt-ε lit. "say *kítt*" = "be silent".

(*úff-*, *gúrr-*, *kítt-* have no separate existence.)

And verbs from Arabic (very nearly) all in *-ĕ-*

íngv_fadlĕran "these remain (over, behind)", lit. "these say *fádl*"; *fádl-* < Ar. *فَضَلَ* "remainder".

íngv_waznĕgori "I have weighed this", lit. "I have said *wázn* to this"; *wázn-* < Ar. *وَزَنَ* "weight".

é-gi, the adverbial form (objective case) of *é-*, provides a subordinating conjunction "in order to"—

kobídkv_kúsín_náll_égi "he opens the door in order to see", lit. "he opens the door saying 'I'll see'".

A causative of *é-* in sense (c) is *éq-ir t.* "ride" (animal), lit. "cause (animal) to act on its tendency" (which is to run).

I then quote similar uses of the Cushitic verb from "Über die hamitischen Sprachen Ostafrikas", von Franz Praetorius, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii Band, Heft 2, pp. 329, 330 (Leipzig, 1892), and of the Galla verb, *ib.*, p. 330.

Again of Galla from § 96 of *Zur Grammatik der Gallasprache*, von F. Praetorius (Berlin, 1893). Other instances in Karl Tutschek, *Lexicon der Galla Sprache* (Munich, 1844), s.v. *djed'a*. In Bilin: *Reinisch, Wörterbuch der Bilin-Sprache* (Vienna, 1887), s.v. *y* (1) "sagen", (2) "sein", "esse". In Qwára: *Reinisch, Die Quarasprache in Abessinien* (Vienna, 1885), § 44, *y* "sagen":

qeld y "zwingen"; *kuff y* "hoch sein"; *zem y* "schweigen";
bē "sagen";

fī bē "ausgehen"; *tur bē* "eintreten"; *wās bē* "hören".

So in Xamír, Kāfa, and 'Áfar, from Reinisch's grammars; and in Bédauye (*Béja*) *án* - (a) "say", (b) "be".

Turning to the Semitic languages of Abyssinia we find the same phenomenon, in the older language (Ethiopic) only occasionally, but in the modern ones at every turn. And I go on to illustrate this from Ethiopic, Amharic, Tigrinña, and then from Sudan Arabic, which, like the other Semitic languages, derived this feature from the Cushitic languages it met with in Africa. See Marcel Cohen, "Du verbe sidama (dans le groupe couchitique)" in *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, No. 83 (Paris, 1927), pp. 175 '6.

Notes on Some Poets and Poetry of the T'ang Dynasty

By E. EDWARDS

AFTER the fall of the Han dynasty in A.D. 220, owing to the weakness and tyranny of its last representatives, China was divided by a long internal struggle into three parts. The Later Hans held Shu (Ssü-ch'uan), the remainder of the south became the kingdom of Wu, and the north, with its capital at Ho-nan Fu, or Lo-yang, was known as Wei. This "Three Kingdoms" period was brought to an end by the establishment in A.D. 265 of the Tartar Chin dynasty in the north. Thereafter a number of small and feeble houses succeeded one another in rapid succession. For the most part Tartar conquerors ruled in the north and mere shadows of Chinese dynasties in the south. None of these uneasy houses survived much more than a generation, however, and it was not until the establishment of the Sui dynasty in A.D. 589 that China was reunited and restored to something resembling her old dignity and power.

The new China was very different from the old empire of the Hans. The infusion and absorption into the population of many Tartar elements, the spread of Buddhism, and the gradual modifying of language which occupied the three centuries after the Han period had greatly changed and developed both country and people. The Sui emperors were not unaware of these changes and the need to meet the situation by measures of reform; nor were they unwilling, on the whole, to adapt their government to new conditions. Under the emperor Wên Ti¹ laws were reformed and internal administration improved. Cultural progress was evident in many directions; comfort, and even luxury, became the portion of the better classes, and the common people were relieved at least of the burden of civil war. Buddhism was so prevalent that with one exception all the Confucian schools throughout the land were closed. During the reign of Wên Ti's successor, Yang Ti,² education received a decided impetus, for Yang Ti, in spite of the vicious extravagance of which he is accused, seems to have had many good points. He was a patron of the arts, ardent in planning public improvements and not wanting in military achievements. He prided himself upon his literary attainments, and ordered

¹ Kao Tsu Wên Ti (A.D. 589-605).

² 605-617.

a commission of scholars to edit a collection of classical, medical, and other treatises. He did much for education, restoring the schools which had been closed in the previous reign, and instituting in 606 the *chin-shih*¹ or doctorate, the highest degree awarded in the competitive examinations. The Sui dynasty, having favoured Buddhism, has been unduly decried by Confucian historians, but there is no doubt that general discontent was caused by the intolerable exactions of Yang Ti, whose extravagant zeal for public works involved a severe drain on the time and labour of the peasants. The house of Sui, though capable of recognizing the need to reorganize the new China, was too soft to bear the burden of carrying into effect the reforms which it had inaugurated. Had it not been so, the T'ang dynasty would not have come into existence, nor would the Sui have been so soon removed from the headship of a reunited China.

At the moment when the smouldering discontent against Yang Ti was ready to burst into flame, the little dukedom of T'ang, on the western border of China, was ruled over by the peace-loving and unenterprising Li Yüan, who most unwillingly took the field against the emperor, partly because he had fallen without reason under suspicion as a rebel, and partly in response to the persuasions of his ambitious son, Li Shih-min. In 617 the duke rose in revolt, seized Ch'ang-an, the western capital, deserted by Yang Ti in favour of Lo-yang, and declared himself king of T'ang. The destruction of the magnificent imperial palace at Lo-yang followed, and the emperor having been assassinated by certain of his own officers, Li Yüan assumed in 618 the title of Kao Tsu, emperor of the new T'ang dynasty. From the first, however, Kao Tsu was overshadowed by his son. The child of a Tartar mother, Li Shih-min was endowed with courage, administrative ability, magnanimity, intelligence and all the qualities of leadership. Not only was he the moving spirit of the original revolt against Yang Ti, but he was also the conquering hero who overthrew the many rivals of his house and pacified the country. The admixture of Tartar blood may explain several features which characterize the T'ang rulers at their best. The understanding with which they governed their mixed subjects, their energy, and their interest in various cultural elements introduced from Central Asia, may have been due to the blending of the vigour of their nomad forbears with the intellectual keenness of their Chinese ancestry.

¹ 進士.

The new era opened well, with reduction of taxes and a general amnesty. The capital was restored to Ch'ang-an, a sign that all was well with the empire and that expansion of territory might be looked for. As the pacification of the country advanced, Li Shih-min's popularity increased, and in 627 Kao Tsu, weary of a position which he had never coveted, resigned the throne to his son, who assumed the title of T'ai Tsung, claiming lordship over a large part of Central Asia as well as over the whole of China. The twenty-two years of T'ai Tsung's reign are still regarded as the golden age of the T'ang dynasty. "Ch'ang-an," says a Japanese writer in a monograph on the poet, Li Po,¹ "became not only the centre of religious proselytism but also a great cosmopolitan city where Syrians, Arabs, Persians, Tartars, Koreans, Japanese, Tonkinese and other peoples of widely divergent races and faiths lived side by side." A suggestion of movement, of ceaseless activity, characterizes the whole of the T'ang period—soldiers marching to the endless border wars which swallowed up men by thousands; imperial progresses for business or for pleasure; the court journeying from capital to capital or flying from the enemy at the gates; the sound of galloping couriers, and messengers travelling day and night to bring perishable luxuries from distant provinces for favoured imperial concubines; musicians from the schools of music travelling on leave, and everywhere fêted by the way; scholars proceeding to the literary examinations full of high hopes, or returning, too often with their hopes shattered, seeking their homes by unfrequented byways, defeated but still dreaming of success and weaving imaginary compensating adventures into the romantic prose tales which are as characteristic of T'ang literature as its poetry; a great Chinese traveller² making his secret way towards the west in search of Buddhist scriptures, to return after many years and leave for posterity a record of Indian civilization; and from the west endless caravans and groups of strangers seeking in China the freedom of worship denied to them elsewhere. Religious tolerance and mental activity; cultured ease and extravagant pleasures; political and cultural contacts with the west, particularly through the new

¹ Shigeyoshi Obata, *The Works of Li Po, the Chinese Poet, Done into English Verse* (New York, 1922).

² Hsüan Tsang . . . set out in A.D. 629 on his tour through India, travelling by way of Turkestan. Sixteen years later he returned with 657 new Sanscrit works. He wrote an account of his travels under the title *Hsi yü chi* 西域記, and spent the remainder of his life in translating the books which he had brought back.

dominion in Central Asia¹—these represent the brighter side of the early T'ang period and something of it is reflected in contemporary literature. But the glory was soon dimmed by the disturbances attending the usurpation of the empress Wu² and by the weakness of her successors, and it was not until the accession of the emperor Ming Huang in 713 that the greatness of the house of T'ang was restored for the last time. Until he fell under the influence of the beautiful Yang Kuei-fei and self-seeking politicians like Li Lin-fu, Ming Huang was regarded as the ideal prince. A statesman of considerable capacity, a master as well as a patron of the arts, and of a temper even more complaisant than that of T'ai Tsung, his court was thronged with poets, artists, and scholars. Though it failed to last, the brilliance of the first years of this reign gave a powerful impetus to literature. Classical scholarship and philosophy owe little to the T'ang period, but thanks to the fact that (chiefly under the influence of a woman) a facility for writing poetry became the final test of intellectual capacity, poetry reached its highest point of development. Every man with any pretensions to scholarship had to be proficient in at least the mechanics of versifying, and when the poetry of the T'ang dynasty was collected and published early in the eighteenth century, some forty-nine thousand poems by more than two thousand three hundred poets were found to be, and still remain, extant.

Against this background of intellectual activity the tragedy of border warfare continued throughout the whole period, and the Chinese armies suffered many reverses at the hands of fierce Turkic tribes, while on the north a new and formidable enemy appeared in the Kitans. It is estimated that nearly thirty thousand men perished in the Gobi Desert in the year 751, while four years later the rebellion of Ming Huang's adopted son, An Lu-shan, the Tartar general in command of the imperial forces on the border, swept like a tornado through the land and forced the emperor to flee into Ssü-ch'uan. Such a period, with its strong contrast of magnificence and misery, could not but stir the imagination of poets. Peace and prosperity, culture, luxury, great development in communications and knowledge of the world, combine to make a brilliant picture, the reverse of which is a no less striking presentation of intrigue, bloodshed, and wholesale catastrophe.

¹ Cf. G. F. Hudson, *Europe and China*, pp. 129 ff.

² Wu Hou (684-705).

The religious tolerance of the early T'ang emperors was not shared by their people as a whole. While strangers were permitted, subject to certain restrictions, to propagate their doctrines at will, they found active and zealous rivals among Buddhists, Taoists, and even Confucianists. The official dynastic cult remained Confucian, but Taoism was fast winning favour both at court and among the people, and the Taoists enjoyed their greatest popularity and political power under the T'ang dynasty. For this there were several reasons. The ruling house was supposed to be descended from Lao Tzū, and the amazing hold which Buddhism had had on the whole empire during the period preceding the T'ang caused many scholars to react in favour of Taoism, which had at least the merit of not being a foreign importation. In the stress of the troubled centuries between Han and T'ang men had sought some ground of personal hope, and Buddhism, in a world which had little to give, seemed to open a way to future happiness. Even the literary class, though accepting the Confucian teaching as the guiding principle of the state, felt the need for a more personal, less coldly ethical, faith, and those who rejected Buddhism were more ready than at any period since Confucius to accept Taoism. Propaganda was rife, and thousands of prose tales remain to prove the bitterness of the struggle for religious supremacy and the earnestness of the rival attempts to win popular favour.

Only two paths lay open to the Chinese scholar under the T'ang dynasty. One led to official position and responsibility to the state; the other to a retired life and the practice of Buddhism or Taoism according to individual fancy. Criticism has been levelled at Li Po because in his poetry he does not appear to concern himself with human relationships as do Po Chū-i, Tu Fu, and others. But Confucius had laid it down as a principle that if one were not the holder of an office one must refrain from concerning oneself with the duties of that office.¹ The basis of government in China has always been society, and, though the practice of addressing memorials to the emperor was as old as Chinese tradition, the pen as an instrument of reform was but slowly coming into its own. For the most part men not in office closed their eyes to evils which they could do nothing to remedy² and retired to contemplate the beauties of nature or to cultivate their

¹ *Analects*, Book viii, chap. xiv. "The Master said, 'He who is not in any particular office, has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its duties'." (Legge.)

² *Analects*, Book vii, chap. x, "When called to office, to undertake its duties; when not so called, to lie retired . . ." (Legge.)

own talents. Moreover to the unsuccessful scholar the whole Confucian outlook was obnoxious, and that is why many men like Li Po turned to Taoism, and devoted themselves to seeking immortality. The orthodox have always tried to minimize Li's interest in Taoism, but his poems give the lie to this view, and the *Lung ch'êng lu*¹ contains a story of his becoming an immortal, which indicates that by many his pursuit of immortality was regarded as earnest and sincere.

“Reviewing certain happenings,” says the story, “one finds a general impression that Li T'ai-po attained immortality. Early in the ninth century² a certain man who hailed from the north saw Li talking and laughing with a Taoist upon a mountain. Presently the Taoist went off in a green mist astride a young red dragon. Li rose and followed him with long strides. Soon he came up with the Taoist, mounted the dragon with him and together they disappeared in the mist.” The narrative concludes with the naïve remark, “It is a startling legend.”

It is inconceivable that T'ai Tsung could have achieved all that makes his name famous but for the long preparatory period of gradual progress by which the soil had been made ready for the crop that he was able in a few short years to sow and harvest. One of the results of his early training was that he knew the value of concentration, whether of men or minds. In order to mobilize the intellectual strength of the empire he instituted a college in which the finest scholars of the time became instructors and to which the most promising youth of the empire came to learn. He founded also a vast library, and to further the movement of centralizing the best brains of the country in order that he might have capable men at hand to assist him in the tasks he had set himself, he elaborated the examination system set up by the Sui. Formerly it had been customary to select men for government posts by a process of local election. This method, which brought to the fore the sons of the wealthy and noble whose position and means enabled them to prepare for such offices, had concentrated in the hands of the aristocracy the administrative power of the state, and it was to combat this tendency that the Sui dynasty

¹ 龍城錄 (*Dragon City Records*), the authorship of which is credited to Liu Tsung-yuan (773-819). Liu was an ardent Buddhist as well as a brilliant writer. It was said of him that “only one with the discernment of Han Yu should abuse Buddhism, and only one with the discernment of Liu Tsung-yuan should defend it.”

² Li Po died A.D. 762.

organized the examination system. Under the new régime intellectual capacity was substituted for social position, and it became possible for any man of sufficient ability to pass the tests and obtain office. Originally the examinations included such subjects as mathematics, history, jurisprudence, and calligraphy, but soon preference was given to the *chin shih* examination, which was based on the classics and, for a time, on the *Li chi*¹ and the *Tso chuan*.² Although the emperor retained the right to appoint to even the highest offices men of special attainments, the practice was regarded with disfavour and before long the monopoly of administrative posts fell into the hands of a new intellectual class, independent of social position.

With the T'ang period begins modern China, and it is interesting that this new method of government, a democratically recruited bureaucracy, should replace the old aristocratic bureaucracy at this juncture. The principal drawbacks to the examination system were the tendency to study, as Confucius' disciples had done, "with a view to emolument," the inevitable stereotyping of the examinations and an increasing superficiality and formalism. But whatever disadvantages were incurred by the employment of poets as administrators, the training of the Chinese scholar instilled in him a sense of form and a love of order which served as substitutes for more practical qualifications. From the point of view of the ruling house the system had advantages, for it did not leave a mass of young intellectuals outside the government to keep a critical and discontented eye upon it. The unsuccessful student might return as often as he wished to try his fortune, and though many were turned away disappointed, they generally consoled themselves with matters less inflammable than politics, turning to the retired life of the recluse or to the more amusing and no less idle existence of the drinking poet-wanderer. It was these disappointed candidates who were chiefly responsible for the growth in the T'ang period of a new form of literature. Weary of the stereotyped essay which had caused their defeat in the examination-hall, they began to write in new styles, to introduce new matter into their compositions and to infuse into literary prose a certain admixture of colloquial language, which resulted in the creation of the earliest form of conscious fiction known in China, the tales of romance, heroism, and the supernatural for which the period is famous.

"T'ang prose," says Professor Wilhelm,³ "represented a new

¹ 禮記.

² 左傳.

³ Wilhelm, *History of Chinese Civilization*, p. 122.

beginning. At the first glance it seems extraordinary, because the movement leading in this direction assumed the form of a renaissance, a revival of antiquity. We must not be misled by this, however. Every vital renaissance is something more than a revival. So it was in the T'ang period. The more ancient Chinese prose is remarkable for its concise, semi-rhythmical style, in which parallelism is used for the development of the thought. During the time of the Six Dynasties, literature had been growing more superficial and verbose, and in the Sui and early part of the T'ang period appreciation was confined to the stylistic tricks of the prose essay. The cultivation of this artificial style still continued, chiefly as a Court accomplishment. But, at the same time, a new movement was set on foot at the beginning of the T'ang period, under the banner of the 'old' style, which strove to promote a freer and more natural method of prose composition. This movement culminated in Han Yü, an exponent of Confucianism and a zealous opponent of what he called Taoist and Buddhist superstitions, but also something of an eccentric in his taste for the antique. He was an honest and sincere representative of the old literary style. The style originated by Han Yü and adopted by his disciples has survived to the present day, though the artificial style continued to flourish alongside it."

Parallel with this movement in prose compositions is the division of poetry into the new "regulated" style and the old "free" style. In both cases the separation was the result of an effort to break through traditional forms and regain contact with the spoken language. This is clearly shown in the verses of poets like Po Chü-i, and in the prose of the story-tellers, among whom were many well-known scholars, including Liu Tsung-yüan, Li Shang-yin and Yüan Chên. Dr. Wilhelm, with considerable insight, finds in the movement a parallel to the modern *pai-hua* movement in China. There can be no doubt that the formalism of the examination style was detrimental to cultural progress, even though it had the merit of turning the thoughts of every family in the land towards study as a step in the direction of higher social position and responsibility to the State.

That the T'ang period was intellectually and culturally brilliant is an axiom with the Chinese. This view has been adopted without question by many western scholars, while others dismiss the works of T'ang writers as scarcely worthy of consideration. We know that during the centuries of disruption which followed the Han dynasty the foundations of the splendour of the T'ang empire were being laid.

It is true also that its glory shines the more brightly because of the darkness which preceded it. But its literary eminence cannot be estimated by the number of its scholars, the magnitude of their output, or the size of the imperial libraries. And yet it is evident that some standards must be adopted and applied. Are its productions to be judged upon their individual merits, or by comparing them with those of other periods in the history of Chinese literature? Are we to take into consideration the fact that we are dealing with a period in itself early as compared with other countries, or to maintain the isolation of Chinese culture and refrain from comparison with other literatures? The case of art is comparatively simple; questions relating to line, form, and colour are the basis of a study of any art expression. Advance in technique, development along new lines owing to special influences and similar factors make it relatively easy to decide the place of a period in relation to other art periods in China or elsewhere. But literature, and especially Chinese literature, presents a very different problem, and a satisfactory method of approach is difficult to find. Until it has been decided whether or not it is to be judged by linguistic standards alone, that is to say, by form without regard to content, the true worth of T'ang literature cannot be estimated, and the opinions of western scholars will continue to conflict.¹

"Song," says an old Chinese writer,² "is the voice of music . . . dance is the embodiment of music . . ." and poetry is surely the spirit of music and its other self.³ The qualities most commonly found in western poetry—imagination, fancy, mysticism and suggestion—often appear in Chinese verse in a guise which renders them unrecognizable. Whereas in the west the power and beauty of a poem

¹ Cf. Dr. G. Margouliès, *Le Kou-wên Chinois*, "L'époque des T'ang, au point de vue littéraire, est peut-être la plus glorieuse et la plus brillante de toute l'histoire de la Chine." Cf., on the other hand, the caustic comments of P. L. Wiegier, *China throughout the Ages* (Hsien-hsien, 1928), p. 197. "I have not found a single piece worth translating in the voluminous works of Sung Chih-wên, Wang Wei, Li Shang-yin, and others." See also pp. 202-3. These opposing views suggest that Dr. Margouliès being, like the Chinese scholars themselves for the most part, interested in form and oblivious of content, finds T'ang literature "glorious" and "brilliant", while P. Wiegier views it from the opposite angle, and so condemns it out of hand.

² Tuan An-chieh 段安節, *Yuēh fu tsa lu* 樂府雜錄, a treatise on music written at the end of the tenth century.

³ Yao Hsin-nung, "The Spirit of Chinese Poetry" (*North China Herald*, 28th March, 1934): "Every Chinese poem is a composition in music, determined by the tonal arrangement of characters and the cæsura beat."

are largely proportionate to the intuition of the poet, in China they are almost entirely dependent on the intuition of the reader. Imagination, the power of seeing life as a unity, and so of finding resemblances where none apparently exist, is seldom found in its highest form—revelation. The phrase, "the morning stars" might crowd the mind of a Chinese with every appropriate line in the poetry of past ages, filling it with delicate images of stars reflected in the glass-smooth surface of a lake at dawn, or sinking over a mountain half hidden in mist: but "the morning stars shouted for joy" is a perception beyond the grasp of Chinese poet or reader. Reason and tradition make it doubly difficult for him to penetrate the outward form and touch the divine. It is, perhaps, in suggestion that Chinese poets excel. It is of the essence of Chinese poetry to suggest by a word or a phrase a train of ideas limited only by the perceptive and imaginative powers of the reader. This highly specialized kind of imagination was developed by reason of the forms to which Chinese poems were restricted. The poet usually contents himself with describing what he sees, knowing that his reader, singing his poem—aloud or silently—will fill in the bare outlines from the storehouse of his own mind.

For the understanding of T'ang poetry more is required than a brief outline of the historical and cultural aspects of the period. It is essential to know something of the way in which Chinese poetry developed if one is to appreciate the reasons why, by the general consent of Chinese scholars, the T'ang period is given the palm for the writing of poetry. To state the matter as briefly as possible, Chinese poetry developed along two main lines, literary and popular. Both have their origin in the poetry of the *Shih ching*¹ (*Book of Poetry*) and of the *Ch'u tz'ü*² (*Elegies of Ch'u*), the former belonging to the north of China and the latter to the south. The *Kuo-fêng*,³ or "Songs of the States" in the *Book of Poetry* and the *Chiu-ko*⁴ or "Nine Songs" in the *Elegies* were of popular origin, while other parts of both books became models for highly stylized literary forms. Before the Han dynasty almost all poetry was written in lines of four words. But the ancient poets were able to use the line of irregular length, appreciating, even if they did not understand, the relief which such interpolations afforded in the monotony of short lines all containing the same number of characters. Thus,

¹ 詩經.² 楚辭.³ 國風.⁴ 九歌.

in the *Shih ching* lay the seed of the five and the seven-word line. Under the Han emperors rites and music were reorganized; the *Elegies of Ch'u* were given a place with the *Odes* as literary monuments of the past, and by degrees lines of the new lengths gradually evolved. The rhythm and lilt of these lines, with the pause no longer in the middle of the line, must have been extremely pleasing to their originators. The popular verse of the Han period was collected and edited, just as the early collections of odes were edited by Confucius. It was stored in the Bureau of Music, or *Yüeh fu*,¹ and for that reason poetry of this type became known as *yüeh-fu*, a term which has been defined as meaning verses set to music, or intended to be set to music. During the Han period and that following it, literature was much influenced by the popular song, from which it gained considerably in vitality. But the power of classical literature proved superior to that of its unorganized, unsystematic rival, and from about the third century of our era there was a gradual reversion to the copying of old models, though many poets wrote in both styles.

The fact which emerges from a study of the period between Han and T'ang is that two distinct classes of poets had grown up side by side. There were "free" poets, and poets bound by classical and traditional rules. Both wrote *yüeh-fu* (folk-songs) and *ku-shih* (poetry in the old style), but whereas the former class was creative and spontaneous, the latter group modelled their verses slavishly on the masterpieces of earlier poets. As the period advanced and Buddhism spread, the translation of Buddhist literature resulted in the introduction of the Indian phonetic system. Interest in the tones of the Chinese language was sponsored by Shên Yüeh,² a famous poet of the fifth century, and author of a *Handbook of the Four Tones*, and under the influence of the new study poetry approximated more and more nearly to the style which finally blossomed in the T'ang period into "ruled" or "regulated" modern verse. The revolution brought about by the study of tones was not confined to the poetry of the north, but in the south its effect was to cause the old spontaneous elegies and songs to deteriorate into purely artificial imitations of the elegy (*tz'ü*)³ and the equally degenerate and stylized form

¹ 樂府.

² Shên Yüeh 沈約, scholar and high functionary under the Liang dynasty (502-556). In 488 he completed the drawing up of the *Sung shu*; author of the *Ssu shêng p'u* 四聲譜, based on the Indian *fan-ch'ieh* 反切 system. Died 513.

³ 辭.

known as "rhymed prose" (*fu*).¹ The prose of the later Han period had already been coloured by the *fu* and the *tz'ü*, and by degrees there was developed a style of composition known as *p'ien t'i*,² in which all sentences were arranged in pairs. By the period of the Six Dynasties almost everything was written in this form both in prose and in poetry, with the exception of popular songs and ballads, which were sung without reference to particular styles, the common people being concerned to give expression to their emotions and not to compose verses in this or that manner. This balance or parallelism is a feature of "ruled" poetry. Lines run in pairs, noun for noun, verb for verb, and the balance of words goes so far as to demand colour adjective for colour adjective, animal noun for animal noun, and so on. Even more important than balance of characters, however, is balance of tones. This is the essence of regulated verse. The written language employs five tones. The first two, the upper and lower even tones form group 1; and the third, fourth and fifth, generally distinguished as upper, departing and entering, represent group 2, the uneven tones. In any couplet of a regulated poem even and uneven tones are arranged in accordance with a particular "tone-pattern," of which great numbers exist. Other rules for modern poetry are that a poem shall consist of four, eight, or twelve lines, with five or seven words to a line; that words shall be parallel in each couplet, with the possible exception of the first and last couplets; that a single rhyme from the even tones shall fall on the last character of the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth, and often the first, lines; and that repetition of characters must be avoided, unless for special emphasis or effect.³

¹ 賦.

² 駢體.

³ These rules apply only to *shih* 詩. "Modern" (近體) poetry, under the T'angs, consisted of the "regulated" style (*lü shih* 律詩) and a form known as *chüeh chü* (絕句), which follows the rules for regulated verse and like it has five or seven-word lines. The phrase means "detached lines" and it is in fact a short poem in the modern style whose character suggests that it is part of a longer poem. Its origin, however, remains obscure, the most probable explanation being that Tang poets were given to building up poems as a kind of round-game and that when the works of an individual poet were compiled his contribution was detached from the whole poem and included with his complete works. Ancient poetry (古體) also had two divisions, the *yueh-fu* (樂府), or verses for music, and the *ku shih* (古詩), or ancient poems. From the *yueh-fu*, which had as their prototype the songs of a primitive community and were therefore not restricted as to the number of words to a line, was developed

At the close of the seventh century regulated poetry was introduced into the syllabus of the literary examinations. Its chief exponents were thus the candidates for the civil service. To men who had given up hope of obtaining, or had no desire for, official employment it offered no attractions. On the contrary they preferred the complete freedom of the *yüeh-fu* or the ancient style with its simple rules which allowed any number of lines, with four, five, or seven words to the line, the number being variable in a single poem, and rhymes on alternate lines.¹ Many scholars with Buddhist and Taoist sympathies brought to the composition of their poetry this independent spirit. The way of the scholar in office was not their way, and their free, untrammelled life fostered in them a contempt for regulations. Orthodox scholars also reverted to the *yüeh-fu* and the ancient style as a relief from the restrictions of modern verse, though it is generally said by Chinese critics that, difficult as is the ruled style with its elaborate tone-patterns, once learned it is easier to write well than the apparently simple ancient style.

The poetry of the T'ang dynasty is divided into four periods named after the seasons of the year.² The Early period, representing spring, is no more than a transition from the style of the Six Dynasties to that of the T'ang at its best, and many of its poets belong, in the spirit and style of their writings, to the earlier age. To this period belong the two ministers, Chang Yüeh (667-730) and Chang Chiu-liang (673-740), Ch'ên Tzū-ang (656-698), and, among lesser poets, the "four heroes", Wang Po, Yang Chiung, Lu Chao-lin and Lo Pin-wang. The most notable "survival", however, was Wei Chêng,³ great general, great councillor, historian, and poet, but representative of the Sui rather than the T'ang period.

To the second and third periods, which coincide with the reign of Ming Huang (713-756) and the restoration of the T'angs after

the poem with lines of irregular length which, under the T'ang, was called "*ch'ang tuan chü*" (長短句), or "long and short lines". It may have been this form which resulted in the *tz'ü* (詞) or *tz'ü ch'ü* (詞曲), songs of irregular lines which were the chief glory of Sung poetry.

¹ The seven-word line ancient poem may have irregular lines, and every line may rhyme.

² The dates of these periods are variously stated; Kiang Kang-hu (*Jade Mountain*, Introduction) gives them as Early, 620-700; Glorious, 700-780; Middle, 780-850. Late, 850-900.

³ (581-643.) Author of the biographical section of the *Sui shu* (*History of the Sui Dynasty*), which was drawn up under his direction. See Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2264.

the revolution of An Lu-shan, belong Li Po,¹ Tu Fu,² Po Chü-i,³ and their successors, Han Yü,⁴ Liu Tsung-yüan,⁵ and Yüan Chên,⁶ each with his particular gifts and his special outlook revealing in his poetry a different aspect of contemporary life and thought. Throughout this period it is clear that the two distinct forms already mentioned were in use: the first, described by Mr. Waley⁷ as the "clothing of old themes in new forms", highly polished but lifeless, comprised imitations of early poetry and the "modern", regulated form; the other was the descendant of the old folk-song or *yüeh-fu* in new garb. The reign of Ming Huang was famous for elaborate court entertainments with song, dance, and some form of dramatic representation. To supply performers the Pear Garden and other training-schools were instituted and placed under the control of the emperor himself. The songs sung at these festivities varied considerably in character; the old type of folk-song still survived; poems in Chinese were probably composed to suit the rhythm of the music of Central Asia which was becoming increasingly popular; and "new folk-songs", or poems written in the style of the old songs but lacking their spontaneous character, all provided material for palace and other musicians throughout the empire. Thus if T'ang poets were bound on the one hand by the restrictions of the examination-hall, where conformity to rigid rules of prosody was exacted, on the other hand they enjoyed considerable freedom in the writing of songs and lyrics, and by using both means they were able both to display their attainments in the hope of official position and to advertise them in the hope of popularity. To the same end they cultivated the society of all classes, gathering material for their writings and introducing into both prose and poetry current topics, long disused by orthodox scholars as subjects of composition. Among exponents of the "new folk-song" were Kao Shih,⁸ who wrote what are vaguely termed "operatic pieces" for the troupe of actors with whom he travelled in order to enjoy the company of an actress to whom he was devoted, and Wang Wei,⁹ famous as artist and musician who, though he later gained recognition as a serious poet, was better known in his lifetime as a writer of lyrics, which were set to music and sung

¹ Dd. 762.² 712-770.³ Dd. 846.⁴ Dd. 824.⁵ 773-819.⁶ 779-831.⁷ 170 *Chinese Poems*, p. 15.⁸ 高適 (?-765).⁹ 王維 (699-759).

throughout the empire. The singing of the lyrics of living poets created another class of compositions in prose or poetry—narratives relating to the poets themselves and the musicians who sang their verses.¹

The popularity of the "new folk-song", the movement towards freedom fostered by Taoist hermits and Buddhist devotees who could not be coerced by the requirements of the educational system nor bound by the strict etiquette of the Confucian code, and the natural animosity of disappointed candidates at the public examinations, were factors which tended to separate poetry from life and reality. But a few poets there were who, seeking neither the salvation of their own souls nor forgetfulness in the contemplation of nature, hoped by their writings to benefit the world and cure contemporary evils. Chief among these were Tu Fu,² Yüan Chên,³ Po Chü-i,⁴ Han Yü⁵ and Liu Tsung-yüan,⁶ all serious men with a sense of responsibility in regard to their talents. To the same group of literary would-be reformers belonged also Yü T'ï,⁷ and perhaps also the satirical Li Pi,⁸ although his satire often had its origin in personal grievance rather than in indignation over social evils. To the best writers of the latter half of the eighth and the early part of the ninth centuries it was the mantle of Tu Fu and not the gaily-coloured cloak of the frivolous Li T'ai-po that was bequeathed. To world-reform ideals they added new conceptions of literature. Earlier changes had for the most part come about in the natural course of progress, but this group of authors seems to have determined deliberately to create a new style of writing based upon the principle that literature ought not to be a means of personal glorification, but an instrument of service to mankind, by which men might be persuaded, if not governed. This idealism is not merely the mantle of Tu Fu; it is a reflection of the growing influence of religious enthusiasm of serious Buddhist and Taoist propagandists on the one hand, and the earnest endeavour of ardent Confucianists on the other to maintain their supremacy in

¹ Cf. *Chên niang mu shih*, a series of poems about a famous singing-girl written by Chang Yu 張祐. Li Shang-yin 李商隱. Po Chu-i 白居易, and Tan Shu 譚錫.

² 712-770.

³ 779-831.

⁴ Dd. 846.

⁵ Dd. 824.

⁶ 773-819.

⁷ 于逖, author of *Wên ch'ï lu* (聞奇錄) and *Ling ying lu* (靈應錄).

⁸ 李泌, author of *Chên chung chi* 枕中記. See Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1180.

the administration and in public opinion by coming into line with the new movement. The leaders of reform were Po Chü-i and Yüan Chên.¹ Unfortunately neither has left any writings that bear witness to their enthusiasm for the cause. Of Po Mr. Waley says, "Content . . . he valued far above form; and it was part of his theory, though certainly not of his practice, that this content ought to be definitely moral. He aimed at raising poetry from the triviality into which it had sunk and restoring it to its proper intellectual level. It is an irony that he should be chiefly known to posterity, in China, Japan, and the West as the author of *The Everlasting Wrong*."² In the case of Yüan Chên almost all his poems which survive are in the styles which he deplures and have no relation to the social amelioration which he desired. A modern Chinese critic suggests, reasonably enough, that the existing collections of Yüan's works may be incomplete, but whether this is so, or whether his practice, like that of Po, fell short of his principles, cannot be determined.

To the first half of the ninth century belong also Li Shang-yin³ and Tu Mu,⁴ the former a close and accurate observer of the foibles of his fellows, and the latter an ardent seeker after beauty and a champion of the weak. With the name of Li is coupled that of Wên T'ing-yün.⁵ Their style is similar and they share the distinction of having created a type of poetry known as *Hsi-k'un*.⁶

The fourth period is represented by Han Wu,⁷ who himself records that the emperor's verdict, after reading several of his compositions, was "Talent mediocre"; Lu Kuei-mêng,⁸ who also wrote an essay on the Plough⁹; and the "Three Lo"¹⁰—Lo Yin, Lo Yeh and Lo

¹ For the story of the friendship of these two poets see A. Waley, *170 Chinese Poems*, p. 105.

² A. Waley, *170 Chinese Poems*, p. 105.

³ 李商隱 (b. 813). See Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1188.

⁴ 杜牧 (803-852). See Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2070.

⁵ 温庭筠.

⁶ So called from the fact that a group of poets of the Sung dynasty made a collection of their poems which were written in the style of Li Shang-yin, and published it under the title, *Hsi K'un ch'ang ch'ou chi* (西崑唱酬集).

⁷ 韓偓, "the last of the T'angs" (844-923).

⁸ 陸龜蒙. See Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1420, and Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 93.

⁹ *Lei ssü ching* (耒耜經).

¹⁰ The "Three Lo" (羅隱, 羅鄴, and 羅虬) belong to the later T'ang period.

Ch'iu. These all lived during the progress of the "reform" movement, but none of them appears to have contributed to it. The dynasty was nearing its end under a series of ineffective and superstitious rulers. In 845 Buddhism was proscribed by the Taoist emperor, Wên 'Ti, the same blow exterminating Nestorianism and Mazdeism; everywhere revolt broke out, and from 876 onwards the country was ravaged from south to north by brigands, under the leadership of the notorious Huang Ch'ao. In the capital the eunuchs were all powerful, and, in 900, they confined the emperor and for a time ruled absolutely. Finally, in 906, the dynasty was overthrown and the second Liang dynasty established in its place. During this disturbed time scholarship lacked both patronage and organization, and reformers, social or literary, could do little. But the T'ang period had played its part and made its contribution to the progress of literature. Although one branch of their writings had maintained the traditional "classical" style, T'ang scholars had encouraged in another branch the use of simpler forms, approximating, probably, to the spoken language, and when under the Sung dynasty printing made possible a wide-spread interest in literature and brought into being a public whose ignorance of characters required that books should be read aloud, it was only a short step to the writing of novels and stories in colloquial language. Herein lies the historical significance of the T'ang period in the development of Chinese literature.

The place of *n* in forming Semitic roots

By A. S. TRITTON

IN Semitic languages a root containing *n* often agrees in meaning, wholly or partially, with some weak root. Brockelmann (*Grundriss*, i, 536) suggests that the Syriac *nḥp* "barefooted", corresponding to the Arabic *ḥfy*, shows that Aramaic once possessed a reflexive in *n*. This explanation will not serve when *n* comes at the end of the root. The evidence does not prove, though it may support, the theory that Semitic roots were once biliteral; all that can be said is that *n* was used to turn weak roots into strong ones.

In the list that follows, the words with initial *n* come first and then those with final *n*.¹

Initial *n*.

ḥfy barefooted; S. *nḥp* (H. *yḥp*). (B.)

hbb be awake; *nbh*.

fwh be fragrant; *nfh*.

ḥḏḏ urge; *nḥḏ* ask importunately, H. *nāḥūš*, urgent.

jdd exert oneself; *njd* be bold.

jzz cut; *njz* finish.

dll be weak; *ndl* be worthless.

šwl raise the tail; *nšl* lift (out of the pot).

ḥtt fall, put down; S. *nḥt* go down.

kff hold back; *nkf* be cut off, stopped.

S. *nkp* be chaste.

šbb blow (wind); S.H. *nšb* (but *nsm* and S.H. *nšm*).

ḥff be dry; *njf* milk dry.

S.H. *ngb* be dry.

šll clarify; S. *nšl* pour through.

šrr creak; S. *nšr* whistle. (B.)

qfw follow; S. *nqp*.

jrr pull; S. *ngr* be long. (B.)

jhw H. *ghw* go into exile; S. *ngl* emigrate.

šll take out; *nsl* unravel and let fall.

H. *nšl* fall off.

¹ H. Hebrew; S. Syriac; Arabic roots unmarked; B. Already noted by Brockelmann.

qss cut ; *nqs* diminish.

kbb overturn ; *nkb* pour out (of a pot).

qys compare ; H. *nqš*.

sfsf chirp ; S. *nsp* hiss.

H. *skk*, *škk* weave ; H. *nsk* (*nsj*).

H. *qbb* curse ; H. *nqb*.

H. *šhh* be dazzling ; H. *nšh* pre-eminent.

šhh be true ; *nšh* advise.

H. *pws* scatter ; H. *nps*. *nfs* push, pass urine by jerks.

hll pour in between ; *nhl* sift.

fwđ hand over to ; *nfd* shake.

fyđ flow.

S. *hrr* go to law : (causative) hurt ; *nhr* (viii) repulse a suppliant.

Final n.

'*sw* (v) imitate ; '*sn* (v) resemble one's father.

hju stop in a place ; *hjn*.

dhj darkness ; *dhn* smoke.

ršw do properly, make strong ; *ršn*.

zbu drive ; *zbn* push.

š'*w* be untidy (hair) ; š'*n*.

š*qw* be miserable ; š*qn* be little, mean.

š*gy* be miserable ; š*gn*.

qđy judge ; H. *qāšīn* (noun).

zwh, *zyh* go away ; *zhn* (*zhl*).

S. *rīšā* head (√ *r's*) ; *ršn* to make chief.

š*ff* put in a row ; *šfn* plant the feet in a line.

š'*w* be thin ; š'*n* have a small head.

trw mix (perfumes, etc.) ; *tyrn*.

gby be ignorant ; *gbn* fail to understand.

gšw strike (? derived sense) ; *gšn*.

gđy close the eyes ; *gđn*.

gmy cover (with wood or earth) ; *gmn* (with clothes to cause sweating).

qšw be hard ; *qšn* have callosities.

qfw hit the back of the neck (? denominative from noun) ; *qfn* hit.

qmy agree with ; *qamīn* suitable.

kbu lie on the ground ; *kbn*.

k'w be a coward (*k' '*) ; *k'n* be slack.

kmy hide (testimony); *kmn* hide.

lby eat much; *lbn*.

mtw stretch; *mtn*.

mzy praise; *mzn*.

hju find fault with; *hjn*.

hd' be quiet; *hdn*.

wgy noise of battle; *wgn* engage in battle.

why be weak; *whn*.

Eine rabbinische Parallele zu سُورَة

Von DAVID KÜNSTLINGER

ÜBER die mutmasslichen Ansichten von der Herkunft des in der Überschrift angeführten arabischen Wortes, welches „Abschnitt, Teil des Kur'āns“ bedeutet, ist Nöldeke-Schwally, Geschichte des Qorāns i, 31 sowie EI. iv, 606–7 u. Verbesserungen u. Nachträge das., Lieferung J., dritte Seite des Umschlags, nachzusehen. Keine der dort angeführten Ansichten vermag hinreichend zu befriedigen. Denn auch die in den „Nachträgen“ erwähnte Ableitung des Wortes سورة von R. Bell aus syr. Surtā (Šürtā, Sūrtā) „Schriftzeile, Schriftstück“ ist schon deshalb unmöglich, weil bald das *ṣ*, bald das *t* dem *s* und *t* in سورة nicht entsprechen kann. Übrigens kommt Sūrtā — wenn es kein Druckfehler für Šūrtā ist — bei Brockelmann, Lex. Syr.² nicht vor. S. das. 498, 624, 637. So scheint A. Mingana vielleicht doch Recht zu haben, wenn er sagt: „The Word Sūrah is of unknown origin, and its right etymology is in our judgment still obscure.“¹

Folgende Zeilen wollen keine neue Etymologie des Wortes سورة vorbringen. Sie wollen lediglich auf eine Parallele hinweisen, welche vielleicht dazu beitragen wird die Entstehung des Wortes in der Bedeutung „Abschnitt, Teil eines Buches“ zu erklären.

Ḳ. 38, 20 **سَوَّرَ**, steigen, hinaufkommen = **צַעַר** öfter im AT. Siehe die Stellen in den hebr. Wörterbb. zur Bibel. Vgl. Levy, Targ. WB. ii, 463; Brockelm. das. 766.

Ḳ. 18, 30; 22, 23; 35, 30; 76, 21 **أَسَاوِرَ**; 43, 53 **أَسْوِرَة**, Schmuckgegenstände, Fuss-Armbänder = **אֲצַעְדָּה** Num. 31, 50; 2 Sam. 1, 10; **צַעְדָּה** Jes. 3, 20.—Vgl. die Targumim z. St.; Levy das. 477; Brockelm. das. 749. Nun kommt im Ḳ. ausser 57, 13 **سَوَّرَ** im Sinne von Ring-Mauer, Levy das. 464; Brockelm. das. 766; das Wort سورة in der Bedeutung „Kur'ānabschnitt“ in 10, 39 (dritte Periode Makkas) sowie 47, 22; 24, 1; 9, 65, 87, 125, 128 (madinisch) und 2, 21 (viell. Makk. (?) Nöldeke-Schwally das. 173) und der Plural **سَوَر** 11, 16 (dritte Periode Makkas) vor. Im Midrasch rabba 98, 18 zu Gen. 49, 22 ist zu lesen: **אמר לו [ליוסף] דקב"ה ארהה** . . .

¹ Syriac influence on the style of the Kur'ān, 13. Reprinted from *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. ii, No. 1, January, 1927.

לֹא תִלִּית אֶת עֵינֶיךָ וְהִבַּטְתָּ בְּהֵן חֵידָךְ שֶׂאתָה נֹתֵן לְבָנוֹתֶיךָ
 צַעֲדָה בַּתּוֹרָה. מִהוּ צַעֲדָה פְּרִשָׁה¹

D.h. Als Josef (Gen. 41, 41 f.) über Ägypten zu herrschen begann und in seinem Prunkwagen ausfuhr, guckten die Töchter der Könige (der Adelligen) durch ihre Fenstergitter ihn (Josef) an, bei welcher Gelegenheit sie verschiedene Schmuckgegenstände über ihn warfen, damit er seine Augen erhebe und auch sie (die Töchter) anschauet. Er jedoch unterliess aus Bescheidenheit dies zu tun. „Da sprach zu ihm der Heilige, gelobt sei er (Gott): du erhobst deine Augen nicht um sie anzuschauen, so wahr du lebst, einst wirst du deine Töchter (Nachkommen) mit einer צַעֲדָה in der Tora beschenken. Was bedeutet צַעֲדָה? Eine פְּרִשָׁה, Bibelabschnitt.“² Gemeint ist — wie die Kommentatoren richtig bemerken — Num. 27, 1–11, wo von dem Landbesitz der Erbtöchter vom Stamme Josefs verhandelt wird.³ Aus dieser Agada erfährt man nun, dass צַעֲדָה einen „Abschnitt“ des Pentateuchs bedeutet, was durch פְּרִשָׁה glossiert wird. Mag diese Glosse älteren oder jüngeren Datums sein, sie beweist immerhin, dass das Wort צַעֲדָה, wenn auch hier nur einmalig gebraucht wird, einen „Bibelabschnitt“ bedeutete und infolge des später gebräuchlichen Wortes פְּרִשָׁה verdrängt wurde. „سورة“, Kur’anabschnitt“ entspricht nun wieder dem Ausdruck „צַעֲדָה“, Bibelabschnitt“. Der Zusammenhang oder richtiger der Bedeutungsübergang dieser Stämme צַעֲדָה—سور—steigen, Ring, Abschnitt“ muss noch besonders untersucht werden. Dies ist jedoch nicht der Zweck dieses Aufsatzes; er begnügt sich auf die bemerkenswerte Parallele hinzuweisen.

¹ Im *Midrash Hag-gadol*, ed. Schechter 747 lautet die Stelle: אָמַר לוֹ הַקֶּב"ה אַתָּה לֹא הִבַּטְתָּ בְּהֵן אֲנִי נֹתֵן לְבָנוֹתֶיךָ צַעֲדָה בַּתּוֹרָה כְּלוֹמַר פְּרִשָׁה.

² S. Bacher. *Exeg. Terminol.* i, 160–2; ii, 169–170. Den Terminus צַעֲדָה fuhr Bacher nicht an.

³ S. *Sifre z. St.*, ed. Horowitz, 177.

A Grammar of the Language of Longgu, Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands

By W. G. IVENS

THIS grammar has been prepared from a study of a small prayer book in the Longgu language published by the Melanesian Mission Press in 1916. The book contains a translation of some of the services of the Book of Common Prayer, viz. Mattins and Evensong, the Litany, certain prayers, seven liturgical collects, twenty-four psalms, and nineteen hymns.

Longgu itself is situated on the south-east coast of the island of Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands, in the neighbourhood of Kaukau Bay and Paupau, about where the coast begins to trend southwards towards Marau Sound.

The name "Longgu" means "indentation, bay". It is the equivalent of the Mala *loku* "to bend, a bay".

The language has many peculiarities when one remembers its position; its vocabulary contains many words which hitherto have been considered as peculiar to the Mala or Ulawa languages: e.g. *anoa* "soul", Lau *ano*; *lou* "again", Sa'a *lo'u*; *beina* "big", Ulawa *paina*; *ere, dunga* "fire", Lau *ere*, Ulawa *dunga*; *aae* "leg, trunk, source", Ulawa 'a'ae; *toi* "to do", Marau Sound *toi*; *una* "thus", Marau Sound *una*; *taa* "bad", Ulawa *taa*; *valisi* "year", Ulawa *halisi*; *iia* "fish", Lau *iia*; *thada, thadanga* "to be fitting, in agreement with", Sa'a *sada, sadanga*; *thai* "to know", Sa'a *saai*. Lau *hai*; *anggalō* "ghost", Sa'a *akalo*; *la, lae* "to go", Sa'a *la, lae*; *inoni* "man", Sa'a *inoni*; *mwela* "child", Sa'a *mwela*; *vanua* "people", Ulawa *hanua*; *luma* "house", Sa'a *nume*.

In the texts there are two instances (in a hymn) of the occurrence of two typical Sa'a and Ulawa words (*i*)*siiri*. (*i*)*siirini* "to-day"; and it looks as if these words were borrowed, since the ordinary Longgu word for "to-day" is *i nene*; but it is hard to see how the borrowing could have been effected, unless through e.g. the medium of a Sa'a hymn book, and this is very unlikely. Mr. F. R. Isom, of the Melanesian Mission Press, Guadalcanal, has kindly prosecuted certain inquiries about Longgu words, at my request, and his verdict is that the two words *siiri*, *siirini* (the prefixed locative *i* is general in the neighbourhood) are Longgu words.

The article *mani* found in Longgu is regularly used in the Mala

language of Marau Sound, and is found also in Ulawa and San Cristoval. It has not been recorded elsewhere on Guadalcanal, and seems to point to a Mala source. The presence of *w* in Longgu words would also seem to be an indication of a Mala or San Cristoval connection, the letter *w* not occurring otherwise in the Guadalcanal languages (except in the Mala language spoken at Marau Sound). However, it is doubtful whether the *w* in Longgu occurs otherwise than in the compounds *bw*, *mw*, *vw*, which are written in the texts as *buw*, *muw*, *vuw*. The translators of the Longgu Prayer Book which has furnished the material for this grammar were natives of Florida, and thus were unacquainted in their own language with the letter *w*. The spelling *vuw* seems to indicate that where *w* occurs in Longgu, apart from the nasal *mw*, or from *bw* which can be shown to be a variant of *q* (*kw*), the *w* is not purely *w* but *vc*. Four Longgu words in the texts which begin with *vuw* (*vw*), viz. *vuwalia* "morning", *vuwai* "water", *vuwala* "word", *vuwate* "to give", appear in Sa'a as *wa'alie*, *wai*, *wala*, *wate*. The Longgu words *alawuwa* "youth", *vuwai* "to strike", appear in Lau, Mala, as *alakwa*, *kwai*.

There are two other words in the Longgu texts in which *vuw* occurs: *vuwa* "to", dative preposition, *vuwini* "to, for". Since Lau has *vua* "to", and Sa'a has *huni* "to", it would seem as if the *w* in *vuwa* and the *wi* in *vuwini* were mistakes on the part of the translator, there being also a word *vua* "in order that, to", of purpose.

In one case an initial *w* in Sa'a appears in the Longgu texts as *vu*: Sa'a *wasi* "wild", Longgu *vuasi*. One suspects that the word is *vcasi*. Also the Sa'a *tewa* "tall" appears in the Longgu texts as *tevowa*, where *tevwa* is probably correct.

Four words in the Longgu texts beginning with *buw* are represented in Ulawa by words beginning with *pw*, viz. *buwala*, negative, "no, not", *buwau* "head", *buwela* "stage", *buweu* "foolish", which appear in Ulawa as *pwale*, *pwau*, *pwela*, *pwau*. The *u* in the Longgu words is probably due to the translator.

Four words also beginning with *muw* in the Longgu texts are represented in Ulawa by words beginning with *mw*, viz. *muwamuwae* "to rejoice", *muwane* "man, male", *muwasi* "to laugh", *muwela* "child", which appear in Ulawa as *mwaemwae*, *mwane*, *mwasi*, *mwela*. The translator is probably responsible here also for the inclusion of the *u* in the Longgu words.

In two words in the texts *muw* appears in Longgu where Sa'a and Ulawa have *m*: *muwango* "breath", *muwatawa* "sea". Sa'a *mango*,

matawa. The nasalizing of *m* to *mw* in certain words occurs also in the Mala languages, e.g. *Mala*, *Mwala*, the names of the island; the *ma* of *matawa* is a prefix, and *mwa* is a variant of it in Sa'a and Ulawa. The Sa'a and Ulawa *mwaani* "from" appears in the Longgu texts as *buwani*, which is represented in San Cristoval by *bani*.

The Longgu pronouns are rather akin to those of Sa'a and Ulawa than to the Vaturanga or Inakona forms; though the short forms *u*, *a*, of the first persons, and *ara* of the 3rd pers. pl., are the Guadalcanal and not the Mala forms. The Longgu use of *ani* as a transitive suffix is found also in Lau, Mala. The Longgu gerundive *la* is the form of the gerundive used also in Sa'a and Lau and Ulawa, as against the infixed gerundive *ra* of Bugotu. The Longgu verbal particles are not compounded with the pronouns after the Vaturanga, Inakona, Florida, and Bugotu uses.

In reduplication Longgu rather favours the method of doubling the whole word; and the method of dropping the middle consonant in reduplication, which is favoured by the Florida and Bugotu languages, or of doubling the first syllable, which is the Vaturanga use, are not regular uses in Longgu.

Though Mala peoples have been present in Marau Sound, close to Longgu, for several centuries, yet the presumed Mala element in the Longgu language is rather that of the Sa'a, Little Mala, type, than of the Marau Sound type which derives ultimately from the Areare¹ speaking peoples of Big Mala. A reference to the Marau Sound grammar and vocabulary² will confirm this statement.

That intercourse took place in the far past between the peoples of Guadalcanal, in the neighbourhood of Longgu, and Sa'a and Ulawa cannot be doubted. That particular portion of the Guadalcanal coast was to the mind of the Sa'a and Ulawa peoples the home of the bonito fish. According to the Sa'a and Ulawa folk-lore the bonito fishers returned every night to these parts of the Guadalcanal coasts during the season, the "bonito maidens" tending them and bringing them forth every morning. Bonito hooks that were lost had to be searched for in that neighbourhood, where the maidens had collected them from the mouths of their fishes. A certain amount of this lore doubtless came to Sa'a and Ulawa through the medium of the Mala peoples of Marau Sound, but men from Sa'a accompanied the parties from Mala that visited Guadalcanal in the summer time during the bonito

¹ Ivens, *BSOS.*, Vol. V, Pt. 2, 1929.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Pt. 4, 1932.

season; and there are folk-lore stories of men from Ulawa going to this part of the Guadalcanal coast. One hesitates to say that peoples from Little Mala settled at Longgu, as peoples from Big Mala settled at Marau Sound, but it came under one's personal observation that Sa'a men calling in at Longgu were able to understand the Longgu speech, and were themselves understood.

Mr. Isom informs me that whereas years ago the Longgu language was general in the district round about the actual Longgu itself, to-day it is being replaced by the Florida language owing to the presence of Florida teachers in the schools of the Melanesian Mission.

A vocabulary of the Longgu language is to be published later in *BSOS*.

ABBREVIATIONS

- adj.*, adjective.
adv., adverb.
excl., exclusive, i.e. excluding the person addressed.
incl., inclusive, i.e. including the person addressed.
pers., person, personal.
pl., plural number.
pron., pronoun.
sing., singular number.

For references to the language of Inakona, which is spoken on the south-west coast of Guadalcanal, see "The Language of Inakona, Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands," by the Rev. A. Capell, B.A., *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, No. 154, June, 1930.

For Vaturanga, see Ivens, "A Grammar of the Language of Vaturanga, Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands," *BSOS*, Vol. VII, p. 349.

I. ALPHABET

1. Vowels: *a, e, i, o, u*. These have the ordinary Solomon Island values. According to the usual custom in the languages of Guadalcanal the vowels are sounded separately.

2. Consonants: *b, d, g, ngg, l, m, mw, n, ng, p, bw, r, s, t, th, v, vw*. The *b* and *d* are both nasalized after the Guadalcanal fashion, *mb* and *nd*. The sound of *g* is hard, and the "Melanesian *g*", i.e. the *g* of Florida and Bugotu, does not occur. It is omitted in certain words: *ia* "fish", Florida *iga*; *malaai* "champion", Florida *malagai*; but there is no "break" in the pronunciation where the *g* is omitted. The *ngg* is for *k*, as in Florida and Vaturanga: *longgu* = *loku* in Sa'a. In the texts the *ngg* sound is printed as italic *g*: it is the same sound as *ng* in English "finger".

The sounds represented as *mw*, *bw*, *vw* in the list of consonants are spelt *muw*, *buw*, *vuw* respectively in the texts; but since (as shown above) *muw* and *buw* of Longgu stand for *mw* and *pw* (*kw*) of Sa'a and Ulawa, it seems better to class these two sounds as *mw* and *bw*; and there seems to be no doubt that the *vuw* of the texts is properly *vw*. An *l* is omitted in certain words: *ngao* "to desire", Inakona *ngalo*; *poo* "secret", Florida *polo*; *vui* "to wash", Florida *vuli*. The *ng* is *ng* of English "sing"; initial *t* is omitted in certain words: *ivi* "cloth", Florida *tivi*; *wa* "to distribute food", Bugotu *tuwa*; *inoni* "man", Florida *tinoni*; also medial *t*: *veu* "star" for *vetu*; *mae* "to die" for *mate*; *mae* "because", Vaturanga *mate*. The *th* of Longgu usually represents an *s* in Sa'a or Vaturanga, but at times it is a change from *l*, as in Bugotu: *vutha* "to reach", Ulawa *hula*, Bugotu *vula*. There is an interchange of *th* and *t*: *thathi* "to err" (Vaturanga *sasi*), *thati*; *vuta*, *vutha* "to be born, to become"; *uthua* "true" is a variant of *utuni*, which is *utu* + *ni*. There is probably a "break" in the sound of certain words, for the word for "gong", Sa'a 'o'o, is printed as *o-o*; the words *iia* "fish", *aae* "leg" show a lengthening of the initial vowel owing to the dropping of *g*, as happens in the case of the Lau word *iia*; also the Sa'a *i'o* "to stay, live, be" is *ii'o* in Longgu, a *k* having been lost.

The letter *h* appears only in the texts in *haka* "ship", which is doubtless an introduced word.

The word *tangonama* "to be able", Florida *tangomana*, shows the metathetic form *nama* for *mana*; *nanama* "to be powerful" is a reduplicated form of *nama*, similar to the Ulawa *nanama*.

II. ARTICLES

3. Demonstratives: Singular *na*; *mani*; *na*.

Plural *ara*; *inggira*, *nggira*; *aratei*; *molai*.

The article *na* is in general use as denoting both "a" and "the", and also as marking a word as a noun. All words used as nouns are preceded by the article *na*: *na inoni* "a man", *na luma* "a house", *na ma* "a thing", *na utuni* "the truth". The article *na* is used with the pronoun *taa* "what?" also with the possessive forms, *na ana* "his food", and with the ordinal numbers, *na ruana* "the second": it is used following the plural articles *inggira*, *nggira*, and with *molai*: *nggira na molai komu* "all the lands", *inggira na nggeni* "the women". *Na* has a gerundival content, and is used with gerundival forms as in Florida, Vaturanga, and Bugotu. It is used thus with

a transitive verb only : *na manatainio* “to know thee, the knowledge of thee”; and with *tangonama* “to be able” : *ara go se tangonama na idumi* “they cannot number them”, *na idumiana* “the counting of it, to count it”, *na sokolana* “its end”; the sentence *na ngge thangao* “to help thee” shows *na* separated from its verb by a conjunction; *na* may express purpose : *na toi vwinio* “to work for thee”.

mani precedes the noun immediately : *te mani kiboa* “one sin”, *na mani kolivuti* “prayer, prayers”, *na molai mani bosa* “all the words”; it may be used with a verb : *na mani nai vatau na palu* “the putting away of sin”; or with a gerundive : *na mani voasiana a Lord* “sacrificing to the Lord”; it conveys a notion of “one, single”. Marau Sound also uses *mani* as an article : *mani are* “a thing”, *mani wara* “a word, a saying”; Ulawa has the phrase *mani walana* “his word”.

The second article *na* is used like the Bugotu article *gna* “belonging to”, or the Florida *na* in *na Belaga* “a man of Belaga”. The only instance of the use of this *na* in the Longgu texts is in the phrase *inggira na Israel* “they are of Israel”.

ara is used of the plural of persons only; in itself it is the pronoun of the 3rd pers. pl., see § 13 : *ara kiboa* “sinners”, *ara vutinga* “the many”, *ara vua nggia* “our forefathers”.

inggira, *nggira* are the personal pronouns, 3rd pers. pl., “they”; both of them are used as plural articles of persons : *inggira na vua amu* “your forefathers”, *nggira na kiboa* “sinners”, *nggira na mwane* “men”. This use of the pronoun 3rd pers. pl. as a plural article is paralleled by the corresponding use of *hira* in Vaturanga.

When *ra*, pers. pron. 3rd pers. pl., is suffixed to a verb or a preposition as object, there is no use of the plural articles : *e naira na vanua vwininggia* “he put the peoples under us”.

aratei is both interrogative and indefinite; it denotes “who, they who; those who”. It is compounded of *ara* and *atei* “who?” “some one”.

molai denotes properly “all”, but it is used of the plural of persons and of things : *na molai mwela kiki* “all the little children”, *na molai malaai tana maramana* “the captains of the earth”, *na molai ma* “things”. It is probable that *molai* is the same as *mola* “ten thousand”, with a plural suffix *i* added.

4. Personal article : *a*.

All personal names, male or female, native or foreign, are preceded

by the article *na*. In the texts *na* is used of relationship terms, of specific persons: *na Dale* "the Son", but this is clearly wrong. It is probable that the article *a* preceding a word makes it a personal noun, though in the texts *na* is used in this connection: *na vamaurida* "their saviour".

The personal article *a* may be used with the plural, as in Vaturanga and Bugotu: *na paluda a mama nggira* "the sins of their fathers", *inggira a teei mola* "they three one person only", *e olu a ronu* "three persons".

The word *ronu* "person" is used with the personal article *a*: *a ronu* "the person, so and so". It is the equivalent of the Florida and Bugotu *hanu*, and the Vaturanga *mea*.

III. NOUNS

5. A word in a verbal form may be used as a noun without any change of form, the article *na* merely preceding: *mauri* "to live", *na mauri* "life"; *matai* "to be ill", *na matai* "sickness". This is the practice of Florida also.

6. The noun endings seen in the texts are *a*, *va*, *na*, *nga*: *rongo* "to be famous", *rongoa* "renown"; *maea* "death"; *iioa* "behaviour"; *va* is seen probably in *suluva* "inheritance" and *tautauva* "overseer"; cf. Sa'a *sulu*, *susulu* "to inherit", Bugotu *tautau vathe* "to keep house".

The ending *na* of the ordinal numbers *rua* "two", *ruana* "second", is a noun ending.

There are several instances in the texts of *nga* used as a noun ending: *mae* "to die", *maemaenga* "danger"; *bobolonga* "stranger" (Florida *boiboli* "to sojourn"); *thadanga* "in agreement with" (*thada* "to be in agreement"); *thadangangu* "in agreement with me"; *sobanga* "each", Bugotu *sopa*.

The ending *raa* seen in *rongoraa* "famous, fame" (*rongo* "to be famous"), which appears as *raga* in Bugotu, would seem to be properly an adjectival ending.

Gerundival endings—*a*, *la*.

These gerundival endings are added to transitive verbs only, after the Vaturanga and Bugotu use; they are shown to be nouns by the fact that the suffixed pronouns of possession are added to them. In the case of *a*, the suffixed pronouns *na*, *da*, 3rd pers. sing. and pl., and *ni*, 3rd pers. pl., denoting things, are added regularly in the texts

as objects of the gerundival form in *a*. The use of the gerundival ending *a* corresponds thus with its use in Vaturanga, but not in Florida. In the case of *la*, the suffixed pronoun *na* is the only one that is added in the texts. Examples are: *na deteana* "to judge him", *na suu vuleana* "to repay him well", *na nai vaoluana* "the renewal of it". The last two examples show the gerundival ending added to the second member of a compound; *na kunusiana na molai paluda* "the remission of their sins" shows the suffixed pronoun *na* used in a collective sense; *na vatapoani* "the concealing of them", *na vamauriada na molai inoni* "to save men", *na dete taboada* "to condemn them for no reason". The only instance in the texts of the use of *la* as a gerundival ending is in the phrase *na sokolana na maramana* "the end of the earth". The gerundival ending *a* would appear to be the same as *la* through the omission of *l*.

7. In the texts the greater number of the nouns take the suffixed pronouns of possession; but the words for "friend, neighbour, enemy, child (*mwela*), man, woman, thing" are not used with the suffixed pronouns, but take the possessive *a*. The vocative *mama* "father" is used of "father" generally, but not with the suffixed pronouns, like the other relationship terms: *a mama nggira* "their father". *Bosa* "word" has the pronoun suffixed and is used also with the possessive *na*: *na bosana, nana na bosa* "his word".

8. As in Vaturanga the noun *mate* (*mae*) is used with the suffixed pronoun *na*: *matena* (*maena*) "because"; there is no example of any other pronoun being suffixed.

The noun *aae* "root, cause" has the pronoun *na* suffixed: *aaena, na aaena* "because". This is also a Sa'a usage. The noun *ai* "person, thing" (Marau Sound 'ai) is added to numerals: *e rua ai me olu ai* "two or three persons", *e vita ai* "how many things?"

9. Genitive. A genitive relation is shown (1) by the use of the preposition *ni* "of": *tana rua ni thududa* "in the place of their sitting", *i orova ni aaena* "under his feet"; this *ni* may denote purpose: *na samu ni toi* "a maid-servant"; *mamu ngge oli ni la berengia a Lord* "and return ye to go to the Lord"; it also denotes condition: *e iio ni inoni* "he became man", *inggia ngga la ni muga* "let us go with rejoicing"; it is used with *vuta*: *vuta ni* "to become"; (2) by the use of the suffixed pronouns of possession, 3rd pers. sing. or pl.: *na lumana na mwane kama* "the house of the chief", *na kutuda na ramua* "the hearts of the people"; (3) by the use of the possessive noun *na* with the possessive pronouns, 3rd pers. sing. or pl., suffixed:

nana na tasitalavu a God "the grace of God"; *nada na ma na molai inoni* "the things of all men".

10. Prefix. A possible instrumental prefix *i* is seen in the word *ibaa* "staff".

11. Plural. Plurality is denoted by the use of *inggira*, *nggira*, personal pronouns, 3rd pers. pl. "they," used preceding a noun form, or by the personal pronoun *ara* "they", used with or without the article *na*: *inggira na rua amu* "your forefathers", *ara na kibo* "sinners"; see § 3; the noun *molai* "all", § 3, is also used to denote plurality. A plural is shown by the doubling of a phrase with the copula *ma*: *na ravata ma na ravata* "generations, from generation to generation". A similar use is found in Vaturanga, Bugotu, and Florida.

The word *sosoko* "finished, all" is added to the noun to denote completion or totality: *namoa na molai ma sosoko* "all thy things", *na molai ravata sosoko* "all the generations". In general the language is not careful always to note plurality.

vete "self, sole, alone, different" is a noun, the pronouns of possession being suffixed: *ioe vetemu* "you only, you by yourself". *inggira veteda* "they alone".

12. Gender. To denote gender *mwane* "male" is added for males, *nggeni* "female" for females.

IV. PRONOUNS

13. (1) Personal:—

Sing.	1. <i>inau.</i>	<i>nau, u.</i>
	2. <i>ioe.</i>	<i>o.</i>
	3. <i>ingaia.</i>	<i>ngaia.</i>
Plur.	1 incl. <i>inggia.</i>	<i>nggia, a.</i>
	1 excl. <i>iami.</i>	<i>ami.</i>
	2. <i>iamu.</i>	<i>amu.</i>
	3. <i>inggira.</i>	<i>nggira, ara.</i>
Dual	1 incl. (<i>inggia rua</i>).	
	1 excl. (<i>iami rua</i>).	
	2. (<i>iamu rua</i>).	
	3. <i>inggira rua, oro.</i>	

14. The forms in the 3rd pers. sing. and pl. are used of things as well as of persons.

The forms in the first column may be used by themselves as the subject, or they may be followed by the forms in the second column.

The forms in the first column may be used in addition to the suffixed pronouns of possession attached to nouns, or to the suffixed pronouns of the object, the person and number in each case being the same : *ara aili metao ioe* " they praise thee " , *vonosiu inau* " against me " , *tana maamu ioe* " before thy face " . No special emphasis is conveyed by this doubling of the pronoun. Its frequency of use seems to show that the native mind is not content with the use of a single pronoun as an object.

The forms in the second column are used by themselves as the subject, or they may follow the longer forms of the first column, and *nau* may be followed by *u*, and *nggia* by *a* : *a salunggia vetengga* " we deceive ourselves " . In the 1st pers. sing. the form *na* also occurs ; in the texts this *na* appears only as used with *go*, the verbal particle used of the future : *na go eno sivo* " I will lie down " . Ulawa also has a similar form *na*.

The forms in the first column may be used as possessive pronouns, " my," etc. ; this is a Sa'a and Ulawa use also ; the plural forms in the second column, except *a* and *ara*, are used also as pronouns of the object with verbs and prepositions. A form *navi* " my " occurs in the phrases *a mama navi* " my father " , *a tia navi* " my mother " .

The form *a* of the 1st pers. pl. incl. combines with the conjunction *ngge* in the compound *ngga*. This is the *a* of Florida and Vaturanga, and the *a* of Bugotu *ati*, which appear in a similar position. This *a* is for *ta*, *t* having been omitted. Other forms appear in the texts, viz. *amolū*, 2nd pers. pl., used of three persons : *amolū taini vule* " you three (are) equally great " ; also *nggira olu*, 3rd pers. pl., used of three persons. *Oro* of the dual 3rd pers. is paralleled by *oro* of Florida used of all persons, while Bugotu has the forms *oro*, *uru*, *oro*, *ro*. Since *inggira rua* occurs in the texts it seems safe to assume that the forms in brackets in the dual, which are conjectural additions, are the probable forms. This would more or less equate them with the Sa'a and Ulawa dual forms.

ara, 3rd pers. pl., is probably composed of *a*, personal article, and *ra*, the ordinary pronoun of the 3rd pers. pl. Vaturanga, Florida, and Bugotu all have a form *ara*, which in Bugotu is used exclusively as a plural article of persons only. When the subject comes last *ara* is used as a kind of anticipatory subject : *ara go taa na kutuda* " their hearts will be sore " ; it also serves as a kind of verbal particle for the 3rd pers. pl. : *nggira na molai vanua ara ngoengoe* " the multitude was disturbed " ; it may follow *inggira*, *nggira* : *mi nggira ara ngge*

lingea “and they shall sing (it)”; it also denotes “they who”: *nggira ara taraiu* “they who teach me”, *nggira ara la usulia ara go livana* “they that follow him (they) shall be thus”; it may be used alone as the subject: *ara ngge adea una* “they are to do thus”. For its use as an article, and for *inggira*, *nggira*, see § 3.

15. (2) Pronouns suffixed to verbs and prepositions as the object:—

Sing.	1. <i>u.</i>	
	2. <i>o.</i>	
	3. <i>a.</i>	
Plur.	3. <i>ra, rarua, raolu.</i>	
	<i>ni, i.</i>	

In the plural number, 1st and 2nd pers., the personal pronouns *nggia*, *ami*, *amu* are used, and *nggira* may be used as well as *ru*; this latter is also a use of Marau Sound. The form in the 3rd pers. sing., *a*, may be used of a collective plural.

The forms *rarua*, *raolu* are used of two or of three people respectively. The forms *ni*, *i* are used of things and not of persons, the former with the gerundive *a*, and with words which take the suffixed pronouns of possession, the latter is used with verbs: *na bosaani* “to speak of them”, *e livani* “like them”, *nggo adei na bosa ni nggiduku* “make the words of my mouth”. Florida and Sa’a have both of these forms.

16. (3) Pronouns suffixed to nouns to denote possession:—

Sing.	1. <i>nggu.</i>	Plur.	1 incl. <i>ngga.</i>
	2. <i>mu.</i>		1 excl. <i>mami.</i>
	3. <i>na.</i>		2. <i>miu.</i>
			3. <i>da.</i>

These forms are the same as in Sa’a except for the change of *k* and *ngg*. Florida has *da*, *dia* (*dira*), 1st and 3rd pers. pl. respectively. There is no example in the texts of the use of *ni*, 3rd pers. pl., to signify things, as in Florida. For the nouns that do not take these suffixes see § 7.

The suffixing of *na*, *da* to nouns may convey a genitive idea, see § 9.

These pronouns are used as the object, or the anticipatory object, with prepositions: *vwana na inoni* “to a man”; and also with certain verbs, e.g. *too* “to hit, lodge, reach”, *vataa* “to spoil”, *mamaa* “to watch over”.

The personal pronouns *inau*, *inggia*, etc., may be added to nouns to which the above pronouns have already been suffixed.

17. (4) Possessives : *a*, *na*.

These possessives are really nouns, since they are used with the suffixed pronouns of possession.

<i>a</i> :	Sing.	1. <i>anggu</i> .	Plur.	1 incl. <i>angga</i> .
		2. <i>amu</i> .		1 excl. <i>amami</i> .
		3. <i>ana</i> .		2. (<i>amiu</i>).
				3. <i>ada</i> .

The possessive *a* is used of things to eat, also with the words denoting "enemy, friend, neighbour, child, man, woman, thing"; the article *na* precedes the forms with *a*; *na* denotes "belonging to", also "for (my) part". In the former case they precede the noun, in the latter case they follow it: *na ana* "his food", *na ana komu kolu* "his neighbour", *tana limada angga na kana* "from the hands of our enemies", *ada vanga* "their food", *nanggua na aba ni mae* "my enemy", *nanggua* shows *a* added to *nggu*. There are two instances in the texts of *ana* denoting "belonging to" as in Sa'a: *na matai ana na mae* "sickness unto death", *na rua ni muga ana na maramana* "the place of joy of the world".

In the 2nd pers. sing. *namoa*, and not *namua*, is the form that is used; *a* may precede both *namoa* and *nana*: *a namoa* "thy", *a nana*. These are the only examples in the texts, but presumably *a* may be used with all the forms.

The verbs *thagaori* "to pity", *too* "to hit, succeed" are used in the texts with the forms *anggu*. etc.: *e mani thagaoriada* "they are in misery", *e sobanga tooada* "it happened to each of them". In Sa'a and Ulawa *to'o* is similarly used.

There is a form *ani* used of things, as in Sa'a: *nuti masodo ani* "to make light of them", *e tangonama ani sosoko* "able to do all things".

18. The forms with the possessive noun *a* are used as ordinary possessive pronouns, following the noun; but in the 2nd pers. pl. the form is *amu*, the same as the singular, this is possibly a misprint for *amiu*: *na iio ada* "their behaviour", *na bongi ni mae amami* "the day of our death", *inggira ara rua amu* "your forefathers", *na la amu* "thy going", *na boutava amu* "thy birth", *na rua ni mauru anggu* "my bed-place".

19. (5) Demonstratives :—

"This, these, here." *ne*, *nene*, *i nene*, *i nei*; "that, those," *ine*, *nina*, *i nina*, *nggine*. The demonstratives follow the noun or pronoun;

nggine may be added to a noun for emphasis or clearness : *ara nggalemu nggine* " thy children ".

20. (6) Interrogatives :—

" Who ? " *atei ? ara tei* plural. " What ? " *na ta, na tai ?* The interrogatives are used also as indefinites : *atei* " some one ", *ara tei* " whosoever ".

21. There is a distributive *sobanga* (Bugotu *sopa* " each, every "); *nggo la thangara e sobanga tooada na molai aba ni mae* " help them every one whom the enemies have got hold of ", *ara ngge sobanga adea* " they each did it ", *e sobanga* " separately ".

ovosi denotes " every, each " : *na ovoli inoni* " every man ", *na molai ovoli ma* " all things ", *e vita ai na ovoli talili* " how many parts in each ? "

22. Relatives. There are no relative pronouns. A relative sense is conveyed by the use of the pronoun : *na molai paluda ara suu kutu* " the sins of them they are penitent ", i.e. " of those who are penitent "; *nggira sosoko ara iio iei* " they all they dwell there ". i.e. " who are dwelling there "; *nggo kutu meta vwiniami ami ili tatei na palumami* " be gracious to us we (who) confess our sins ".

V. ADJECTIVES

23. Words which qualify nouns are used in a verbal form, i.e. they are used with the verbal particle *e* : *na Anoa e Abu* " The Holy Spirit "; this *e* may, however, be omitted : all so-called adjectives, except those with a definite adjectival form, are really verbs.

Adjectival suffixes : *a, la*.

In the texts the suffix *a* is found used with verbs and nouns : *gulua* " heavy ", *nggalea* " with child ", *ponoa* " completely ", *kikia* " little "; it frequently carries an adverbial sense.

The suffix *la* is seen in *aele* " rooted in, beginning from ", *aae* " leg, stem "; *la* occurs in Sa'a as an adjectival suffix, and *a* is for *ga* of Florida, etc.

Adjectival prefixes : *ma, ta, taba*.

The prefix *ma* is seen in *masodo* " lightly, of no account ", *sodo* " merely ", *maomaoi* " broken ". Sa'a 'o'i " to break ", *mabotali* " to break in pieces " (Sa'a *pota* " to break ").

ta is seen in *talili* " part "; and *taba* in *tabalili* " to set aside ". Sa'a *lili* " to move about ".

24. Comparison of adjectives. Comparison is expressed by the use of *vule* " to be big, great, to exceed " (Florida *vule*) : *e meta vulea*

na rongo "it is better than money", *ara ngge se ngangata rulea* "they will not be stronger than he". The preposition *ita* is also used to denote comparison, as *ta* is in Florida: *ngaia e vule itada* "he is great among them", i.e. "is greater than they".

A word *taa* is used as a superlative: *e meta taa* "it is very good".

An adjective may be repeated with the copula *ma* in order to denote degree: *e terwa me terwa* "deep and deep", i.e. "very deep".

VI. VERBS

25. Verbal particles. The verb in Longgu is conjugated by means of verbal particles or of pronominal forms: any word used with the verbal particles is a verb, whatever be its form. The verbal particles precede the verb, and may be used without a subject expressed. The particles in use are *e, go*, the former being without temporal significance, while the latter is used of the future.

The verbal particle *e* is used of 3rd pers. sing. only, and usually follows a pronoun or a noun used as the subject. Apart from its use with adjectives, § 23, *e* is used without a subject when the meaning is "there is, it is": *e bwala* "it is not, no", *bwala e bwala* "whether or not", *e meta* "it is good", *e utuni, e uthua* "it is true"; *e* may be used with a subject, or a subject may be understood: *a Lord e mamaangu inau* "the Lord watches over me", *e bosa raniu* "he spoke to me".

There is a use of the connective *me*, i.e. *ma*, copula, *e*, verbal particle, similar to the Florida and Bugotu use of *me*, when the subject is in the 3rd pers. sing., and having been stated in the previous clause is not repeated.

The numerals from "one" to "ten" are preceded by *e*: *e tangavulu* "ten".

The verbal particle *go* is used of a definite future, and with all persons and members; the vowel does not drop or change: *na go eno sivo* "I will lie down", *ara go la vu langi* "they will go up", *go vamanatainia namoa na vanua* "to teach thy people". *ara go se tangonama na idumi* "they will not be able to number them". It is used also of the imperative.

The conjunction *ngge* is frequently preferred to *go* when the future is indicated.

The demonstrative *na* denotes a preterite, and also finality: *ara go iiai na* "they will perish". *nggira kokolu na mai na molai inoni* "the people have all gathered together". *ioe o rvaira na* "thou hast

smitten them", *inau na mai* "here I am", *bwala na te inoni* "there is never a man", *me vule na gou* "and especially". There is a similar use of the demonstrative *na* in Sa'a and Bugotu to denote finality.

26. Imperative. For the imperative the verb is used directly, without a pronominal subject; or else it is used with the pronouns of the second person, either alone or compounded with the conjunction *ngge*: *amu la* "go ye", *nggo vamaonaorau* "cleanse thou me", *amu ngge tapo lima* "clap your hands". For the negative imperative *ngge* is used with the negative *se*: *nggo se beli* "do not steal"; *amu ngge se vangasi na kutumiu* may mean either "don't harden your hearts", or "you will not harden your hearts".

27. Negatives. The negative used with a verb is *se*; this may be compared with the negative *sa'a* in Sa'a, and with *sa* in Bugotu: *nggira se vuta ua* "they were not yet born", *vua ngge se rataamu* "so as not to hurt thee"; the verbal particles *e* and *go* are both used with *se*: *ara go se tangonama na idumi* "they will not be able to number them", *e se oni na kiboa itangga* "no sin dwells in us".

The ordinary negative is *bwala*, which is the Ulawa *pwale*.

The verbal particle *e* is used with *bwala*.

28. The conjunction *ngge* is used as an illative, "then, thereupon"; it also serves for the imperative with the pronouns of the second person, and it is used more commonly of the future than *go*; it may denote an optative, and is used following *vua* "in order that"; it also denotes "if". The vowel of *ngge* drops before the pronouns *u*, *o*, *a*, used as subjects, and the result is written *nggu*, *nggo*, *ngga*. It may be compared with the Florida *ngge* and the Bugotu *nggi*.

29. Repetition of the object. The object is anticipated by the use of the suffixed pronoun attached to a verb or preposition, and in agreement with the object: *isulia ngaia* "after him", *e naira na vanua vwininggia* "he put the peoples under us". This anticipatory object is regularly used with prepositions, but not always with verbs.

The object of a transitive verb may be separated from its verb: *e salu tangonamara* "able to deceive them". This is also the case with a compound phrase when the gerundive *a* is used: *na mele taboana* "to choose him rashly".

30. Order of the sentence. As a general rule the subject comes at the end of the sentence: *ara ngge tapo lima na molai vwai beina* "let the floods clap their hands", *e ravuta nggia ngaia* "he gave us birth".

31. There is no true passive, but a passive sense may be conveyed

by the use of the pronoun *ara*, 3rd pers. pl., with the addition of the instrumental preposition *ani*: *nggira na molai bosa ni kolivuti ara ngge kolivuti ania* "the words of prayer (which) they are to pray with".

32. Verbal prefixes. The causative prefix is *va*: *vadióngai* "to cause to fall", *vaiia* "to destroy", *vamauri* "to save". The use of *va* makes a verb definitely transitive.

The reciprocal is *vei*; the verbal suffix *i* is added to the compound: *veiarei* "to command". There is an example in the texts of the use of *vini* as an instrumental prefix: *amu ngge vini manata* "thereby ye shall know". This *vini* corresponds to *hini* of Vaturanga, which has a similar use.

33. Verbal suffixes. The suffixes which are added to verbs to make them transitive are:—

(1) Simple: *i*, *li*, *mi*, *ni*, *ngi*, *si*, *vi*.

<i>tovo</i>	"to measure".	<i>tovoi</i>	"to avenge".
<i>mabotali</i>	"to break in pieces".	<i>Sa'a pota</i>	"to break".
<i>idu</i>	"to count".	<i>idumi</i>	"to count things".
<i>mau</i>	"to fear".	<i>mauni</i>	"to be afraid of".
<i>nanama</i>	"to be powerful".	<i>nanamangi</i>	"to have influence over".
<i>mou</i>	"to break".	<i>mousi</i>	"to break a thing".
<i>nggia</i>	"to lead".	<i>nggiavi</i>	"to lead a person".

A suffix *ai* is used both transitively and intransitively: *too*, *tooai* "to own, acquire"; *ai* has a transitive use in Lau and a participial use in Sa'a.

There is a suffix *ngai*: *ladengai uruuru* "to bend the knee", Sa'a *lada*, *ladangai* "to place".

There is also a transitive suffix *ani* which is added to certain verbs: *garu* "to desire", *kikinima* "to worship", *sika* "to hate", *seka* "to take captive", *tangonama* "to be able", *vali* "to strive": *nggo thagaovira ara seka anira* "pity the captives", *ioe nggo se tangonama ania* "you will not be able to do it". There is a similar use of *ani* in Lau, Mala. It may be that this *ani* is the prepositional *ani*.

(2) Compound. The compound verbal suffixes consist of *ai* with the addition of *ni*, and with or without a consonant prefixed: *aini*, *laini*, *maini*, *raini*, *taini*. These forms are in use also in Sa'a.

<i>thalu</i>	"to hurt".	<i>thaluaini</i>	"to cause pain to".
<i>pada</i>	"to be determined".	<i>padalaini</i>	"to be determined about".

<i>soko</i> "to be all".	<i>sokomaini</i> "to complete".
<i>uaua</i> "to overflow".	<i>uaraini</i> "to pour a thing".
<i>nggali</i> "round".	<i>nggalitaini</i> "to surround".

manata, manataini "to know" shows *ini* as a suffix.

A suffix *lai* appears in *taulai*, apparently with an intransitive force: *mwane e taulai vaolu* "the bridegroom", *Vaturanga tau* "spouse".

A suffix *gini* appears in *liugini*: *manata liugini* "to take care of", *liu* being a common Solomon Island word meaning "to move about", though not found in the Longgu texts.

34. Reflexive. A reflexive use is conveyed by the word *vete* "sole, self, alone", the suffixed pronouns of possession being added.

35. Reduplication. A verb is reduplicated in Longgu (1) by the repetition of the whole word: *ave, aveave* "to flow", *sue, suesue* "to beseech"; (2) by the repetition of the whole word with the omission of the medial consonant: *bathu, bavathu* "to promise"; (3) by the doubling of the first syllable: *gana, gagana* "to think"; *poso, poposo* "to be straight". The second method is not so common in the texts as the other two.

The reduplication of a verb, so far as the texts show, signifies continued or intensive action.

36. Auxiliary Verbs. The verb *la* "to go", like *baa* in Vaturanga, or *vaa* in Florida, or *la* in Sa'a, is in common use before verbs as an auxiliary: *ara la varava itana* "they who trust in him", *nggo la vamabora* "give them peace", *nggira ara ngge la lingea* "then shall they sing"; *iio* "to sit" also denotes "to be", as does *oni* "to dwell", and they may both be considered as auxiliaries.

VII. ADVERBS

37. Time: *ua* "still, yet" follows the verb; *i nene* "now, to-day", *tinggi* "first, first time", precedes the verb; this is the Bugotu *kidi* and the Florida *diki*: *e tinggi ilia* "first declared it"; *lou* "again"; *angita, i angita* "when?" *voita, i voita* "of old, formerly"; *vua* "place, time, time when", a noun: *tana vua* "when"; *tavoni, tovoni* "quickly", precedes the verb; this may be the Bugotu *torongai, torongoi* "as soon as, until": *seisei* "quickly" follows the verb; *ngge* "then, thereupon, if", Florida *ngge*, Bugotu *nggi*: *ngge lae me lae* "for ever and ever" see § 28; *i siiri, i siirini* "to-day" appear in a hymn; but see Preface.

Place: *mai* "hither", *gou* "away", Lau *kou*: *i nei* "here, to-day, now"; *nei, nene, i nene* "here"; *iei* "there"; *geregere* "near";

tau, *vatau* “far off”; *i ubu* “in, in the midst, inside”; *i orova* “under”; *i orovana* “underneath”; *i orova ni aaena* “under his feet”; Ulawa *oroha*; *i rua* “outside, externally, on the ground”, Marau Sound *hua*; *i langi* “up”; *nggengge* “side, beside”, used with the suffixed pronouns of possession, Ulawa *keke*; *ngga* “there”: *bere ngga* “see, behold!”, Florida *ngga* “there”; *pala*, of direction: *pala mai* “on this side”, Florida *pala* “side”.

Manner: *e ata* “why, how?” Lau *utaa*; *e utaa* “only”, *te utaa* “one, only”; *go* qualifies the preceding word, *e ata go* “similarly”, Lau *go*; *vita*, *e vita* “how many?” *e vita ai* “how many things?” *liva*, *e liva*, *e livana*, *e livada*, etc., “like, as”; *tabo* “for no reason”; *mola* “merely, only”, Sa’a *mola*: both of these follow the verb; *tale* “at all” precedes the verb; *una* “thus, to do thus, to speak, say”, Marau Sound *una*; *e una* is used of reported speech; *aaena* “because of”; *bahuni* “in addition”, Florida *balu* “some”; *utuni*, *uthua* “verily, truly”; *bwa* introduces a note of doubt: *te bwa*, *me rua ai* “one, it may be, or two”.

VIII. PREPOSITIONS

38. Locative *i*.
 Rest at *ta*, *tana*, *ita*.
 Motion *berengi*, *bwani*, *tani*, *vonosi*, *vu*.
 Dative *vuwa*, *vuwini*.
 Genitive *ni*, *i*.
 Instrumental *ani*.
 Accompaniment *vai*, *vaini*.

The locative *i* is used with place-names; it is used also with the adverbs of place: *i langi*, *i ubu*, *i rua*; *ta* is of general significance, as in Florida and Bugotu, and denotes “in, at, from, of, to”: *ta nada na kokolu* “of their company”, *nggia ta nana malabu* “we are of (from) his garden”; the pronouns of possession may be added: *e ruta mai tana* “born of her”, *tada* “among, from, them”; *ta* is also used in comparisons.

tana denotes “in, at, from”, also “with” of accompaniment; the article *na* may follow: *tana rua* “in the place where, while”; *tana bongi* “in, from, the day”; *tana na thaulavi* “in the evening”; it is also used in comparisons; the *na* of *tana* is the suffixed pronoun.

ita denotes “with, from, to, upon, among, in”; the pronouns of possession are always suffixed: *e vatau itamami* “far from us”, *ami*

tuturu itamu "we beg of thee", *mwane kama itada* "ruler over them"; the ordinary personal pronouns may be added as well: *itamu ioe* "to thee", *itana ngaia* "to him"; *ita* is used in comparisons.

berengi means "to, towards"; the pronouns of the object are always suffixed; *berengi* is a verb meaning "to look at", and its use as a preposition is similar to that of the Florida *vaa rigi* "to". The Bugotu *thae* "to come, to go" is used as a preposition meaning "to".

bwani means "from, from out of", the pronouns of the object being always suffixed: *bwanningia* "from us", *la bwani* "to forsake", *mae bwani* "to die and leave"; *bwani* is probably connected with Sa'a *mvaani* "from".

tani means "from", of motion from: *ami thathi tani siatalamu* "we have erred from thy way". Vaturanga also uses *tani* in this sense.

vonosi means "against, to oppose"; it is a verb, and Sa'a has *hono, honosi* "to shut, against"; the pronouns of the object are always suffixed: *vonosiu* "against me"; the ordinary personal pronouns may be added as well.

vu denotes "to, towards", and is used of place only: *vu buri* "back", *vu langi* "upwards", *vu luma* "into the house". *vu su* "to go down", *me la vu betidalo* "he went to the home of the dead". Lau, Mala, has *fu, vu* = "to."

vuwa denotes "to", the pronouns of the object being always suffixed: *e bosa vuwada* "he spoke to them"; *vuwini* denotes "to, for", the pronouns being always suffixed: *vuwiniu* "to, for, me". The *w* in *vuwa* appears to be a mistake, since Lau has *vua, fua* "to, for", and the *wi* of *vuwini* appears to be a mistake also; Sa'a has *huni* "to".

ni denotes "of"; for its use see § 9. No article is used after the genitive *ni*. There are two instances of the use of *i* as a genitive in the texts: *nggale i tasitalavu* "child of grace", *nggale i thake* "child of wrath"; *i* is in regular use in Florida and Sa'a as a genitive.

ani denotes "therewith, thereby, therein, withal, about it"; it is used with the pronouns *a* and *ra* suffixed: *e taa ania na kutunggu na vavata ne* "my heart was grieved with this generation", *e la ania vu langi na muga* "he is gone up with a shout"; the first example shows *ani* following the verb immediately and coming between it and the subject; this is the ordinary usage in Longgu.

ania may also follow the word under government: *amu ngge mae ania* "ye shall die of it"; it is used like *ana*, the instrumental in Sa'a,

of naming a person: *me se thadanggu nggo ailiu ania a nggalemu* "and I am not worthy to be called thy son".

vai, *vaini* denote "with" of accompaniment; *vai* is not used with the suffixed pronoun: *amu ngge muga vai vagama* "rejoice with reverence"; *vaini* is used with the suffixed pronouns: *vainira* "with them". Lau has *faini*, Sa'a *pe'i*, *pe'ini* = "with".

IX. CONJUNCTIONS

39.

Copulative *ma*.

Disjunctive *ma*, *taa*.

Illative *ngge*.

The copula *ma* shifts its vowels to agree with the initial vowel of the word following, *ma*, *me*, *mi*, *mo*, *mu*; but *me* and *mi* are commonly used, whatever be the succeeding vowel. The vowel of *ma* drops before the initial *i* of the pronouns: *minau* "and I"; it is customary to write *mi oe* "and thou", *mi ngaia* "and he", etc.; *ma* also denotes "but, or": *te bwa me rua ai* "just one or two"; *ma* is frequently used when no copula is used in English; this is caused by the habit of co-ordinating the sentences, where in English they are subordinated: *me mae, mara naia, me la vu betidalo* "dead and buried, went to Paradise".

taa na denotes "but"; Ulawa *taa* "but".

For *ngge* see § 28.

X. NUMERALS

40. (1) Cardinals:—

1. <i>tai</i> .	6. <i>ono</i> .
2. <i>rua</i> .	7. <i>viu</i> .
3. <i>olu</i> .	8. (<i>alu</i>).
4. <i>vai</i> .	9. (<i>siu</i>).
5. <i>lima</i> .	10. <i>tangafulu</i> .

The numbers in brackets are conjectural; they are wanting in the texts.

The cardinal numbers are preceded by the verbal particle *e*: *e rua* "two".

te, *teei* both appear in the texts as meaning "one": *te bongi* "one day, some day, at some time", *te kana* "any enemy", *te utaa* "one only", *te mani kibo* "a sin", *God a teei mola* "God is one", there is also a form *ata*: *e ata go* "similarly". Sa'a has *taa* "one",

and Lau has *te* "one", *ata* "another". There is also in the texts a word *taini* "altogether", which is evidently connected with *tai* "one": *ara ngge taini ilia* "they shall say it altogether"; *tai aba* "one part" denotes "absolutely, entirely"; this is equivalent to "one time" of pidgin English.

matapono is added to *tangafulu* to denote "complete": *e tangafulu matapono* "a full ten"; *mola* means "ten thousand", as in Sa'a: *na mola ma na mola* "countless numbers"; *idu thathi* "count incorrectly" denotes "innumerable".

(2) The ordinals are formed by the addition of *na* to the cardinals: *rua*, *ruana*; the article *na* may precede; "first" is *nao*.

XI. EXCLAMATIONS

41. *e*: *ara vutinga, e* "how many they are!"

Assent is denoted by *uthua, e uthua* "verily"; "no" is *buwala*.

Imagery in Ngok Dinka Cattle-Names

By E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

THE Nilotes refer to their cattle in a number of ways, and one of these is by colour or interrelation of colours which are associated in their minds with some animal or bird or reptile. Their cattle are thus called by colour-analogy crocodile cow, fish eagle cow, leopard cow, and so on. The Dinka go even farther and make a double analogy in referring to their cattle by terms which suggest some activity associated with, or some attribute of, the creature that displays similar colouring to the cattle. When a youth is initiated he takes a new name by adopting the name of the bullock presented to him at his initiation by his father. Thus we can trace a man's bullock-name as follows:—

(a) Bullock's colours; (b) creature with colours similar to those of the bullock; (c) something associated with the creature; (d) man's name.

This is not my discovery. Professor and Mrs. Seligman write: "The following examples, obtained with Archdeacon Shaw's assistance, will show the lines of thought that are followed. A lad possessing an ox called Manyang, a name referring to the crocodile (*ma* 'male', and *nyang* 'crocodile') because that reptile is regarded as more or less brindled, takes the name Magor, *gor* being the brindled mongoose. The owner of an ox Majak (*jak* 'pelican') may take the name Anoklek (*nok* 'to vomit', *lek* 'a fish'), while the owner of an ox Makwei (*kwei* the 'fish eagle') took the name Akuemuk, explained as signifying 'the holder-of-wings-rigid', referring to the swooping of the bird. . . . Thus all grey calves have *lith* in their names (e.g. Melith, a grey bull-calf, *lith* being the word for a grey hawk). Archdeacon Shaw points out that cows (not heifers) are given a personal name which they bear through life, e.g. a grey heifer (therefore Nalith) became Gopdit ('snatcher-of-birds') after bearing a light brown calf, and a cow Namer became Pelawan ('the releaser of scent') from the colour of the sweet-scented *lang* fruit."¹

These examples would seem to have been gathered among the Bor Dinka on the East Bank of the Nile, and I supplement them here with others collected from a boy who was for a short time in my service during my residence in Nuerland, Biel, of the Fanai clan, of the Ngok

¹ C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, pp. 169-170.

Dinka, who live to the south of the Sobat River near its junction with the Filus River. In the list given beneath there are a number of cross-references to the Nuer language, since we conversed in this tongue, and these are marked N.

(1) *mior ma¹ku* (N. *thak mabor*), white bullock. Second name, *ruil pei* (bright moon), so-called because it shines at night like the moon.

(2) *mior ma jaak* (N. *thak ma jaak*), bullock with white body and brown or tawny head, neck, and rump; so called because it resembles the pelican (*jaak*, N. *bong*). Second name, *anoklek*, because the pelican vomits (*nok*) a fish called *lek* when it has overeaten.²

(3) *mior ma diing* (N. *thak ma diing*), bullocks with white back (and maybe belly) and brown (or tawny) flanks. Second name, *deelgook*, because the maribou stork (*deel*, N. *kil*) refuses (*gook*) a fish called *diing* (N. *juath*).³ Is the association between the fish and the bullock one of sound or of colour? The maribou stork refuses this fish because it has sharp spines or fins which cut the stork's neck if it tries to swallow it. Consequently the stork is sometimes seen with the fish half in its mouth and half outside. Dr. Tucker suggests that a better rendering of *deelgook* would be "the fish is too much for the maribou stork".

(4) *mior ma thiang* (N. *thak ma thiang*), bullock of reddish colour with purple hue, a colour which might be translated "chestnut", so called because it is like the colour of the *thiang*, a nilotic word used in the Sudan for this animal and incorporated into the scientific name of the species. Second name, *akolbang*, because the *thiang* toss (*kol*) their heads about, now in one direction, now in another (*bang*) as they look up while grazing.

(5) *mior ma yän* (N. *thak ma yän*), tawny bullock, so called because it resembles the colour of the yellow vole (*yän* in Dinka). Second name, *ajothiing*, because the lion, which has a tawny colour, seizes (*jot*) the *thiang*.

(6) *mior ma lith* (N. *thak ma lith*), bullock of grey (perhaps rather slate-grey) colour, so called because it is like the colour of the hawk (*lith*, N. *nyalieth*). Second name, *agoryai*, because the hawk scatters

¹ This particle is given throughout as *ma*, though it may often be pronounced *me* or *mi*.

² Archdeacon Shaw provides (in Bor Dinka) an alternative name, *alang wer* = swallower of the river, referring presumably to the same bird.

³ According to Stigand (*A Nuer-English Vocabulary*, 1923, p. 14) this is a "fish shaped like a fat conger eel".

(*gor*) the little Spanish sparrows when it swoops down upon them and they disperse in fright crying *yai*.

(7) *mior ma lou* (N. *thak ma lou*), mouse-coloured bullock, so called because it resembles the bustard's plumage (*lou*). Second name, *buwut*. The association of this word is doubtful, but I was told that it refers to the sight of elephant in the distance which are like a cloud, and that the elephant has mouse-coloured skin.¹

(8) *mior ma car* (N. *thak ma car*), black bullock. Second name, *muth*, meaning a moonless night or a phase of the moon when it is not visible. On such a night you cannot see a black bullock in the kraal, while cattle with white markings are visible.

(9) *mior ma lual* (N. *thak ma lual*), reddish-brown bullock, possibly so called on account of a colour resemblance to a reddish-brown snake called *lualdit*.² Second name, *atukdier*, because the hippopotamus which has a brown skin, will burst his way (*tuk*) through a fishing dam (*dier*) made across a river.

(10) *mior ma cuor* (N. *thak ma cuor*), speckled bullock, so called on account of its resemblance to the plumage of the vulture (*cuor*). Second name, *awulei*, because the vulture falls upon (*wu*) an animal (*lei*) killed in the bush.

(11) *mior ma nyääl* (N. *thak ma nyääl*), white bullock with brown spots and splashes on face, back, and flanks, so called on account of its resemblance to the skin of the python (*nyääl*). Second name, *aderthok*, because the python winds itself (*der*) round a goat (*thok*) and kills and swallows it.

(12) *mior ma ke* (N. *thak ma kär*), bullock with white back (and maybe belly) and black flanks (or flanks of any other colour except brown, when it is a *ma diing*). Is this called after the rail³? Second name, *thoukiit*, because during the rains the frogs chirp all night long in the pools. They are led by a song-leader (*kiit*) and his death (*thou*) always takes place at dawn. On the following night the frogs are led in song by a new leader. The frog has markings which are like those of this bullock.

(13) *mior ma wea* (N. *thak ma wea*), pepper-spotted bullock. Second

¹ A suggested translation of *bu wut* is "tramples the cattle-kraal", which might very well apply to the elephant.

² According to Stigand (id., p. 21) this is the tree cobra.

³ Stigand (id., p. 16) gives "*kêr*, rail: brown rail, with white neck, which walks on floating vegetation" in his Nuer vocabulary. The Dinka term for this bird is unknown.

name, *apokwea*, because the sky (*pok*) is spotted (*wea*) with stars at night.

(14) *mior yom lou* (N. *thak ma kwe looka*), bullock with mouse-coloured skin (see No. 7) and a white face. Second name, *ajulgiet*. I was told that it is so called because it has a colour which would not become faint however much it were washed.

(15) *mior ma kol* (*thak ma kul*), brown or tawny bullock with white splash on centre of flank or on rump, probably so called through resemblance to the sun (*akol* in Dinka). If this is so, the Nuer word *kul* perhaps dates back to a period when the two languages were undifferentiated, since the present Nuer word for sun is *cang*.¹ The secondary name certainly suggests this association, and it is likely that *kul* is a variant of *kol*. Second name, *aruilbeny*. The chief (*beny*) is bright or shines (*ruil*), i.e. the sun shines or is bright. My informant said that the sun is afraid of nothing but comes out in all his strength.

(16) *mior ma nyang* (N. *thak ma nyang*), any bullock with brindled markings because the crocodile (*nyang*) has a brindled body. Second name, *adomgel*, which means the seizer in a place where there is no high river-bank grass (this grass is known as *kuth* in Nuer and *akom* in Dinka). The seizer refers to the crocodile which pounces on animals and men in such a place.

(17) *mior ma bil nyang* (N. *thak ma bil nyang*), brindled bullock with white splash on flank (see No. 16). Second name, *gwicatiep*, because the crocodile (*nyang*) watches (*gwic*) the shadow (*atiep*) of a man in the water as he stands on the bank.

(18) *mior ma ngok nyang* (N. *thak ma yil nyang*), bullock of blue-grey colouring with brindled markings. The word *ngok* in Nuer refers to the heron, and this suggests a similar meaning for the Dinka word. Is this so? The only Nuer word, *yil*, I know means the seeds of the waterlily. Second name, *kokdhim*, because when people filter (*dhim*) beer they hit the end of the woven filter which emits a sound "kok kok kok" and this can be heard a long way off. Now malted beer when it is spread on the ground is of a blue-grey colour resembling the colour of the bullock.

(19) *mior ma ngok* (N. *thak ma yil*), blue-grey bullock (see No. 18). Second name, *wacluau*. *wac* means sour, and the name has reference to malted grain which is of a blue-grey colour. (See No. 18.)

¹ Another instance of this probable persistence of the old word in cattle-names may be noted under No. 2 (*mior majaak*, N. *thak ma jaak*), where the present Nuer word for pelican is *bong*.

(20) *mior ma cok rol* (N. *thak ma cok rol*), bullock with one white foreleg, the white colouring extending under the leg-pit. *Cok* means leg. Second name, *acokjiuth*, because it is like a girl who has on her leg (*cok*) a bright leg-ring (*jiuth*, N. *ciek*).

(21) *mior ma lek* (N. *thak ma bor lek*), a white bullock with splashes like those of the giraffe in colour and distribution. This association with the giraffe is shown in the secondary name, and it is difficult to know why the bullock is not called after its name. It appears most likely that it is called after a certain fish known as *lek* (Nile perch?) in both Nuer and Dinka, though I do not know whether this implies an association of colour. Second name, *ajotdhu*, because the giraffe is caught (*jot*) by the spiked wheel trap (*dhu*).¹

(22) *mior ma lek lou* (N. *thak ma lek looka*), a mouse-coloured bullock with splashes similar to those in No. 21. Second name, *kōmbai*, which means "lame ones" and refers to hyenas which run as though lame. The association here is presumably between the coat of the spotted hyena and the skin of the bullock.

(23) *mior ma gōök* (N. *thak ma luil*). I am uncertain of the colour of this bullock, but it appears from the Dinka name that it resembles that of the baboon (*gōök*). Second name, *aroktim*, because the baboon climbs (*rok*) trees (*tim*).

(24) *mior ma bil* (N. *thak ma bil*). This bullock may be of any ground colour, but is distinguished by a large white splash in the centre of the flank (except when the ground colour is brown, when it is *ma kul* in Nuer and *ma kol* in Dinka; see No. 15). Second name, *acongbang*, because the crested crane, which has a white splash on its plumage like the bullock on its skin, dances about (*cong*) aimlessly (*bang*).

(25) *mior ma jok* (N. *thak ma jok*). White bullock with black head, neck, and rump. The ground colour may be of any other colour except brown, for it is then a *ma jak* (see No. 2). Second name, *midai*, because when a Government steamer passes by all the people rush to the bank to look at (*dai*) it. One presumes that the Dinka see some resemblance between the colours of a Government steamer and of this bullock, but I am very doubtful about the association in this instance.

(26) *mior ma rial* (*thak ma rial*), bullock with white body, but head and rump of another colour (usually black) and with large splashes of the same colour on back and flanks. Second name, *babur*, because

¹ An alternative name in Bor Dinka, according to Archdeacon Shaw, is *adier kwec* = covered in scales, referring to the fish.

the Dinka see a resemblance between a Government steamer (*babur*) and this bullock. The colour of this bullock is a variation of No. 25, and this is expressed also in the secondary names. My Dinka informant said that there was nothing in nature with similar markings.

(27) *mior ma rol* (N. *thak ma rol*), a bullock of almost any ground colour which is broken by a broad belt of white covering neck, shoulder, and foreleg. Second name, *kacbeegh*, the saddle-billed stork (*rialbegh* in Nuer). This bird has a belt of white in its plumage, similar to the bullock's markings.

(28) *mior ma yöm* (N. *thak ma kwe*),¹ bullock with a body of any colour but distinguished by a white, or partly white, face in contrast. It is so called because it resembles the beautiful fish eagle, which has a black plumage with white neck and face (at least this is the meaning of the Nuer word *kwe*, and it seems that the same word is used by the Bor Dinka). Second name, *gwanghial*, because the fish eagle waits for a fish to poke its head above the water (*gwang*) to the sky (*nhial*).

(29) *mior ma kwac* (N. *thak ma kwac*). Bullock of any colour, but spotted like a leopard (*kwac*). Second name, *adimkwac*, because it and the leopard are so spotted (*dim*).

It may seem hazardous to record these derivations when I do not know the Dinka language and trust to the information of a single boy. Moreover, a Dinka-English dictionary is still lacking, so that I cannot check the translation of Dinka words. Nevertheless, I have ventured to publish them because little is known at present about Nilotic cattle-names, which are of great interest sociologically, illustrating language as a technique of economic relations, and showing the way in which symbols referring to colours and their distribution are formed. They are also of interest in a comparative study of the Nilotic group of languages for several Nuer words can only be understood etymologically by reference to Dinka terms describing the same animals. The precise significance of this fact cannot be estimated until more is known about Nilotic cattle-names, especially those in use among the Shilluk. An account of cattle-names among the Nuer will appear, accompanied by drawings, in my account of this people in *Sudan Notes and Records*.

¹ According to Archdeacon Shaw *ma kwe* and *ma yom* refer in the Bor dialect to cattle with different markings, the name given to an owner of a *ma yom* being *areí gor* "spoil the waterlily".

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS [SHUI HU CHUAN]. Translated from the Chinese by PEARL S. BUCK. pp. xiii + 1279. London: Methuen and Co., 1933. 21s.

Ten works of Chinese fiction are sometimes singled out as 才子書 "Works of Genius", and they certainly include at least two masterpieces, the 三國志演義 *San kuo chih yen i* and 水滸傳 *Shui hu chuan*. These, with the 金瓶梅 *Chin p'ing mei* and 西遊記 *Hsi yu chi*, figure again among the 四大奇書 "Four Marvellous Productions". Other novels of renown are the 紅樓夢 *Hung lou mêng*, 封神演義 *Fêng shên yen i*, and *Tung chou lieh kuo chih* 東周列國志. All of these are "three-deckers", running to a hundred chapters or more, and until a few years ago none had been completely translated. Rather less than half the *Hung lou mêng* was done by Bencraft Joly, about the same proportion of the *Fêng shên yen i* by Grube in German, and several chapters of the *Hsi yu chi*, with an abstract of the remainder, by Timothy Richards. We have also been promised the whole of the *Chin p'ing mei* by Colonel Egerton, but so far nothing has appeared. In 1925 Mr. Brewitt-Taylor produced his *San Kuo*, the first of the great Chinese novels to be presented in its entirety to the Western public: and now Mrs. Buck has given us this complete translation of the *Shui hu*, a work of nearly the same length, in a volume of 1,279 pages.

It is, in truth, a monumental achievement; for although translation in China, with a teacher at one's elbow, is a very different matter from struggling with Chinese texts in this country without other help than somewhat inadequate dictionaries, the mere industry and patience which the task must have required, quite apart from the considerable knowledge of the language which it implies, cannot but excite admiration. It is true that the style of the *Shui hu* approaches much more nearly to *pai hua* or the pure colloquial than that of the *San kuo*, but that is not altogether an advantage; for whereas the literary language is hardly susceptible of change, common speech in China, as elsewhere, is modified considerably by the lapse of time: and this work is generally believed to have been composed, or rather compiled from a number of previously existing stories, about the time of Chaucer. Hence the occurrence of various phrases and locutions which are now obsolete or survive only in out-of-the-way dialects.

Such is the use of 脚頭 as a verb meaning to steal, of which I can find no other example: 莫不是來相脚頭 "Haven't you come to steal something?" (chap. i. p. 19. of Hu Shih's edition, and p. 34 of the translation). 老小, seemingly an abbreviation of 老婆小兒 "wife and children", is twice used simply to denote a wife: 我近來取得一個老小 "I have recently married a wife"; 是誰的老小 "Whose wife is she?" 馬泊六 on p. 428 is evidently a pimp or procuress, but its derivation is obscure. 鳥 "bird" is often used in the sense of "accursed": 這鳥店子 "This accursed inn"; 休得胡鳥說 "Don't talk such cursed nonsense"; 怕甚麼鳥 "What the devil should I be afraid of?" The word 厮, again, is used with the same shades of meaning as our word "fellow", though mostly in a derogatory sense: 那厮 "that creature", "that rascal". Occasionally, too, it serves as a synonym for 相: 且來厮見 "Come and see him"; 都面面厮覷 "They all eyed one another". 洒家 *sa chia* (to be carefully distinguished from 酒家 *chiu chia* a tavern-keeper) is a term applied by several of the characters to themselves, but what its exact significance may be I cannot say. Mrs. Buck translates it simply by the first personal pronoun. Then we have a frequent use of 則個 as an emphatic final particle: 要問安則個 "I wish to inquire after his health"; 相煩則個 "I must trouble you, then"; 娘子相待大官人則個 "Good-wife, entertain the gentleman"; 如何不看覷我則個 "Why do you not take a little thought for me?" 兀 is a particle which is often hardly translatable. Alone, it is usually an interjection: 兀誰叫老娘 "Ha! who is that calling me?" With 自, it imparts an element of persistence to the verb: 兀自問道 "kept on asking . . ." The phrase 胡亂, again, is not easy to translate in all contexts, but it often seems to have a slightly depreciatory effect: 胡亂請些箇 "I have just invited a few of you"; 胡亂權在縣衙裏安歇 "Oh, I am just putting up for the time at the district yamen".

The *Shui hu* is a panoramic narrative, richly embroidered with thrilling incidents, and valuable historically for the light it throws on the intimate life of the people; it may also be regarded as a novel with a purpose, for the reader's sympathy is deliberately enlisted on the side of outlaws and robbers who have suffered hardship and been driven to revolt through acts of oppression and injustice on the part of the governing classes and the selfish rich of their day. For a long time the book was banned by imperial mandate, and officials who bought a copy were punishable by the loss of a year's pay. Yet

its general tone is far from being immoral: although it is full of bloodshed and deeds of violence, great stress is laid on the innate decency and virtue of the leading bandits, who are constantly described as "good fellows" (好漢) and "honest, open-handed men" (仗義疎財). One feels that the author of *The Good Earth*, with her broad and tolerant outlook on life, was the predestined translator of this work, instinct as it is with a warm, comprehensive humanity.

Full tribute has already been paid by many reviewers to the general excellence of the work; my purpose is now to examine and appraise the translation from the linguistic and textual point of view. Before going into further detail, it may be said at once that this is no mere paraphrase but a faithful rendering in plain and vigorous English, which suits well with the unaffected simplicity of the original. Sometimes, indeed, one may regret that Mrs. Buck has tried to be too literal, as in the following instances: "They were courteous for nigh upon half a day" (謙了半晌); "It is all on my body" (都在我身上); "The affairs of my house are all at sevens and eights" (家裏的事都七顛八倒); "I guessed eight parts" (八分猜道). This indication of degree by taking so many parts out of ten is a purely Chinese idiom which has no counterpart in English. "I felt pretty sure" would be preferable as a translation.

Another slight blemish is an occasional shakiness in the transliteration of proper names. If 史 is Shih, then surely 志 and 智 should be Chih, not Chi. And it is hard to see why 成 should be Chen while 謹 is Ching, 林 Ling, and 范 Fang. 孫 is variously rendered as Sun, Shen, and Sheng; and 經畧府 appears as Chin Lo Fu. These inconsistencies seem to be due to a mixture of dialects.

When I undertook to review this book I thought it would be a good opportunity to read the whole novel in Chinese, comparing the translation with it as I went along. That was six months ago, and at the moment of writing I am still not half-way through! However, I am able to submit a certain number of passages which will need reconsideration in the highly probable event of a second edition. In describing the time and care that were spent on the translation, Mrs. Buck tells us that she went through the Chinese no fewer than four times from beginning to end, once by herself, twice with her teacher, and once with another Chinese friend. If in spite of all this revision some mistakes have still escaped her notice, one can only murmur indulgently with Horace—

"Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum."

p. 2, l. 19: "he could change the winds and shape the clouds." 辨風雲氣色 The first character means "to discriminate between" (for purposes of divination). Mrs. Buck seems to have confused it with 變, also read *pien*.

p. 5, l. 5 from bottom: "panoplies" is a slip for "canopies" (蓋).

p. 7, l. 23: "when he had eaten a vegetarian meal." 挾了素香 "he took with him the pure incense" (from the Emperor).

p. 9, l. 7: I must confess I do not see why Commander Hung in the prologue should cry 慚愧 after his deliverance from the serpent; but neither do I see any justification for translating the words "Fortunate!"

p. 153, l. 15: "after they had passed two or three cities." 行了兩程 "after they had done two stages of their journey". Another confusion between two words of the same sound, 程 and 城.

p. 204, l. 15: "but I do not know whether or not you wish it." 只不知你武藝如何 "but I do not know how skilled you may be in military exercises".

p. 216, l. 12: For "Four Books" read "Five Classics".

p. 217, l. 1: "in the county of Yün Ch'ên in the city of Chi Chou." 濟州府鄆城縣 "Yün-ch'êng Hsien [district city] in the prefecture of Chi-chou".

p. 230, l. 5: "you animal and one without all reason" 無禮 is unmannerly rather than unreasonable.

p. 246, l. 17: "he is not a good man!" 不識好人 "you don't know a good man when you see him". Cf. p. 557, l. 13.

p. 248, l. 4: "who in real truth was this Kung Sun Sheng?" 畢竟搶來揪住公孫勝的却是何人 "now, who was this man who rushed in and grasped Kung-sun Shêng?"

p. 251, l. 5: "there are ears in the corners of the wall." 隔牆須有耳: Why not use the exact English equivalent: "Walls have ears"? There is nothing about "corners".

p. 245, l. 17: "nor will I forget to raise you up." 我也不枉了擡舉你 "I made no mistake in promoting you". 枉 is confused with 忘.

p. 275, l. 12: "the approach to the three fortresses was heaped with thunder wood and cannon, stones and repeating arrows and mighty bows." 三重關上擺着播木砲石硬弩強弓. What Mrs. Buck means by "thunder wood" I cannot guess; but she evidently mistook 播 for 雷. *Lei-mu* are logs to be rolled down on

the enemy's head, *p'ao-shih* are not cannon but stone cannon-balls, and *ying-nu* may be cross-bows made with an exceptionally stiff "pull".

p. 276, l. 15 from bottom: "rose early to travel by dawn and they rested at night". 曉行午住 "they started at dawn and halted at noon".

p. 288, l. 10: "at that time Sung Chiang carried a staff." 當時宋江帶着一個伴當 "... taking a retainer with him". *Pan-tang* occurs again a few lines below, where it is correctly translated.

p. 289, l. 4: "I do not know what work there is for us from above." 不知上司有何公務 Sung Chiang is speaking to a petty official: "I don't know on what public business you are engaged."

p. 303, l. 13 from bottom: 船... 撐的 are not "row boats" but punts, and 搖的, here translated "small fishing boats", are boats propelled by means of a single oar at the stern. Hence the familiar term *yuloh* (搖櫓).

p. 304, l. 15: "he had a kerchief tied about his head." 頭戴青箬笠. *Ch'ing-jo li* is a broad-brimmed bamboo-leaf hat.

p. 304, l. 17: "a weapon, which he held pointed like a pen." 條筆管鎗 seems to be a spear with a hollow bamboo shaft.

p. 343, l. 3: 那婆娘 is the *young* woman, not the old woman.

p. 343, l. 6: 春臺 cannot be a "toilet table" here, if on the next page (l. 18) it is a "long couch".

p. 344, l. 8 from bottom: 風流人物 is not "one who has a great spirit", but "a man of refinement".

p. 344, l. 2 from bottom: "put aside the idle talk you have heard." 閒話都打疊起 "gossip is being repeated everywhere".

p. 345, l. 4 from bottom: "he was here where he would not be." 正沒做道理處 "he was at a loss".

p. 357, l. 7 from bottom: "he has the cruellest kind of hand." 他正是兇首 "he is a thorough-paced rascal". Mrs. Buck seems to have read 兇手, which means "murderer".

p. 358, l. 6 from bottom: "happiness and woe are two things to which there is no door which any man may seek for himself." 禍福無門惟人自召. Unless the punctuation is at fault, the above rendering would mean that happiness and woe are not to be caused or averted by any human endeavour, but depend entirely on Fate. The real meaning is just the reverse: "There is no high road to happiness or misfortune; every man brings them on himself."

p. 359, l. 7 from bottom: 糟薑, translated "rice wine lees", is surely preserved ginger?

p. 369, l. 15: "how can we go to him?" 何不只去投奔他 "why should we not take refuge with him?"

p. 369, l. 11 from bottom: "and as all travellers do they slept at night by the way." 但凡客商在路早晚安歇. The point is that they were fugitives from justice, and hence "they slept during the day when travelling merchants were on the road".

p. 383, l. 18: "proclaimed in such a month and such a year." 政和年月日. Why not give the reign-period *Chêng-ho* (A.D. 1111-18)? This is one of the few time indications in the story, which opens in the reign of Chê Tsung (1086-1100).

p. 388, l. 16: In *Bull. SOS.*, vi. p. 63, I discussed the term 涼轎 and suggested that it must denote a chair protected from the sun by an awning. The same term occurs here, and I am glad to note that I have the support of Mrs. Buck, who translates it "a tented sedan".

p. 394, l. 6: "it is easy enough to be here or there." 容易料理 "it is easy for me to manage".

p. 402, l. 6: "if it is told it will bring shame on you." 說起來裝你的幌子. I think this must be the right interpretation of 裝幌子, though I cannot find a parallel case cited in any dictionary. In Giles' Dict., No. 5138, we find: "to make a show of being able to do anything; to be an impostor; to put on airs." And again, under No. 2759: "to counterfeit a trade-mark or sign; to wear the distinguishing badge of one's profession." The last meaning seems to come nearest to what is required here: "If the truth is told, it will display your shop-sign," i.e. expose you to the world.

p. 409, l. 21: "I asked you about the plum blossom tea and you talk about go-betweens in marriage,—these are two things far apart!" A note should have been added to explain the pun on 梅 and 媒, which is lost on the English reader.

p. 412, l. 17: "the two in the beginning of the Han dynasty who helped the Emperor to his throne" are 隨何 Sui Ho and 陸賈 Lu Chia. In both my editions of the text the former surname is wrongly given as 隋.

p. 421, l. 4: "(ever since this goodwife was wed to this man) she has followed him in a hundred ways." 但是有事百依百隨 "whenever there has been trouble, she has stuck to him through thick and thin".

p. 426, l. 19: "I will do naught but wait for your good heart."
專等好消息 "I shall expect a fair message."

p. 426, l. 3 from bottom: 鄆哥 does not mean "Son of Yün" but "elder brother of [the city of] Yün [-chou]."

p. 435, l. 2: 趁船的 is not "one who pushes the boat", but "one who avails himself of the boat"—a passenger.

p. 435, l. 12 from bottom: "a kind of bitter white medicine which rots the vitals when it is swallowed." The Chinese is simply 砒霜, which is arsenic. Why this circumlocution?

p. 436, l. 4: "I have taken the first step and the second must follow."

p. 527, l. 9 from bottom: "since I have begun, let me finish."
一不做二不休. Both renderings give the correct sense of the proverb. Literally, I suppose, the words mean: "Don't do one, or don't stop at two." They are first put into the mouth of the poisoner Hsi-mên Ch'ing, and afterwards, ironically enough, into that of Wu Sung who, having avenged his brother's death, found himself involved in a new orgy of slaughter. The sentiment is that of Macbeth:

"I am in blood

Stepped in so far that, should I wade no more,
Returning were as tedious as go o'er."

p. 440, l. 19: 巳 is not "the first part of the night before midnight", but 9-11 a.m. On p. 471, l. 13, 巳牌 is again wrongly translated "the fourth watch of the night".

pp. 444-5: The account of a cremation in China is interesting in that it tends to justify Marco Polo's constant allusions to that practice, which cannot be traced farther back than the Sung dynasty, and appears to have died out again by the fifteenth century.

p. 448, l. 9: "immediately a curse falls upon man." 人有暫時禍福 "man is subject to vicissitudes of fortune".

p. 456, l. 15 from bottom: 硯瓦 is not "an earthen cup" but an ink-slab.

p. 459, l. 6: "then all the neighbours laughed in deprecation of this." 衆高鄰休得笑話則個. This sentence is really a continuation of Wu Sung's speech: "Worthy neighbours, do not make this a subject of ridicule."

p. 461, l. 13 from bottom: "it was you who did the wrong first."
你先招了 "you were the first to confess".

p. 483, l. 12 from bottom: "and he would not go, and there were voices and shouts everywhere." 又不走了大呼小喝做

甚麼. This again is part of Wu Sung's speech: "I haven't run away. What do you come yelling and shouting here for?"

p. 492, l. 1: "if I flatter you at all then am I no proper man." 若是有些諂佞的非爲人也 "if it is some business requiring an oily tongue, then I am not the man for you!"

p. 507, l. 18 from bottom: 一輛車兒 is not "a cart or two" but simply "a cart".

p. 509, l. 14: "I ought to take up my weapons and follow your very footstool." 小人當以執鞭隨鐙. "I ought to hold your whip and follow your stirrup," i.e. be your servant. 鐙 and 凳 have been confused—once more owing to identity of sound.

p. 510, l. 6 from bottom: "now the drinking has some meaning to it." 斟酒與義士喫 "pour out some wine for this worthy man to drink".

p. 511, l. 20: "and who would ask more?" 何似在人間 "I can hardly believe I am on earth" (literally, "how is it like being among men?").

p. 513, l. 3 from bottom: "a good beast can be shown mercy and it is grateful, but how can one look for gratitude in a man?" 衆生好度人難度 "all living things may be brought to salvation except man".

p. 517, l. 15 from bottom: "he did not dream that he would be seen." 不隄防被見了 "he took no precautions against being seen".

p. 534, l. 10 from bottom: "(rumours came) as thickly as splinters of a bamboo when it is bent and broken." The Chinese is simply 蔑刺一般 (the translator seems to have misread 箴): "like minute stabs," or, as we should say, pin-pricks.

p. 536, l. 2 from bottom: "I will try and see how it is." 我且與你扮一扮看 "let me disguise you".

p. 557, l. 16: "if you had not been a star mighty enough to fill the heavens." 若非天幸使令仁兄 "If by the grace of Heaven you had not," etc. Mrs. Buck again confuses words of the same sound, 幸 and 星. Her mistakes under this head doubtless arise from the oral delivery of her Chinese assistant. Let her recall the proverb 所見爲實, 所聞爲虛 "The eyes are better guides than the ears".

LIONEL GILES.

TWILIGHT IN THE FORBIDDEN CITY. By Sir REGINALD F. JOHNSTON, K.C.M.G. pp. 486, maps and plates. London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1934. 18s.

Sir Reginald Johnston has been in such close contact with comparatively recent events in China that he cannot be expected to approach them without certain prepossessions. It will be evident to the reader of these pages that he desires to see the restoration of the "Dragon" to his ancestral throne. So long as the reader keeps this in mind the fact by no means impairs the historical value of the work, which is very great. For no European has moved in such close familiarity with the chief personages of the late regime, and he is consequently able to put forward judgments of character which may sometimes be unfair, but which are always based on much more than mere hearsay, while his partisanship is entirely free from the disingenuous character of that of many Chinese political writers.

In 1888 edicts were issued announcing the forthcoming marriage of the Emperor Kuang Hsü and the resignation by the dowager-empress, Tz'ü Hsi, of the functions of government. In the following year the marriage took place and the emperor, then nineteen years old, "assumed the imperial duties and prerogatives." But since in the traditional Chinese code of ethics filial piety is the fundamental virtue, "the position of the dowager-empress after her retirement was superior . . . not only in practice but in theory, to that of the emperor." When, therefore, Kuang Hsü and the reformer, K'ang Yu-wei, embarked upon the "famous hundred days' of helter-skelter reform" (the phrase is Sir Reginald's), the emperor was "by no means oblivious of the magnitude of the forces against which he and K'ang Yu-wei had to struggle". They had to choose between "rushing the reform decrees through as quickly as possible" and thereby arousing the dowager-empress to act, as admittedly she had a right to do, "as a constitutional check on 'hasty legislation';" and introducing them by gradual stages and so giving their opponents time to consolidate and organize against them. But, "on the whole," says Sir Reginald, "she seemed willing to allow the routine business of the State to be transacted by the emperor and his counsellors without reference to her," nor does he cite any serious instance of her interference in public affairs between her retirement in 1889 and the moment when, in 1898, she was warned that the emperor was plotting against her with Yüan Shih-k'ai. When "wildly exaggerated reports reached her of what the emperor and his gang of reformers intended

to do with her" she acted promptly, and with a vigour which, had he been capable of it, might well have made Kuang Hsü master in his own house. Reading Sir Reginald's story, one feels that the blame for the collapse of the reform movement must have lain with the emperor himself as well as with the empress-dowager and Yüan Shih-k'ai, whose motives for betraying the plot to isolate Tz'ü Hsi must be largely a matter of speculation. "Intelligent, patriotic and earnest" the emperor may well have been, but he had not the qualities which impel devotion, and throughout his career he showed a conspicuous lack of the boldness which, whatever her crimes and weaknesses, generally characterized the dowager-empress. Filial piety may be a cloak for timidity, and Kuang Hsü's submissiveness was of the kind that makes a vindictive woman more vindictive because she despises her victim. For ten years he supported the cruel humiliations to which he was subjected and from which, according to the Chinese code, it would have become him to have freed himself by suicide. It cannot be denied that the unfortunate Kuang Hsü was the victim of a capricious and ruthless woman and of the traditional Chinese ethical system, but neither can it be denied that the dowager-empress was a stronger character and a more vigorous ruler, and the lower one's estimate of her capacity and government, the less admirable and effective does Kuang Hsü by comparison appear.

Sir Reginald's indictment of Yüan Shih-k'ai is even more sweeping than his bitter denunciation of Tz'ü Hsi. The betrayal of Kuang Hsü and the reformers in 1898, and the relation in which he stood to T'ang Shao-i are not in themselves sufficient evidence of his responsibility for T'ang's declaration of conversion to republican principles and consequent resignation of his position as imperial delegate at the Shanghai Conference in 1912. Yüan was ambitious and self-seeking, but in this instance his want of loyalty is not proven, while T'ang's very evidently is, yet for him Sir Reginald has no word of condemnation.

In general the causes which bring about the fall of Chinese dynasties tend to recur. Briefly they may be summed up as pressure from without, internal dissension, economic distress, and official corruption. In the chapters entitled "The Manchu Court in Twilight" and "The Imperial Household Department" Sir Reginald makes it abundantly clear that "the most serious factor of all had been the gradual tightening of the stranglehold of the Imperial Household Department or *Nei Wu Fu*, which he likens to "a vampire draining the life-blood

of the dynasty". The extent of the powers of the *Nei Wu Fu* has been little appreciated in the West. Not only did it control all imperial properties and treasures and the affairs of the palace—both generally by virtue of its authority and in particular through its servants, the eunuchs—but it was also, in fact if not in name, one of the great departments of State, and the organ through which the emperor transacted business with the other departments. Its power and influence, says Sir Reginald, "extended to the great world of politics and contributed to the notorious corruption of Chinese public life." Nor can the fact that traditional methods and individual incompetence were partly responsible for its corruption lessen the disastrous influence of the *Nei Wu Fu* upon the fortunes of the declining Manchu house. "He who rides a tiger cannot dismount" the Chinese proverb says. Sir Reginald's self-imposed task of riding this tiger was attended by a remarkable degree of success and he is to be congratulated on having disproved the proverb by dismounting in safety. How far the adventurous journey might have proceeded will never be known. On the arrival of General Fêng Yü-hsiang in Peking in November, 1924, the Manchu court passed from twilight to a long night of darkness; the "dragon-throne" was empty, and its attendant "tiger" disappeared.

Sir Reginald's relations with his imperial pupil reflect in fullest measure those possible contacts and fundamental harmonies between the cultures of the West and of China which many have realized who have been fortunate enough to find friends among the Chinese. We are glad to learn that the book is selling well in China; it may prove salutary for young Chinese to see their country through the eyes of a writer at once sympathetic to China and critical of the Republic.

E. E.

THE CHINESE, THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1934. 30s.

Dr. K. S. Latourette, who is Professor of Missions and Oriental History at Yale, is best known to students of Chinese through his excellent book, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (S.P.C.K., 1929). The present work is an outline of China's history, culture, and present problems. "Not since the last revision of Samuel Wells Williams' *The Middle Kingdom*," says Professor Latourette in his Preface, "have we had in a European language a satisfactory, large,

comprehensive book on China and the Chinese." He therefore essays to "picture afresh the Chinese, their history and civilization, bringing into its composition all our knowledge concerning them, both old and new." As a background he first sketches in—perhaps a little too lightly—the geography and natural resources of the country. This is followed by a summary, comprising the remainder of Vol. i, of the history of China from the beginning to the present day. The second volume opens with a chapter on population, followed by others on government, economic life and organization, religion, social life, art and language, literature and education. To each chapter is appended a critical bibliography, including not only books, but also the more important articles scattered throughout the numerous journals devoted to Chinese studies both in European languages and in Chinese, and a certain number of standard Chinese works. As the book is avowedly a survey, intended for college and university courses on China, for the general reader, and for travellers or foreign residents in China, the author, justifiably if regrettably, has dispensed with footnotes.

Professor Latourette has succeeded in being brief without sacrificing essentials; for example, he summarizes in five pages without serious omission all the evidence and theories regarding the origins of the Chinese people. To achieve this end he has introduced as few names as possible, and if his book is thus made less valuable as a work of reference, he may yet justly claim to have included "the minimum which all who seek to be familiar with the main features of the history and culture of the Chinese must know". The historical section displays two special features: the author's narrative of the history of China's contact with the West is marked by a greater degree of detachment than most recent books which deal with the political relations of China with other countries; and by reducing by half the space usually devoted to the history of the Manchus and the Republic he has been able to present the early history of China in truer perspective.

In many of the fields which a book of this kind must seek to cover specialized monographs are not yet available, and the author must sometimes take refuge in generalization. As a consequence, although the material is up to date and the presentation of it impartial, a certain unevenness of quality is perhaps inevitable. Dr. Latourette, having made a special study of Christian missions in China, writes with authority on Religion, and has much that is of interest to say about the causes of the failures and successes of imported faiths. On the

subject of the trends of modern Education. on the other hand, though the bibliography suggests that he is acquainted with the best books and recent publications on the subject, he writes as though on less familiar ground. None the less, as a summary and interpretation of our knowledge of China and the Chinese at present these volumes are to be recommended. and even when, as the author modestly foresees, our advancing knowledge shall cause it to be superseded as it now supersedes its model. it will be remembered. as *The Middle Kingdom* is remembered, as a milestone in that advance.

E. E.

CHINA'S GEOGRAPHIC FOUNDATIONS: A Survey of the Land and its People. By GEORGE BABCOCK CRESSEY. pp. xvii + 436, 1 map. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1934. 24s.

Geography, or rather topography, is one of China's oldest sciences. The geographic details given in the *Tribute of Yü (Yü kung)* in the *Book of History (Shu ching)* are probably the earliest existing records, and from the *Chou Ritual (Chou li)* it appears that a well-staffed department of geography was maintained during the Chou dynasty (c. 1150-250 B.C.). In addition to the section devoted to geography in the various dynastic histories, there exists in China a remarkable and comprehensive series of systematic topographical works, some relating to the provinces, departments, districts, and cities of the empire, and others to the countries beyond the borders. But in spite of this mass of material, the social history of the Chinese people has yet to be written in full, and the relation of geography to society has remained unexplained by Chinese writers. It is a problem which has interested Western scientists, and to the solution of which Dr. Cressey has devoted ten years of travel and research. In 1923 he was appointed geologist in the University of Shanghai, and during the next six years he visited twenty-three of the twenty-eight provinces of China, travelling some 30,000 miles in the course of his researches.

It has been pointed out that in China, perhaps to a greater extent than is usual elsewhere, the people belong to the soil. Dr. Cressey's view is that there "so deeply is man rooted in the earth that there

is but one all-inclusive unity—not man and nature as separate phenomena but a single organic whole”. This belief in the essential unity of the land and the people gives us the key to the author’s treatment of his subject. His object is “to interpret the earth in terms of human use”, for he maintains, rightly, that “where people live so close to nature as in China, an appreciation of geography is fundamental in understanding human affairs”. His method, therefore, is to present the Chinese landscape as a background for human activities, and to show how man and his environment have succeeded in modifying each other.

In spite of her natural resources China is an agricultural rather than an industrial country; over-population has always made the problem of food-supply immediate and acute, with the result that every available patch of ground is cultivated to capacity. Side by side with agricultural communities of almost primitive simplicity are large areas which are being completely transformed by amazing economic developments. The westernization of specific districts is, however, a modern phase of the problem which faces present-day China. The fundamental obstacle to national unity is presented by natural as well as economic and cultural contrasts.

China cannot be thought of only in terms of artificial political divisions: and geographical differences are not even covered by the division into north and south, though Mr. Huntington¹ would seem to be right in his belief that “the curious anomaly of a progressive South and a conservative North” is at least partially explained by a process of “natural selection through over-population, famine, and migration”. Dr. Cressey’s regional units, based upon the consideration of such factors as topography, climate, and language, are therefore, 1, the North China plain; 2, the loess highlands; 3, the mountains of Shantung, Liaotung, and Jehol; 4, the Manchurian plain; 5, the mountains of eastern Manchuria; 6, the Khingan mountains; 7, the Central Asiatic steppes and deserts; 8, the central mountain belt; 9, the Yangtze plain; 10, the Red River basin of Szechwan; 11, the south Yangtze hills; 12, the south-eastern coast; 13, the hills of Liagkuang; 14, the south-western table-land; and 15, the Tibetan borderland. In each of these areas natural characteristics, the political background, and the consideration of future possibilities are made to form a setting for the human panorama, and perhaps the best feature of this valuable addition to our knowledge of China is that the reader is enabled to

¹ L. Ellsworth Huntington, *The Character of Races* (New York, 1924).

share to a remarkable degree the author's understanding of the life and outlook of the Chinese peasantry.

The usefulness of the book is enhanced by a considerable bibliography and its attractiveness by many excellent photographs.

E. E.

THE MIND OF CHINA. By EDWIN D. HARVEY. pp. x (1) + 321. Yale University Press, 1933. 18s. 6d.

The mind of a people as static-seeming as the Chinese is probably best approached historically. By following the sequence of events it is possible to trace the advance of thought produced by social and political changes.

During the Han period officials were appointed to gather and set on record the tales common among the people. This practice, the origin of which is referred by tradition to Confucius' declaration that even in the meanest ways there may be something worthy of attention, was probably a variant of the still more ancient custom of collecting and storing in the archives the folk-songs of the States, some of which have come down to us in the *Book of Poetry* (*Shih ching*). Unfortunately, though there remain some valuable sources of material, such as the *Elegies of Ch'u* (*Ch'u tz'ü*) and the *Hill and River Classic* (*Shan hai ching*), none of the early collections of prose tales survives. Having no new beliefs to propound, Confucius maintained an unbroken silence upon the subject of spiritual beings, and his school developed a literary tradition which had no room for popular animistic stories. But in the course of the centuries between the fall of the Han empire in A.D. 220 and the establishment of the Sui dynasty in 581 their attitude changed. During that time Buddhism spread through the entire country until, as the history records, nine out of every ten families were Buddhists. The impetus given to folk-tales by the growing influence of the foreign faith is clear. They formed the most effective propaganda that could have been devised, and increased steadily in number, while Buddhist activity in this direction roused a strong spirit of rivalry both among Taoist writers and in Confucian scholars also. A definitely religious element thus often entered into the tales, the spontaneous character of which was further modified as they were constructed with a purpose. This rational development ceased only when the scholars of the Sung dynasty, exploring all the lore and teaching of the three schools, evolved the philosophy regarding

man and his environment which served China until the introduction of western scientific thought and material culture. Nor should it be forgotten that during the centuries in question (without doubt one of the most formative periods in the whole of Chinese history) the infusion and absorption of new ethnical elements and a variety of other influences, political as well as cultural, must have effected both speculative thought and popular folk-tales. Neglect of this evolutionary aspect of Chinese beliefs perhaps forms the principal defect of Mr. Harvey's volume.

The work of De Groot, Wieger, Doré, and others had already made us familiar with many tales of the supernatural and the beliefs underlying them ; but such works are not readily accessible, and Mr. Harvey has therefore done a real service to the student of folk-lore as well as to the general reader in producing this interesting study. Although the stories of which the book is full are largely drawn from translations and not from original sources, they have been admirably selected for the author's purpose, and his own observation of Chinese institutions enables him to present to his readers a remarkable picture of a people whose lives still revolve round the central idea that everything is "spirit-indwelt" and who, in times of emergency, still have recourse to "any and every help available—Buddhist and Taoist priests, the souls of their ancestors, necromancers, fortune-tellers, and sorcerers".

From the point of view of social science the book is yet another proof of the solidarity of the human race. The author starts with the conviction that the reactions of the Chinese to life are not only "susceptible of analysis and understanding" but are fundamentally the same as those of other peoples, the likeness becoming more apparent as the analysis becomes more "objective". He cites the over-emphasis of the religious element among the Chinese as an example of the way in which the "life-pattern" may be distorted by inability to maintain a balance between its constituent elements. The reason for this, we believe, is apparent. Environment is threefold—natural, social, and spiritual ; the special environment of a people may result in emphasis upon a special phase, and the greater the problems presented by the first two, the more complicated is the process of adaptation to the third phase likely to prove. Pressure may be relieved as more rational explanations of natural phenomena are sought and found, but among the Chinese animism remained a basic element of speculative thought until modern times, thus exaggerating the difficulty of adaptation to an unusual degree. Many examples are

cited which support this theory, and in our opinion these form the chief contribution of the book to a further understanding of the "mind of China". Though Mr. Harvey does not seek beyond reactions to "life-conditions" for his explanations, modes of thought are the result, not of the environment only, but also of the essential qualities of the minds reacting to it. Perhaps our knowledge of Chinese origins is as yet too vague to allow of any detailed study along these lines, but they suggest an interesting field for speculation.

Mr. Harvey's romanization of Chinese characters does not, as stated in the Preface to the book, conform to the Wade system. But though his use of words such as *tao-t'ai* or *yamen*, even if only in citations, without translation or explanation may prove discouraging to the general reader, his practice of using the Chinese terms to distinguish the various phases of the soul and other similar devices which avoid confusion are helpful to the student and must therefore be commended.

E. E.

RIDDLES OF THE GOBI DESERT. By SVEN HEDIN. Translated from the Swedish by ELIZABETH SPRIGG and CLAUDE NAPIER. pp. x + 382, 24 plates, 1 map. Routledge, 1933. 18s.

TENTS IN MONGOLIA (YABONAH). Adventures and Experiences among the Nomads of Central Asia. By HENNING HASLUND. Translated from the Swedish by ELIZABETH SPRIGG and CLAUDE NAPIER. pp. xvi + 366. London: Kegan Paul, 1934. 15s.

CHILDREN OF THE YELLOW EARTH. Studies in Prehistoric China. By J. GUNNAR ANDERSSON. Translated from the Swedish by DR. E. CLASSEN. pp. xxi + 345. London: Kegan Paul, 1934. 25s.

Here are three widely different books on Asia, two written by Swedes and one—*Tents in Mongolia*—by a Dane. If there is one fact that emerges from the reading of them it is that the suspicion existing between China and the Soviets makes, and will for a long time make, exploration and scientific investigation in those territories which lie between them virtually impossible. The only one of the three who reports success in his undertakings is Dr. Andersson, who was in the employ of the Chinese Government and was working on Chinese territory.

Dr. Sven Hedin's book is frankly disappointing. It is the sequel to his earlier work—*Across the Gobi Desert*—on his Gobi expeditions,

and was to have embodied the discoveries and scientific results at which he did little more than hint in the earlier volume. But difficulties (political for the most part) beset the expedition from the time at which this new record begins in 1928, and so hampered the operations of his field-workers that in spite of the inclusion of digests of reports of a number of Dr. Hedin's assistants in the field, the reader is left with the impression that the story which was promised in this volume has yet to be told.

This is probably true. Dr. Pei's discovery of an almost entire human cranium claimed to be earlier than any previously found; the meteorological observations and records of Dr. Haude and Major Zimmermann; Dr. Norin's geological work in Eastern Turkestan—of these and other branches of the expedition's work we must surely hear further. But even if we cannot admit the literary value of this popular account of Dr. Hedin's most recent activities our admiration is due to the man who could command the devotion and untiring labour of such a team.

Three times in Dr. Hedin's book a brief reference occurs to the name of Lieutenant Haslund. The story of how this young Danish officer came to be in Asia and to join the Hedin expedition is worth telling and is worthily told by himself in *Tents in Mongolia*, a vivid tale of an attempt to found a Danish farming colony in the heart of Mongolia.

Towards the end of the World War, an eminent Danish doctor, C. E. Krebs, was labouring to alleviate the distress in the war prisons in Siberia. When the Bolsheviki reached Irkutsk he bought a horse and rode, alone and by compass, "till he reached remote Peking." On his way he passed through Bulgun Tal, the Sable Plateau, "lovelier than anything he had seen," which lies southwards from Lake Baikal, and to the extreme east of Urianhai, that "lordless land" "dreaming care-free within its encircling alps", which, by an odd chance, had been included within the boundary-lines of neither Russia nor China. He had so much to tell about the "gold and asbestos and other things awaiting men who would come and take possession of it", and so much interest was aroused in Denmark, that it was decided that six men, with Dr. Krebs as leader, should form a first expedition with the object of investigating the possibilities for an eventual colonization of the region by several thousand Danish agriculturalists whose farms in Siberia had been confiscated by the Bolsheviki.

After several years devoted to preparation and special training,

the expedition set out, not by the short route through Russia (the Soviet had refused them transit) but by way of Suez, Peking, and Kalgan. There the serious business of travel began and it was not until one hundred and twenty-seven days after their heavy ox-caravan had passed through the gate of the Great Wall of China out into the desert that they planted their "sun-bleached, wind-torn Danish flag" in Bulgun Tal.

For more than two years they worked, founding a farm for corn, horse and cattle breeding, building up a trade in furs, and investigating the district's mineral resources. But the long arm of the Soviet Revolution reached even to Bulgun Tal. In 1926 a conference with the authorities resulted in permission being granted to work there for twelve years, with no guarantee thereafter. Conditions were becoming increasingly impossible; immigration into Mongolia was regarded with aversion; and so it came about that "the members of the expedition were scattered before all the winds", only the dauntless leader remaining in Bulgun Tal.

The adventures and experiences of the pioneers are vividly described in this sincere and lively book from the moment the idea was first mooted until they parted regretfully. The author describes himself as the son of one "who understood the æsthetic value of all that is primeval, and unspoilt", and the cousin of a companion of Stanley in Africa. He combines in himself the spirit of both. The most thrilling adventures are not the visit of the beautiful robber princess, the perils of the desert, the mad ride of fourteen consecutive hours on the wild horse, *Hao*, nor even the horrors of a Soviet prison. The author "took to Mongolia like a duck to water" and won his way into many Mongol tents. "Every night I slept in a new camp and in the evenings I sat by hospitable hearths and listened attentively"—to hunters' tales; to the plaintive melodies (many of which are reproduced in the book) which "rose and fell like the flames upon the hearth"; to stories of Soviet atrocities; to the "rapid unintelligible cantrips" of the sorcerer who, "laying a sheep's shoulder-blade in the fire and then interpreting the cracks made by the heat, after long meditation and repetition of mystic formulas, can divine." The author was adopted as the father of a Mongol boy to save it from the influence of evil spirits, and he witnessed the mystical warfare between a Shaman and the spirits in the body of a sick man. *Tents in Mongolia* is the work of a man who not only resided, but lived, among the Mongols.

The book is profusely illustrated, and the translation reads smoothly and well.

Serious students of the pre-history of China who have read Dr. Andersson's earlier monographs may find this volume too light for their taste. It must be difficult to write a popular book on palæontology, geology, and archæology, but Dr. Andersson has succeeded. His method is to combine description with scientific data. He conducts his readers on imaginary journeys to various parts of China and then paints for them the China that must have been. No one could do it better. A colliery engineer in Sweden, Dr. Andersson was transported to the East to become Mining Adviser to the Chinese Government. The chance finding upon the desk of a friend of a small piece of stromatolitic ore added to his task of surveying the coal-fields and ore resources of China a zeal for collecting fossils and archæological material. In *Children of the Yellow Earth* he takes his readers into the prehistoric swamp forests at the period when the flora of the world had not yet been differentiated; he shows them the giant saurians and the first mammals; discourses of dragons and dragon-bones, long used by the Chinese as medicine. Next he relates the story of the discovery and investigation of the cave which yielded the Peking man; he leads his readers into the Ordos desert in search of Pleistocene man; he discovers the first traces of prehistoric villages, a cave which he believes to be a cannibalistic sanctuary, and no fewer than forty sites of the Yang Shao age, which "stands out as a rich and brilliant episode not only against the genuine Neolithic age . . . but also against succeeding ages". During the age of the Yang Shao civilization, he tells us, "the country teems with busy cultivators of the soil, living together in large villages." Interest centres in its painted pottery, and Dr. Andersson devotes considerable space to an analysis of the symbolism of the designs with which it is decorated.

Only Dr. Andersson could have written this record of his researches for only he knew all the details. He writes with an enthusiasm which is communicated to his readers, and this personally conducted tour of prehistoric China is a great success. The numerous illustrations fulfil their purpose and the translator has served his author well.

E. E.

SON OF HEAVEN. A Biography of Li Shih-min, Founder of the T'ang Dynasty. By C. P. FITZGERALD. pp. ix (6) + 232. Cambridge University Press, 1933. 12s. 6d.

Between the fall of the deservedly illustrious Han dynasty early in the third century of the Christian era and the establishing of the no less illustrious T'ang dynasty through the energy and statesmanship of Li Shih-min in A.D. 618 lie three centuries as remarkable in their way as any in the history of China. Though marked by constant dissension and disruption they form, none the less, an era of surprising development. The north was overrun by barbarians, and only a remnant of a Chinese empire remained, with its capital removed to the south. The invaders, however, were slowly absorbed into, and became part of the conquered race and the infusion of new elements served to reinvigorate the Chinese people. Perhaps to the same cause may be traced a growing self-consciousness in the people which is evidenced in many directions, such as the spread of popular tales, popular interest in religion, and increasing attempts at crude but unmistakable dramatic representation.

The glory of the T'ang dynasty was merely the fruit of this long preparatory period. Nor was it the first-fruit. The empire was reunited, not by the house of T'ang but by the Sui emperors who, had they been more capable and less luxurious, might have carried into effect the excellent projects which they initiated. But after its first effort the house of Sui deteriorated rapidly and it was left to the T'ang founders, father and son, and in particular to Li Shih-min, the son of a Tartar mother, to push to its conclusion the reunion of the empire, to reorganize the administration, and to build up an efficient fighting force. Not the least commendable feature of Mr. Fitzgerald's interesting biography of Li Shih-min is due to the fact that his own interest in the subject of his book has enabled him to draw for his readers something more than a line portrait; he has succeeded in making of him a real person, a warrior-statesman honoured by his countrymen even to the present day for concrete and intelligible reasons. Great soldier and efficient administrator as he was, it is no less on account of the generous humanity of his nature that he is exalted by the Chinese. His pacification of the empire inaugurated an era of prosperity which exceeded anything that had existed for centuries. But pacification was not merely a matter of subduing the enemies of his house in China and the enemies of China outside. By his generous treatment of friends and enemies he won for himself a place in the hearts of the people

so warm and a reputation so great that his father, the first emperor of the new dynasty, soon abdicated and left the country in the capable hands of his son.

Although he scorned the intrigue with which the Chinese court was inevitably and invariably seamed, Li Shih-min was a capable diplomatist. He made friends with the invading tribes of Central Asia, buying immunity until such time as he had reformed the army and turned the undisciplined hordes which for generations had comprised the Chinese forces into an efficient fighting machine. By his zeal as well as by his skill and courage, he so encouraged his officers that with their co-operation before long he had trained bodies of troops with whom he himself marched to subdue the tribes beyond the borders. Although the series of campaigns thus inaugurated lasted throughout his life, and though the organizing of his growing empire occupied him for some years, peace and not aggrandizement was his aim. Curbing his ambition, he devoted himself next to improving internal conditions, and was able to give to the Chinese people instead of wild disorder, peace, unity, and good government.

Mr. Fitzgerald has rendered a service to students of Chinese history and earned for himself a place among sinologues. Moreover he offers to the general reader a volume which is of considerable interest. To say that we could wish that he had devoted more space to the administrative side of Li Shih-min's career is not to cavil at that which he has given us. The maps which accompany the text are clear and adequate, and the book is attractively illustrated by reproductions of three of the six bas-reliefs of Li Shih-min's famous chargers.

E. E.

HOW CHINESE FAMILIES LIVE IN PEKING. By SIDNEY D. GAMBLE.
Funk & Wagnalls. \$3.

Mr. Gamble, who is Research Secretary of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations, and the author of *Peking, a Social Survey*, has here carried a step further his inquiries into the life of all classes in Peking. This time he has given to students of social science and economics a detailed analysis of the household accounts of some hundred Chinese families, whose income and expenditure were carefully recorded for a year under the supervision of his assistants in the field. Primarily the book will appeal to those concerned with the study of social problems and national reconstruction in China.

but it is not without interest to sociologists elsewhere. Standards of living in various countries can be compared only with the aid of such studies as this, the first of its kind to be made for any part of China. Although the author devotes most of his space to itemized budgets, diagrams, figures, and facts which will not interest the general reader, no one could read the book through without gaining an insight into the daily life of the Chinese and an admiration for their amazing thrift and the serenity with which they maintain existence upon a pittance which, in the group with the lowest incomes, allows only 8 cents silver per day per person for food.

In addition to the diagrams the book contains a number of illustrations, including some interesting ones relating to weddings and funerals, the chapter on which will be new to many of Mr. Gamble's readers.

E. E.

THE HOUSE OF EXILE. By NORA WALN. London: The Cresset Press, Ltd., 1933. 16s.

Mrs. Waln's novel was favourably reviewed in China. By some upon whose judgment of such books the general reader both there and in this country relies it was even received as genuine autobiography. Mrs. Pearl Buck acclaimed it—"Undoubtedly one of the most delightful books of personal experience that has yet been written about China. Its authenticity is beyond question."

In a brief foreword the authoress states that the purpose of the book is "just to tell of everyday life in a Chinese family". In order to give to the telling the real true-story atmosphere she has admitted herself as a daughter of the house, "wearing Chinese dress and learning the language," into the "walled courts" of a Chinese "mandarin" family. Here, in the "House of Exile", the Lin family has dwelt for thirty-five generations. (*Oxford Dictionary*: A generation is usually computed at thirty years.) The parent stock, which still survives, had been established in Canton for one hundred and four generations previous to the removal to the "House of Exile". This generous allowance of one hundred and thirty-nine generations of ancestors means that the Lin family was living in Canton, and apparently keeping records of the family history, not only two thousand or more years before Canton existed but also some five centuries before the time to which archæologists assign the inscribed

bones of the Yin dynasty, which have come to light only within the present generation.

As a fairy-tale the book may be allowed the adjective "delightful"; as a book of personal experience it is impossible; as an interpretation of China and the Chinese it is out of touch with reality. Mrs. Wain, herself the daughter of a Philadelphia Quaker family, has made converts, linguistically speaking, of the entire Lin clan, who use "thee" and "thou" as to the manner born.

We need not go further. A score of errors in history, language, literature and customs leap to the eye when one begins to analyse. Fanciful interpretations of this kind, far from "humanizing" the Chinese and making of him a man and a brother, have the contrary effect. . . .

"Of his bones are coral made;
Those are pearls which were his eyes:
Nothing of him that doth fade,
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange."

E. E.

THE STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE: An Introduction to the Spoken Language (Northern Pekinese Dialect).
By J. MULLIE. Translated from the Flemish by A. OMER
VERSICHEL. Vol. I. pp. xxxiii + 566. Peiping, 1932. £1 12s. 6d.

This book forms the first part of the fifth work to appear in the series known as the *Collection Internationale de Monographies Linguistiques*. English students of to-day are fortunate; their seniors possessed few text-books on the Chinese language, and *their* predecessors none at all. The only difficulty now is to decide which of the many manuals available is best suited to the individual student's purpose. But, until the appearance of the present volume, the case of Flemish and Dutch missionaries working in the province of Jehol in North China was different. They possessed no handbook of Chinese written in their own language, but had to rely on French or English manuals. Not only is Chinese best studied in the mother-tongue of the student, but textbooks of Chinese written for one region often contain expressions, grammatical forms, tones, and pronunciations seldom used elsewhere, and the beginner may be puzzled to account

for these differences. It must, therefore, have been to an appreciative group of students of Chinese that the original version of Dr. Mullie's book was presented.

As regards the English version the reviewer's opinion is sharply divided. The existence of a comparatively large number of textbooks does not mean that there is no room for others, and the present work has many excellent features. But it has also certain defects, amongst which we may cite the introduction of a system of tone-marking unsuitable to English students, an unduly extensive collection of unconnected and often oddly assorted sentences or "texts" as they are called in the book, and the use of terms such as "determinative accusative", "prohibitive mood", "converbs," and others foreign to English grammar.

On the credit side there is a preface comprising thirty-two pages of useful material for reference, a good chapter on the phonetics of the Pekinese dialect, and a general outline of the structure of the language designed to allow a wide choice of examples throughout the remaining part of the book, which consists of a detailed study of the ground covered by the "Outline".

The work of the translator has been well done on the whole; though errors of various kinds are fairly frequent they do not as a rule obscure the author's meaning. The recurring use of the word "native" instead of "Chinese", however, is displeasing to English as well as Chinese ears, even though the sympathetic attitude displayed to Chinese ideas and ideals leaves no doubt that its employment is not intended to convey a suggestion of Western superiority.

In view of the fact that a second volume, the contents of which are undeclared in Vol. i. has yet to appear, it is perhaps premature to commit oneself to a final judgment of Dr. Mullie's book, but he is to be congratulated upon the way in which he has endeavoured to expound the structure of the spoken language without rigidly forcing it into the mould of an alien grammar.

E. EDWARDS.

DIE LANGGEDICHTE YAKAMOCHI'S AUS DEM MANYŌSHŪ IN TEXT UND ÜBERSETZUNG MIT ERLÄUTERUNGEN. I: Einleitung und Naga-Uta Buch III, VIII, XVII, XVIII. Von EDUARD EMMERICH FLORENZ. Sonderdruck aus *Asia Major*. Vol. VIII, fasc. 4. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 163. Leipzig, 1933. RM. 11.

A precocious youth, who at the age of fifteen uttered "When I look up at the crescent moon, Oh how it reminds me of the arched brows of a person at whom I but glanced" (Man-yō, 995), proved himself one of the most distinguished poets of the eighth century. His name is Ōtomo-no-Yakamochi. As a son of that brilliant poet Ōtomo-no-Tabito and being cared for by his aunt Sakano-no-Iratsume who herself was a poetess of fame, Yakamochi studied the works of the celebrated poets Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro, Yamano-no-Okura, and Yamabe-no-Akahito. Little wonder then that we should find in the Man-yō-shū more than 470 poems composed by him during 27 years, from A.D. 733 to 759. But after his singular retirement from the literary circle at the early age of 41 he devoted himself diligently to his duties as a government official until death claimed him in A.D. 785 when he was 67 years old. It must, however, be remembered that during the latter part of his life he brought the Man-yō-shū somewhat into the present form of twenty books.

Some of Yakamochi's poems have recently been rendered into English by Dr. J. L. Pierson (Man-yō-sū, Book iii), who a few years ago embarked on the laborious work of translating the whole of the Man-yō-shū. When this is completed the Western student of Japanese literature will be able to appreciate all the poems which Yakamochi composed. Meanwhile Dr. E. M. Florenz has given us a transliteration and a verse-for-verse translation of Yakamochi's Chōka, or "long poems," in the *Asia Major*, vol. viii, fasc. 4, and vol. ix, fasc. 1, 1933. The book under review is the first half of this work.

In the introduction Dr. Florenz outlines the life of the poet (pp. 5-15). This is followed by a detailed account of Yakamochi's long poems under the headings: (1) Naturgedichte, (2) Elegien, (3) Vermischtes, (4) Liebesgedichte, (5) Grenzwächterlieder, (6) Preisgesänge über den Ruhm des Ohtomo-Geschlechtes, and (7) Preislieder über die Herrlichkeit der kaiserlichen Paläste (pp. 15-32). Then the translator discusses the influence of the works of the earlier poets and of Chinese literature on the literary style and phraseology of Yakamochi (pp. 33-41). Lastly we find an explanation of the Makura-kotoba which occur in the poems translated (pp. 41-5).

Like Dr. Pierson the present translator has mainly followed Kamochi-Masazumi's text and commentary, having regard to the elucidations given by modern Japanese scholars. But he has not so fully considered different versions as Dr. Pierson. Although this is a shortcoming, the book is well arranged, and the introductory chapters are themselves a good study on Yakamochi. The translation is accurate in general, whilst the commentary and footnotes will be useful to the reader.

However, the *Man-yō-shū* is one of those books which the more carefully we examine the more doubtful we become of our interpretation as Professor Omodaka rightly remarks in his *Man-yō-shū Shinshaku* (vol. i, preface, p. 3). Some of the problems raised below may illustrate this point:—

p. 59, l. 20, *asa ni ke ni*. In all probability this expression means "every morning, morning after morning", and not "jeden Morgen und jeden Tag", as translated. There are at least two serious objections to this current explanation. First, if we compare *asa ni ke ni* with *tsuki ni ke ni hibi ni* (*Man-yō*, 931), and if we consider *ke* in the two expressions as meaning "day", we shall find it difficult to explain why in the second phrase *ke ni* is followed by the synonymous *hibi ni*. If *tsuki ni ke ni* signifies "month after month and day after day", then *hibi ni* "day after day" would be superfluous. Secondly, the Nara dialect of A.D. 650–750 contained two kinds of *ke*, *fe*, and *me*, one of them, in my opinion, with the sound of French *é* in *été* and the other with that of French *ê* in *même*.¹ The syllable *ke* in *ke ni* was usually transcribed in the *Man-yō-gana* which seems to have reproduced the less open variety of *ke*. Now, if this *ke* were a variant of *ka* "day", it would probably have been pronounced [*kε*], not [*ke*], because [*amε*] "heaven, rain", [*mε*] "the eye", [*sakε*] "sake drink", [*sugε*] "the sedge", [*take*] "the bamboo", and [*ufε*] "the top" were derived respectively from *ama*, *ma*, *saka*, *suga*, *taka*, and *ufa*, which forms are preserved in compounds. From these two reasons we can only regard *ni ke ni* and *ke ni* as suffixes.²

p. 60, footnote to verse 18. The word *yume* with the Negative Imperative signification seems to have nothing to do with *yume* "dream", which was usually written *ime* at the time of the *Man-yō-shū*.

¹ See my book entitled *The Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese*.

² A. Masamune has written an article "Asa ni ke ni Songi" (*Araragi*, November, 1931), which seems to have been commented on by Y. Endō in his "Asa ni ke ni Songi ni tsuite" (*Nara Bunka*, No. 22, May, 1932). I have not had opportunity to read either of these articles.

p. 68, footnote to verse 28. Masazumi was right in considering *kereba* as 來有者. It is therefore a contraction of *ki-areba*, and not of *ki-kereba* as he supposed.

p. 76, l. 25. By the word 聚林, here translated "Dichterhain", is probably meant the anthology called 類聚歌林 which was compiled by Okura.¹

p. 81, Kommentar. The translator believes that the poem 3,969 was composed A.D. 748. Chikage, however, suggested that 天平二十年 (A.D. 748) must be a mistake for 十九年 (A.D. 747), because towards the end of the same volume (xvii) there appear four poems by Yakamochi dated 天平二十年春正月 (1st month A.D. 748). Modern Japanese authorities, too, consider the date of the poem 3,969 as being A.D. 747, since the five characters 天平二十年 are lacking in the 元曆校本 version of Yakamochi's two short poems composed on the 29th day of the 2nd month. The illness mentioned in the preface to these two poems must be the one into which Yakamochi fell on the 20th day of the same month (see the preface to the poem 3,962, p. 71), in spite of the translator's warning "nicht mit der vom Jahre 747 zu verwechseln!" (p. 81). This hardly seems to accord with the statement (pp. 22-3): "eine schwere Krankheit, die den Dichter in Etchū befallen hat (xvii, 70 und 75)," dealing with poems which he regards as a year apart. We must therefore consider all the poems from No. 3,969 to No. 4,015 as the products of A.D. 747.²

p. 97, footnote to verse 10. *-haku* in *ushihaku* is not a verb but is a verb formative element according to Professor M. Andō (*Kodai Kokugo no Kenkyū*, pp. 289-298).

p. 106, l. 1. *toho-shiroshi* should read *tohoziroshi* which signifies "grand"; it has no such meaning as "lang und hell-schimmernd".³

p. 158, footnote to verse 34. Judging from the expressions *tana-shirazu* "completely ignoring" (Man-yō, 1,739) and *tana-shirite* "knowing thoroughly" (Man-yō, 1,807) we can safely conclude that *tana-* (or *tono-*) means "completely, thoroughly, all over", but not "schichtenweise, in vielen Schichten übereinander", which meaning has been derived in association with the word *tana* "a shelf". Thus *tono-gumori-afu* denotes "sich überall umwölken" as rendered accurately by Dr. Florenz.

¹ Cf. Y. Takeda, *Jōdai Kokubungaku no Kenkyū*, pp. 335, 386-8.

² Cf. Y. Takeda, op. cit., p. 321; H. Omodaka, op. cit., p. 53.

³ Cf. J. L. Pierson, *Man-yō-shū*, Book iii, pp. 129-130.

p. 159, footnote to verse 4. The translator suggests that the *-nu* in *-nuka* is identical with the Optative *-ne* which is changed into *-nu* on account of the following *-ka*. It is difficult to accept this suggestion for two reasons. First, we cannot explain why *-ne* should take the form *-nu* when it is followed by *-ka*. Secondly, *-nuka* with the Negative *-nu* is still found in modern Japanese with the Optative meaning. Under these circumstances it is best for us to follow the usual interpretation and treat this *-nu* as a negative suffix.¹

With the exception of these few inaccuracies in details the language of the poems is well explained by Dr. Florenz. and we must extend our thanks to him for this excellent translation.

S. Y.

L'EXPRESSION POÉTIQUE DANS LE FOLK-LORE JAPONAIS. Par GEORGES BONNEAU. Tomes XLII, XLIII, XLIV, des Annales du Musée Guimet. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 104 + 192 + 189. 2 plans. Paris, 1933. Frs. 100.

In the first volume, *Poètes et Paysans : Le Vingt-Six Syllabes de Formation Savante*. of this collection of Japanese folk-songs the author gives thirty-four songs, each of twenty-six syllables, which were composed before A.D. 1868 (some dating from the sixteenth century) in adaptation of ancient poems of Japan and China. These are followed by forty songs, also of twenty-six syllables, composed by various men of letters since 1869, and twenty "Dodoitsu", the popular tunes among Geisha. The second volume, *La Tradition Orale de Forme Fixe : La Chanson de Vingt-Six Syllabes*, contains two hundred and fifty folk-songs of twenty-six syllables, which the author heard the natives sing in different parts of Japan, including Ryūkyū (but not Hokkaidō), during 1926-1932. There are, however, many folk-songs of unrestrained rhythm in Japan. Eighty-nine songs of this type as collected by Dr. Bonneau in Kyūshū during 1926-9 are found in the third volume, *Tradition Orale et Formes Libres : La Chanson du Kyūshū*, at the end of which are given twenty-one children's songs.

The traditional songs of Japan, extremely important as they are in a study on Japanese folk-lore, are little known to the Western world, and the present work is indeed a welcome publication. The songs, printed both in the native writing and in Roman script, are

¹ Cf. H. Omodaka, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

neatly translated. The notes will be found helpful for the thorough appreciation of the contents of the songs, but the poems and proverbs quoted are most unfortunately left untranslated. A complete index to the songs is provided at the end of each volume, and a comprehensive bibliography given in the first volume (pp. 23-31) will furnish a useful guide to further study of the subject.

In the *Avertissement* (vol. i, p. 13, footnote 1) the author points out various rhetorical devices used in the songs such as alliteration, assonance, and the repetition of words and phrases, but no mention is made of rhythm. This is a pity, for the rhythm of these songs seems to have an interesting history behind it. Although the songs of pre-Man-yō period were rhythmically unrestrained, they showed a tendency towards the 5-7 syllabic rhythm, which was almost universally followed by the Man-yō poets. About A.D. 750, however, there evolved a new mode of breaking Tanka after the third verse, with the result that two rhythms, of 5-7-5 syllables and 7-7 syllables respectively, came into existence. As time went on the former gave birth to yet another rhythm of 7-5 syllables, as we find in "Wasan", or Buddhist hymns, which flourished since the tenth century, and in various musical compositions of later date. It is due to these three forms of rhythm that the Heike Monogatari (the current version of which dates from the middle of the thirteenth century) has the beautiful melody which made it renowned.

This plainly tells us that even before the thirteenth century there was a possibility for the development of a combined rhythm of 7-7 syllable and 7-5 syllables, on which are built the songs of twenty-six syllables under consideration. Among the songs described as "formes libres" by the present author we find several composed in the 7-7 and 7-5 syllabic rhythms. Let us take a few examples from vol. iii.

Song 1. The opening verse *Essa ose-ose* consists of 7 syllables and forms the first part of the 7-7 syllabic rhythm. Thus the song is of twenty-six syllables, with *yō* and *nō yara* thrown in as chorus.

Song 7. This is built entirely on the 7-5 syllabic rhythm.

Song 28. In this the 7-5 syllabic rhythm is beautified by the line of 4-4-5 syllabic rhythm: *Me wo dashi Ha wo dashi Tsubomi dashi*.

Song 54. In Ōsaka I heard children sing the initial verses of this song as *Ichikake nikake Sankakete, Shikake gokake Hashikakete*. In this way the song was sung in the 7-5 syllabic rhythm throughout.

Song 56. I remember my mother (a native of Kyūshū) singing the sixth verse of this lullaby in five syllables: *nani morota*, instead of

nani wo morōta. Thus the song had the effect of the 7-5 syllabic rhythm.

A careful examination may also be made of the rhyme of the songs here collected by Dr. Bonneau, when some interesting facts may be observed. The collection of these songs must have a bearing on the history of the language and of the people alike, and those who pursue the study of the folk-lore of Japan should be grateful to the author for this unique work.

S. Y.

JUBILÄUMSBAND HERAUSGEGEBEN VON DER DEUTSCHEN GESELLSCHAFT
FÜR NATUR- UND VÖLKERKUNDE OSTASIENS ANLASSLICH IHRES
60JÄHRIGEN BESTEHENS 1873-1933. Teil I. 10 × 7½. pp. xxii +
409. 1 map and 51 plates. Tōkyō, 1933. RM. 10.

It is never easy to review a Festschrift, but when the subjects dealt with extend over all branches of learning, as in the present volume, it is almost impossible even to give an outline sketch of all the contributions. The book contains twenty-two studies, each written by a specialist, on archæology, biology, botany, drama, ethnology, geography, history, literature, medicine, music, painting, politics, religion, and sociology.

The longest and a very fascinating article is the *Kagekiyo, eine Betrachtung zum japanischen historischen Schauspiel* (pp. 281-345) contributed by J. Barth. Many a story has been written of Tairano-Kagekiyo, an impetuous warrior of the twelfth century, better known as Akushichibyōe. So popular did he become in the fourteenth century that his life formed the subject of Nō plays: *Kagekiyo* and *Daibutsu Kuyō*. Influenced by these plays the celebrated Chikamatsu wrote a Jōruri entitled *Shusse Kagekiyo* in A.D. 1686. This work was adapted by two Jōruri composers collaborating in the *Dannoura Kabuto Gunki*, which was staged in Ōsaka in A.D. 1732. Thenceforward Kagekiyo figured in many dramas and puppet-shows. In the meantime the subject "Kagekiyo" found its way into Nagauta, which sprang up in Yedo in the early part of the eighteenth century, and the piece called *Fukagawa Tanzen no Oborod-zuti* came to be written in the beginning of the nineteenth century. All the pieces mentioned above are explained at length by Mr. Barth with a complete or part translation of the text accompanied by four attractive illustrations.

This article is immediately followed by a long discussion on the

Familiensystem und Wirtschaft im Alten und Neuen Japan (pp. 346-94), written by Professor J. B. Kraus. The subjects are studied under five periods: (1) before A.D. 645, (2) from the Taikwa Reforms of A.D. 645 till 1191, (3) the feudal period, (4) under the feudal policy of Tokugawa, and (5) from the Meiji Restoration till modern times. A very scholarly work throughout.

Equally admirable is the article entitled *Eine japanische Natur- und Lebensschilderung aus der Zeit Engelbert Kämpfers* (pp. 207-46) contributed by Dr. F. M. Trautz. While the German physician E. Kämpfer was studying the animals and plants of Japan as well as Japanese history during his two years' sojourn in that country from A.D. 1690 to 1692 the distinguished Haikai poet Bashō wrote the *Genjūan-no-Ki*, which is the author's reflection on his life. Dr. Trautz has well translated this famous specimen of the so-called Haibun from the Ōtsu manuscript in Bashō's handwriting dated A.D. 1690. The translation is accompanied by a line-for-line transliteration, notes, and a bibliography. The whole manuscript is photographically reproduced, while some of the remaining nine plates illustrate the neighbourhood of Genjūan on Kokubuyama, not far from Ōtsu.

The readers who are interested in Japanese drama of the Meiji era will find a translation of Okamoto-Kidō's "Ōsakajō" rendered by Dr. H. Bohner under the title *Ōsaka Schloss* (pp. 14-49), whilst those who have taste for the popular literature of the Tokugawa period will enjoy Dr. W. Donat's *Aus Saikaku, Fünf Geschichten von liebenden Frauen; Drittes Bändchen, Geschichte vom Kalendermacher* (pp. 263-80), which is a translation (with notes) of Book 3 of Saikaku's "Kōshoku Gonin-onna" (written A.D. 1686), and Dr. M. Ramming's *Literarhistorische Bemerkungen über die Kibyōshi der Tokugawa-Zeit* (pp. 92-102, with one plate). This latter is a good study.

Lastly a mention may be made of two contributions on Chinese literature. One of them is Dr. E. von Zach's translation (pp. 1-13) of the *Yen-lien-chu* (演連珠) in fifty chapters, written by Lu Shih (陸士) and contained in Book 14 of the *Wên Hsüan* (文選). The other is Dr. F. X. Biallas' rendering (pp. 395-409) of *Ch'ou-ssü* (抽思) and *Huai-sha* (懷沙) from the *Chiu-chang* (九章), composed by Ch'ü Yüan (屈原) and contained in the *Ch'u Tz'ü* (楚辭). Dr. Biallas chiefly followed the Chu Hsi version and his acknowledgment of variations according to the Wang I version seems incomplete. The Chinese text contains a few misprints.

All the remaining contributions, though left unmentioned, are

of interest and value, while the second volume, judging from the announcement, appears to include several important articles. Indeed, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens is to be congratulated on the publication of this work.

S. YOSHITAKE.

BUDDHA'S TEACHINGS. Being the Sutta-Nipāta or Discourse-Collection, edited in the original Pali text with an English version facing it. By LORD CHALMERS, G.C.B., D.Litt. Harvard Oriental Series, xxxvii. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932. pp. xxii, 300.

This is a popular, rather than a scholarly, translation, by one capable of giving us the latter, no less than this. Hence perhaps we must feel, ruefully feel, that in its title the Harvard Management, as is admitted in the "Descriptive List", has kowtowed to "the publisher's point of view" and prefixed to the translator's accurate rendering a fairly gross misnomer. The latter's introduction, lucidly historical as far as it goes, should have made the Management, in the interests of truth, hold its editorial hand. Nevertheless, if we agree always to see in the later cult-term "Buddha" just a symbol for an evolving series of monkish teachings, and reserve the name Gotama or Śākyamuni for the original "Teacher", I have nothing wherewith to take objection.

For the Sutta-Nipāta is unquestionably mainly, though not wholly, an anthology by a number of monks for any number of monks. The outlook, the ideals of the "almsman" are alone held really worthy. The man who "shoulders man's common lot"—a happy rendering of *vahanto porisaṃ dukkhaṃ*—is patronizingly passed over for him who "in aloofness tastes true peace", and who, in "walking alone like a rhinoceros" is fearful lest, in "showing compassion to friend or comrade he with a bound mind wither his own welfare". Here surely is no gospel likely to have been the basis of a world-religion; here is something most untrue and unworthy of the man who gave his life to show compassion to every man he found needing him.

It is no fit rejoinder to say here are the monk-interests of a "dual gospel". Cenobitic monk-communities *evolved their own gospel*, to which these poems owe their shrinking from having "life, having it more abundantly", their ideal of a "waning" into something there were no words to describe (ver. 1,076). The monks around

Gotama were as yet hardly so minded ; they were like him, not true recluses, but *missioners*. And to them, not to laymen only, we find him recorded as wishing them joy in aspiring to the happy “suchness” (*tathatta*) of men who had got so much further on the Way as to be enjoying a happier world.

I am not saying that the happy wayfaring of the Way is not in this book. It is there, and to that extent the “Teachings” ring true. But here comes in my quarrel with the English translator. Look out for the terms of the wayfaring : “schooling,” “breeding,” “fostering,” “drilling,” etc. How varied and rich is the English in this style of Jacobean-Bible-cum-Joseph-Hooker-and-Ken ! Yet how poor a guide to those who are searching for the “Teachings” ! For all these terms are in Pali *one and the same word* : the causative of *bhū*, “to become.” So again are the words “rebirth”, “lives”, “life to come”, “worlds”, “existence”, “stage” : all the one word *bhava* “becoming” ! Let every reader watch carefully the page opposite, and see how, to be in literary style, translators have sedulously evaded using this great, pregnant, if somewhat awkward English word. Let them see how the *one* use of it, where in 60 Pali passages it is evaded, lifts the veil from the hidden teaching :—

He strips the veil from things, and so becomes (*bhavati*)
the peerless all-enlightened . . . !

More captiousness :—In these pages we find an inverse procedure with one English term for many Pali words : “peace” (with a capital P). No one conversant with the Piṭakas would even uncritically see, in this, a *summum bonum* in “Buddha’s Teachings”. Even for these it is too much a ship-wrecked sailor’s, a charwoman’s final quest. It may suit a sitting Buddha-rūpa ; it is not of the ardent untiring spirit, fighting to the end, as of a very John Wesley, which peeps out in the Suttas. But those opposite pages reveal *nine* different words in the one “Peace”, and one context where is no Pali equivalent (ver. 519).

Captious yet once again, I grieve to see the “purged of self” for *pahitatta* reproduced here from the *Further Dialogues*. We at least are not bound, as was maybe the commentator, to read for *padahit-atta*, *pesit-atta*, especially in a work where we have the parallel *bhāvitatta* (cf. the *bhāvitattānaṃ* of Dhṛp.) and *sukhit-atta*. *Pahitatta* illustrated the growth, the making-become the self as a More in the Way to the Most : but it swore with *Anattā*, and so it had to be twisted into *pesitatta*.

Far am I from underworthing the patient labour of nobly spent years or the enviable literary richness of the result. But there are things weightier than literary style. We have in the Piṭakas an historical problem of the utmost religious importance, and no peculiarly British vigour or elegance must come between us and it. An Indian-Buddhist translation into English of this anthology is still to be made.

C. A. F. R. D.

ESSAYS IN ZEN BUDDHISM (Second Series). By DAISSETZ TEITARO SUZUKI. pp. xii + 326. London: Luzac & Co. (published for the Eastern Buddhist Society), 1933. 20s.

The reviewer, who is not acquainted with the author's First Series of these essays, has the double disqualification of being ignorant of what is published matter and of what is yet, in Series 3 and 4, to come. It is perhaps best that he announce what has been further published and pass on. The outline (whether publisher's or author's) on the jacket helps us very little. Why should it? Its mission is to say: Open me and read patiently, without skipping. To do this, leisure and inclination must both be at hand. Reviewers seldom have enough of the former. And when in a Mahāyānist book, they see Hīnayāna virtually made to pose as original Buddhism—what "the Buddha" said—instead of as the later (if relatively early) Buddhism that it really is, degenerate, unworthy to wear the robes of real Sakya, he is scarcely likely to find the inclination. Let me illustrate: In his essay "Passivity in the Buddhist Life", the author says: "'Be ye a lamp and refuge to yourselves' (*attadīpā attasaraṇā*) was the injunction left by the Buddha to his Hīnayāna followers . . . But the Mahāyāna was not satisfied with this narrowness . . . wanted to extend the function of *karuṇā*"—no, Dr. Suzuki, not "love", "pity"—"to the furthest end it could reach." I agree with the "narrowness" of the passage *as translated*. But suppose the quotation had been from the but little earlier Early Upanishads: how would he have rendered it? Surely differently, thus: "Be ye they-who-have-the Self as lamp, the Self as refuge, and no other." Why then render the passage in the quite *anachronous* way so unfortunately adopted by European translators, giving the modern use of the word "self", and not the old Indian way, the way that would have been used by Gotama Sakyamuni. "and no other"? I insist on the "no other"; there is no record whatever of pre-written tradition showing him at variance with brahmans

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on the accepted Immanence of that day. On the contrary : and the Pitakas show plainly that the man was not to be left relying on his unaided human self ; everywhere he is taken by the hand and told what to believe, what to do or not to do, especially the latter. It was only the Hinayāna of the third, *not the sixth*, century B.C. which shows the indwelling Self as lost to view, which shows Dharma, the Self as conscience, externalized in codes of doctrine " to be learnt ", which shows the arahāna as a little god with " everything done " (God help us !), which shows the Goal of the Way faded out into a Not, a Void.

Let the author but refrain from following the bad example of our anachronisms in this matter, and his patient prolonged expositions of phases of Mahāyāna traditions will call for all our gratitude ; may he enjoy health to finish his good work !

One more little grumble : I suggest he refrain from creating a very panic in authors, especially poets, by quoting some line expressive only of a certain character, a certain mood, as if it were the poet's philosophy of life, for instance, when Calderon makes a character say anything so absurd as : " the greatest crime of man is that he ever was born " or Wordsworth catches the mood of some old muser on an " old grey stone dreaming his time away ". It is enough to make a poet lay down his pen, fearful of his reputation. (The author, by the way, approves of the former citation as " true " ?)

The volume is of four essays, mainly concerned with an exposition of *ko-ans*, which are virtually sūtras (literally " documents ") on the exercise of *zen*, or *zenna*, the Chinese equivalent of *dhyaṇa*, Pali : *jhāna*. The author has naturally a good deal to say on the subject. But it is a more interesting historical problem than he either sees, or admits, to show the difference between, not Hinayāna *jhāna*, but original Sakyan *jhāna*, and *zen*. The one common feature in these two is not elimination of active intellection (*vitarka*, *vicāra*) (since in *zen*, I read, this is only diverted), but the one quality : " beyond." There is good evidence to show (overlooked though it be by Buddhists and Europeans), that the " beyond " is not " the Unconscious " (pp. 18, 84), nor the mystic union of Christians, but converse with the men of other worlds, i.e. *devas*. Nothing perhaps is so neglected in original Buddhism as its preoccupation with fellow-men beyond the veil, and with the practice of *jhāna* as a training in " psychic " gifts. I have published much on this evidence, as yet without awakening response. If I could make Dr. Suzuki see it !

The twenty-five reproductions of old Chinese and Japanese paintings are very charming, and the author has spared no pains to make them also intelligible.

C. A. F. R. D.

HISTORY OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT. By EDWARD J. THOMAS. pp. 314 + xvi. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1933. 15s.

This is a volume in the series: "The History of Civilization." and has been announced for some years. It is mainly interesting as bringing into better focus than has yet been done the results of increasing acquaintance with Mid and East Asian medieval writings. The author's erudition has here rendered a great service to the consulting student, who will be glad to have the book on his shelves. But more, I venture to think, as a guide to, and analysis in, various phases of Buddhist thought: less as a history of the evolution in changing values of Buddhism as a whole. Take the inception of it: it is stripped of the features of the new gospel it claims to have been, and is introduced to us as an "ascetic ideal". But such an ideal is not what a founder of so great and rare a phenomenon as a world-religion dictates in his mission-mandate to the *bahujana* the "manyfolk". Gotama's mission is recorded as solely addressed to these: hence the teaching in it of *brahmacariya* can only mean that this word was used in the broader of its two senses duly admitted by the writer, namely, as the holy, literally the God, life to be aimed at by every man, not by brahman student or monk only. We must seek a better than ascetic ideal in the burden of the gospel wherewith Gotama was inspired, for me as truly inspired as was the founder of Christianity. Thus as a history of religious thought, the book starts wrong. It is so far in a line with the epigram of a noted divine: Jesus founded a kingdom of God; Buddha founded an Order of monks. We can get deeper than that. It is regrettable too, that the late introduction of writing in India, which in my opinion profoundly modified the evolution of Buddhist scripture, has not been discussed. This historical problem has been too little discussed by those who, like the author, are competent to throw more light on it.

C. A. F. R. D.

A HISTORY OF PĀLI LITERATURE. By BIMALA C. LAW, Ph.D., B.L.
 With a Foreword by Geheimrat W. GEIGER. In two volumes,
 pp. xxviii + 689. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.,
 Ltd., 1933. 21s.

This is a work replete with information as to what constitutes "Pali", what constitutes its literature, old, medieval and even modern, and as to what scholars and other writers have contributed to the materials for that final and authoritative history which is yet for to come. Dr. Law's book is a full and important addition to those materials, such as in German is ranked under the useful preposition "zu, zur, zum". It is no detraction from the merit of his great industry if it be so placed. Research does not yet permit of more. While I agree with my friend, the venerable writer of the Foreword, that the author's judgment of problems is sober and impartial, there are very many problems in the history of the Pali Canon, which are here not even touched upon or recognized as existing. Even were the materials sufficiently to hand, the task of handling them in critical history would require of the historian the exclusive consecration of a much longer period of his life than has here been apparently the case, if anything like mature judgments were to be reached. The usefulness of the work lies chiefly in its amounting to a bibliography, thematic, analytic, of all that many workers¹ in this field have published for over half a century, a bibliography to which reference has been made easy by a rich index. In this way he has indeed earned the gratitude of many who will, when the present slump in Pali research has passed, find it well to have this work on their shelves.

Among minor matters which I deprecate are such an uncritical statement as "the Dhammapada contains the sublime teachings of the Buddha". The very beginning shows this to be too rash a statement. In view of the very obvious gloss inserted before couplets 1 and 2, in which 'mind' replaces 'the man', discordant with the *gāthās* themselves where the man acts "with the mind"—the Upanishadic mode of expression—I must protest, that "the Buddha" could not well have "taught" both verses and gloss. Then the keeping alive the foolish Asoka-myth of *dūtā* being held to have been religious missionaries :—here Rhys Davids and Professor F. W. Thomas should have taught him caution. Once more, it was ill chosen, in a history of Pali literature, to use not the Pali, but the Sanskrit spelling of the

¹ A defect in it is the absence of treatment of what German scholars have contributed. Their names alone are quoted.

name Gotama. And lastly, there is evidence of haste in press revision ; the short lists of Errata could be made twice as long. As a fellow-sinner I speak here with great sympathy. And I note, e.g., that *his* printer too has judged his own wisdom superior when the word 'causal' had to be reproduced, and has got in the uncorrected contrary 'casual' ! I repeat, these are minor flaws. Did time and space permit, more weighty matters could have received comment. Dr. Law's Conclusion, pp. 642-7, is a competent and modest résumé of what he has tried to do : " to give a general survey of canonical and non-canonical Pali literature." " Points of interest and importance are left for future study and investigation . . . we are still on the threshold of the study . . ." This is most true, but he has helped it along.

C. A. F. R. D.

The LIVRO DA SEITA DOS INDIOS ORIENTAIS (Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane, 1820) of FATHER JACOBO FENICIO, S.J. Edited with an Introduction and notes by JARL CHARPENTIER. (With the support of the Vilhelm Ekman University Fund, Uppsala.) pp. 252, civ. Uppsala ; Cambridge : W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1933.

The internationalism of the scholar-world is not a new phenomenon ; would that the world, in its other social phases, were not so far behind it ! Here is a book, largely in English, by one having a name not English, published by and in the land of the Swedes, about an Italian Jesuit, from a MS. in early seventeenth-century Portuguese, the subject being " the sect " of the Eastern Indians, in other words the religious cult of India from Calicut to Malabar. What a noble comity of man in the quest (*a*) to learn about and benefit his fellows, (*b*) record what he had learnt that others might learn ! It is ten years since Dr. Charpentier told this Journal (II, 732 ff.) about the MS., and he has now found means to edit and publish it. What a pity he could not follow up the edition with an English translation ! Who among us can read Portuguese ?

The hundred pages of Introduction give a comprehensive sketch of " the extent of European acquaintance with Hindu religion and mythology ", from Ktesias of Knidos, 400 B.C., to the end of the sixteenth century, which should be a mine of reference to the student.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

MĀNAMEYODAYA : AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON THE MĪMĀNSĀ BY NĀRĀYAṆA. Edited with an English translation by C. KUNHAN RAJA and S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, and a foreword by Professor S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI. pp. li + 345. Adyar, Madras : Theosophical Publishing House, 1933. Rs. 6.

To Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Malabar in the sixteenth century, we owe the *Nārāyaṇīya* and the *Prakriyāsarvasva*, together with other less celebrated works, among which the *Mānameyodaya* deserves a creditable place. It can claim no great originality ; the editors have ascertained that it is in effect an abridgment of the *Nītātattvīrbhāva* of Cidānanda Muni, but that the material of that work has been rearranged, and that Nārāyaṇa's treatise is better adapted than its prototype to serve as an introduction to the study of the Mīmāṃsā system as expounded by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. Nārāyaṇa himself did not complete the work ; the section dealing with means of knowledge alone is his, and that on objects of knowledge has been supplied, but in a kindred spirit, by a later Nārāyaṇa. There is no doubt of the interest and utility of the work as a means of commencing the study of the philosophic elements of Mīmāṃsā. The authors bring out, on the whole clearly and effectively, the divergences between the doctrines of Prabhākara and Kumārila, and shed considerable light on the relation of their views to those of Advaita Vedānta, Nyāya, and certain aspects of Buddhist doctrine. It is no defect of the work that it does not reveal any profundity of thought ; that would merely be out of place in such a treatise, nor, of course, is there any reason to suppose that Nārāyaṇa was a thinker of independent views.

The first edition of the text appeared as far back as 1912 in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XIX. The editors have found another MS. and they claim with justice that they have substantially improved, in part by its aid, the text of the treatise. But their greatest service consists in the English translation which they have given ; it is of great value even to those familiar with philosophic Sanskrit, and may confidently be relied upon by students of philosophy who cannot make much of the Sanskrit text. Due recognition should be paid to the useful notes (pp. 311-334) and to the succinct and very convenient list of doctrinal differences (pp. xli-li). The only criticism that need be offered is that the glossary is inadequate, and that an index would have been of great value. This defect will, it may be hoped, be removed in a later edition of a most useful work.

A. B. K.

THE BHĀMATĪ OF VĀCASPATI ON ŚAṄKARA'S BRAHMASŪTRABHĀṢYA (CATUSSŪTRĪ). Edited with an English translation by S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI and C. KUNHAN RAJA, and a foreword by Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN. pp. lxxiv + 245 (Devanāgarī text) + 318. Adyar, Madras : Theosophical Publishing House, 1933.

Śaṅkara's views on the *Brahma Sūtra* are easily accessible to students of Indian philosophy in excellent translations, but the comment of Vācaspati on the *Bhāṣya* has hitherto been withheld from all save the very limited circle of those who can penetrate unaided to the meaning of his technical diction. It is accordingly of great importance that his views should be made accessible, and the portion of his work here presented is that which is of the greatest general interest. The difficulties of the task undertaken are manifest and serious. One is confronted with the fact that Vācaspati expressed his views with reference to current discussions and criticisms of which we have but the most fragmentary knowledge, and that inevitably we must often fail to realize the exact force and point of his remarks. The editors point out that it is clear that Vācaspati used the *Brahma-siddhi* of Maṇḍana and the *Pañcapādikā*, a fact which is helpful in elucidation of his points, but it is clear that he had many texts before him of which we know nothing certain. An excellent example is afforded by the citation on p. 122 which runs in our text : *yathāhuḥ. Buddhisiddham tu na tad asad iti*. Now, of course, in the *Nyāya Sūtra*, iv, 1, 50, we have a doctrine similar to the citation, but with the essential difference of the omission of *na*. But it is probable that the temptation to omit the *na* must be resisted, for in the *Nyāya* the aphorism is the expression of the *asatkāryavāda* doctrine of the Naiyāyikas, while the *Kalpataru* of Amalānanda and the *Bhāmatītilaka* both give the doctrine in the *Bhāmatī* as expressing the *satkāryavāda*. It seems impossible, therefore, to correct as suggested, as the editors reluctantly admit (p. 302). It is impossible to doubt that in other cases where the editors have been in doubt the solution evades us, simply because we have not the necessary knowledge to explain the exact doctrine with which Vācaspati was concerned. Even so, there is no doubt that the editors have made a very real success of their difficult and perplexing task of translation.

The editors have given in a valuable introduction useful help in appreciating the doctrines set out by Vācaspati. They justly admit that he is lacking in originality, and they comment quite fairly on

the difficulties in which he is involved in his treatment of the conception of Jīvanmukti (pp. xli-xlix, 269, 270). It is perhaps more doubtful whether occasional allusions to Western philosophical doctrine are of much aid. It may be doubted if we are helped to understand Vācaspati by the assertion (p. xxii): "He would seem to have more sympathy with the Associationist and the Behaviourist explanations of the acquirement of meaning than with an explanation like that of the Gestalt psychologist." Nor are the doctrines of Bradley and Bosanquet perhaps of much value for comparison with Vedantic doctrines. But these at most are minor blemishes in a very useful work. It is more surprising to find that *caityavandana* is interpreted in a manner unnecessarily restricted (p. 303).

A. B. K.

THE GHERAṆḌA SĀMĪHĪTĀ. Translated by ŚRĪS CHANDRA VASU. pp. xviii + 132. Adyar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1933. Rs. 2.8.

The *Gheraṇḍa Sāmhītā* is a well-known treatise on Haṭha-Yoga, which shares much material with the popular *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*. The value of this translation, which originally appeared in 1893, lies in the fact that its author received instruction from his Guru in the mode in which the curious exercises inculcated were to be performed, and is able to assure us of the valuable character of some at least of these performances. He wisely insists on the necessity of expert guidance in the performance of *prāṇāyāma*, lest insanity and not clairvoyance be the outcome. Haṭha-Yoga is not to be confounded with asceticism any more than the training of an athlete. Levitation is produced by the Khecarī Mudrā (iii, 25-7), and its possibility is asserted (p. xiv), though western science has not yet determined its conditions. Further enlightenment may be expected from the edition of the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* announced by the publishers.

A. B. K.

THE YOGA-SĀRA-SAṄGRAHA OF VIJÑĀNA BHIKṢU. Text in Devanagari and English translation by GANGĀNĀTHA JHA. pp. 148 + xiii + 75. Adyar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1933. Rs. 3.

This little volume contains a revised edition of the translation of the *Yogasārasaṅgraha*, which Dr. Gangānātha Jha made immediately after leaving college in 1892, and which was published by his

friend, the late Tookaram Tatya. Needless to say, the new version is a most satisfactory substitute for the original, and renders available both to students of and aspirants to Yoga a treatise of a specially suitable kind.

The text which is appended to the translation is edited by Vindhyeśvarīprasādaśarman, and like the translation is apparently a second edition ; at least the *mudrītasūddhipatra* referred to on p. ix does not appear to be reprinted, and it may be assumed that its contents have been embodied in the text. The whole makes a very acceptable and convenient addition to the valuable series of translations of philosophical works which we owe to the Theosophical Publishing House.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

AN INTRODUCTION TO BUDDHIST ESOTERISM. By BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA. pp. viii + 184, 12 pl. Oxford University Press, 1932. 15s.

Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, the gifted son of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri, has dedicated this new work of his to the sacred memory of his father. To the dedication is affixed the well-known lofty stanza of the *Gītā* (ii, 20) :—

*Na jāyate suriyate vā kadācīn
Nāyam bhūtrā bhavitā va na bhūyah |
Ajo nityah śāsvato 'yam purāṇo
Na hanyate hanyamāne śarīre ||*

Filial piety is always apt to inspire deep reverence ; learning and a thorough acquaintance with one's topics inspire confidence in the reader ; and Dr. Bhattacharyya is undoubtedly possessed of all these good qualities. It is only to be regretted that with these excellent capacities he has produced a book the general tendency of which will scarcely convince any scholar who surveys with an unbiassed mind the things dealt with here, viz. the Buddhist Vajrayāna and the doctrines of the Tantras.

The learned author tries to prove that already the Buddha himself was by no means averse to the appliance of magical rites, and that consequently the development of Buddhism which we know as Vajrayāna has its roots already in the earliest teaching of Buddhism. That the Buddha himself was something of a magician we can, unfortunately, neither prove nor disprove ; however, there seems to be

no basis for such a suggestion within the oldest canonical texts. And in this connection we may as well remember that Aśoka, who was undoubtedly a strong devotee of the Buddhist faith, in his ninth Rock-Edict preaches against such magical rites as are practised at child-birth, marriage, etc. Anyhow, the instances brought forth by Dr. Bhattacharyya from the old texts prove nothing; for what is described in those passages is the performance of wonders by followers of the Buddha, not the practising of magical rites.

Dr. Bhattacharyya's opinions are clear-cut and definitely stated; they will, however, meet with but scanty applause from his fellow-scholars. He vehemently denies that the Vajrayāna should be called "idolatry". Still we venture to ask: if not that, what else should it be called, seeing that its adherents worship a considerable number of terrible, disgusting, and partly obscene deities? If this be not idolatry then we have since innumerable centuries become used to a wrong and perverted sense of that word. He further ridicules the idea that the deities of the Vajrayāna—the plurality of them apparently female ones—have anything to do with Kālī or with Śaivism in general. It is quite true that the deities of the Vajrayāna may have influenced the Śāktism and Kālī worship of Bengal and made them still more revolting than they were at an earlier date. It is also quite as true that the female deities of the Vajrayāna are mostly exact counterparts of the blood-soaked, skull-garlanded Kālī, Durgā, Cāmuṇḍā or whatever the horrible goddesses and Śaktis of Hinduism be called.¹ And though I am not quite prepared to follow Sir John Marshall in finding, at Mohenjo-Daro, exact traces of very old Śakti-worship, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the cult of terrible "mother-goddesses" belongs to the most primitive ingredients of every Indian religion, that such cults were especially welcomed within the pale of Śaivism, and that from there it spread into the debased Buddhism of Eastern India and further into that of Nepal, Tibet, etc. Few developments within the history of religions seem to stand out clearer than this one.

The learned author, in the concluding chapter of his work, tells us that "the Tantras should be regarded as the greatest contribution of India to world-culture" (p. 165), and that "the Tantric culture is the greatest of all cultures" (p. 173 seq.). As this is apparently not meant for a bad joke, we must take it as it stands; then it is, however,

¹ Cf. e.g. *Nairātmā* standing on the chest of a corpse with Kālī dancing on the chest of Śiva, etc.

wholly unintelligible. It would, indeed, be mournful to think that the Tantras, these more or less lunatic rigmaroles dealing with filthy and obscene rites, detailing the worship of horrible and disgusting deities, and prescribing terrifying magical practices for the destruction of wholly innocent persons should be the highest outcome of the Hindu spirit. Fortunately, this is not so; nor will Dr. Bhattacharyya ever be able to convince any sensible person that this is the case.

Though the book is generally carefully written and contains quite a number of very instructive passages, there is no lack of minor slips, of which some may be shortly mentioned here.

p. 3, n. 1: Caste, as the learned author says, undoubtedly is an Indian institution. Still, its germs are certainly to be found already in the Indo-Iranian period, if not earlier¹; for Iranian society was split up into classes of priests, warriors, and farmers corresponding to the three highest castes.² And outside the pale of such a society there certainly existed also in Ancient Iran a great number of low elements corresponding to the Dāsas or Śūdras.

p. 3, n. 2: Even though filial piety may lead Dr. Bhattacharyya to think that the paper by Mm. Haraprasad Sastri on the Vrātyas is the most illuminating one on the subject, this may well be doubted, as there exists a well-known and somewhat extensive modern literature dealing with the Vrātyas.

p. 6, n. 2: In the quotation from Manu (1, 31) read °*padataḥ*.

p. 9: *niśācara* in the quotation from the *Sarvadarsana-saṃgraha* is rendered by "night-revellers"; read "ogres".

p. 20: There is an unnecessary series of misprints in the names of the six heretical teachers. Read: Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambali, Pakudha Kaccāyana and Niṅaṅṭha Nātaputta.

p. 26, n. 1: The edition of the *Saundarananda* that ought to be quoted nowadays is, of course, that by Mr. Johnston (1928).

p. 34: Why *pacyante* should be rendered by "oot" is quite unintelligible.

p. 44 seq.: In spite of a great many words the author has not succeeded in clearing up the problem of *Uḍḍiyāna*. Whether the name can be connected with the *Ūrdi* mentioned by Patañjali on p. iv, 2. 99, remains uncertain.

¹ Cf. e.g. the late Professor Windisch in the introduction to his edition of the *Tāin bō Cūaiṅge* (1905).

² Cf. further, M. Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1932, ii, 117 sq.

p. 66 seq. : On the date of Saraha, cf. also Shahidullah, *Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha*, p. 29 seq.

p. 96 : It seems that Dr. Bhattacharyya ought to be aware that the Christian name of Professor Grünwedel is not "Arthur".

p. 113 : With the idea that Mahākāla eats the evildoers, cf. the well-known situations in *Bhagavadgītā*, xi, 26 seq., and Dante, *Inferno*, xxxiv, 53 seq.

p. 118 : That the *Buddhists* should have bestowed upon Gaṇeśa the name of *Vighna* is entirely new to the present writer.

p. 133 : The story of Yama and Yamāntaka apparently is nothing but a double of the well-known legend of Śiva, Yama, and Mārkaṇḍeya. "The popular belief that the buffalo is more powerful than the bull" has got nothing to do with it.

These short remarks are not meant to detract from the value of the book. It undoubtedly contains much valuable material which the author has in general handled with great skill. The main tendency of the work—the effort to raise to an abnormal height the miserable literature of the Tantras—must, however, be proclaimed a total failure.

J. C.

PHILOSOPHY OF HINDU SĀDHANĀ. By NALINI KANTA BRAHMA.

With a Foreword by Sir SARPABALLI RADHAKRISHNAN. pp. xvi + 333. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. n.d. (1932). 12s. 6d.

The present writer, unfortunately, is not aware whether this is the first great work of Professor Nalini Kanta Brahma or not, as having himself only a very scant idea of philosophy he has not before met with any book by the learned author. However, even a somewhat superficial perusal of the work in question has revealed that it contains much of uncommon interest and imparts much useful learning. The Professor himself, in his Preface, warns his readers—if they be not philosophers *ex professo*—against some of his chapters; and these have certainly proved too knotty to the present writer.

The author tells us that he attempts "a presentation of the practical side of Hindu Philosophy as manifested in the different religious systems of the Hindus". This practical side of philosophy is summed up under the term *Sādhana* "means to an end", which is said "in the sphere of religion" to be "used to indicate the essential preliminary discipline that leads to the attainment of the spiritual

experience which is regarded as the *summum bonum* (the highest good, or *Siddhi*, i.e. completion and perfection) of existence”.

The work is divided into two great parts, of which the first one deals with “*Sādhanā* in general” and contains five chapters treating the place of *Sādhanā* in Philosophy and Religion, its different stages and forms, and giving a historical survey of these various forms. The second part, which is by much the longer one, contains a survey of the special forms of *Sādhanā*, viz. the *karma-mārga*—to which are attached chapters on the *karma-yoga* and the system of Patañjali—the *jñāna-mārga*, the *bhakti-mārga*, and the Tantric form of *Sādhanā*. The final chapter (xv) deals with “The different stages of *Sādhanā* and the synthesis of its different forms in the *Bhagavadgītā*” and winds up the whole work in an interesting and dignified way. If this be the start of Professor Nalini Kanta Brahma, he has indeed made a very good one, and we wish him every success in his future researches, the results of which will certainly prove important.

J. C.

HINDU MONISM AND PLURALISM as found in the Upanishads and in the Philosophies dependent upon them. By MAX HUNTER HARRISON. pp. xiii + 324. Oxford University Press, 1932. 11s. 6d.

The author of this book is an American missionary who has been working in Ceylon and has then, during two years, studied the Upanishads and Indian philosophy in general in Columbia University and in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. He tells us in the preface that Dr. J. N. Farquhar inspired him to undertake a selection of certain passages in the Upanishads meant for publication in the *Heritage of India* Series, and that during the performance of this work he became convinced that the Upanishads do not contain “one normative system of thought”—by no means any new or startling discovery.

The book, which deals chiefly with the Upanishads and their leading ideas, with the *advaita* of Śaṅkara, the modified *advaita* of Rāmānuja, and the origins and pluralism of the Sāṃkhya system is undoubtedly well composed and can be read with interest. It certainly contains no new ideas and has only made ample use of theories which are well known to everyone who has even very slightly busied himself

with Indian philosophy and its historical development. The bibliography—which is very far from complete—contains a list of the works from which the author has obtained his knowledge, which seems mostly to be second-hand. Still, he has made able use of his not too vast reading and created a work which will, no doubt, be useful to the student who wants an introduction into the doctrines of the leading Indian philosophies.

The etymology of *brahman* is shortly alluded to on p. 115 and in note 1. It has been exhaustively dealt with in the present writer's work *Brahman. Eine sprachwissenschaftlich-exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, i, ii (1932).
J. C.

HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By S. K. BELVALKAR and R. D. RANADE. Volume VII. INDIAN MYSTICISM: Mysticism in Maharashtra. By R. D. RANADE. pp. xlvi + 494. Poona, 1933. Rs. 15.

In 1927 there appeared volume ii of a really enormous work planned and undertaken by Professors Belvalkar and Ranade, viz. a *History of Indian Philosophy*, which will be completed in eight (or rather nine) bulky volumes. The first volume to be published contained a description and an analysis of the Upanishadic philosophy by Professor Belvalkar. The one which was issued last year, and which is called vol. vii, is in reality vii : 1, for the authors tell us that there will appear a second part of this same volume. What has now been published seems wholly to be the work of Professor Ranade and deals with the great Mārāṭha mystics, Jñānadeva, Nāmadeva, Ekanātha, Tukārāma, and Rāmadāsa. The second part will contain the story of mysticism outside Mahārāṣṭra. We are, however, told in the preface (p. 31) that it is not vol. vii : 2, that will next make its appearance, but rather vol. iii (Mahābhārata) or vi (Vedānta) both of which will be composed entirely by Professor Belvalkar.

The life-stories of Indian saints generally are not very exciting, though successive generations have, of course, ornamented their biographies with not a few wondrous happenings. Of the Mārāṭha saints dealt with here Tukārāma and Rāmadāsa present a certain historical interest through their connections with Shivāji, though even these connections seem to have many obscure points. Indian chronology here as always is faulty and uncertain; and the dates both of the birth and death of these famous mystics are generally

beset with problems which Professor Ranade has undoubtedly tried very hard to unravel—if everywhere with equal success escapes the present writer's power of judgment. Anyhow, the most important items are not the scanty and rather monotonous biographies of the five saints but their mystic doctrines which have been extensively analysed and provided with an enormous lot of quotations from their proper works.

The preface and the list of contents cover forty-six pages, while of the 494 pages constituting the proper work some seventy are devoted to an index of sources, an index of names and subjects, and a bibliographical note. Although the most extensive chapters are perhaps a little trying, especially to scholars who are not familiar with the literature in question, it must be confessed that Professor Ranade's book makes rather pleasant reading and is full of learning and interest. It would, however, have been a very good thing if this volume could have been immediately followed by the second part, so that, after having made a thorough acquaintance of the Mahārāṣṭra mystics, we might then have taken up the work dealing with those of Bengal, Hindūstān, and the Southern countries.

That the Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra mentioned in the *Chānd. Up.*, iii, 17, 6, is originally identical with the Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavadgītā* (p. 3) cannot, according to my humble opinion, well be doubted; and I may venture to refer to *IA*, lix, 121 ff., where I have put forth my opinion on this problem. Professor Ranade apparently accepts the translation of the Tantric *mudrā* by "parched cereals" (p. 6), which, as far as I understand it, is wholly out of the question.¹ Nor do I quite understand the learned author's words concerning Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs (p. 10 f.). That Kṛṣṇa, who is said to have been sporting with even 1,600 maidens at one time, has, of course, got nothing to do with the undoubtedly historical Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra; he was originally nothing but a bucolic deity worshipped by the shepherd caste near Mathurā and, like other deities of the same type, he was by no means averse to amorous dalliance. When and how he became confounded with his namesake of epic fame is not known to us, nor do I feel sure that we shall ever become possessed of all the details of this entangled story. Whether the dates of the Tamil saints mentioned on p. 17 are to be taken for granted is by no means clear to me; at least they do not tally with those afforded us by other authors, and the whole problem of Tamil literary and religious chronology seems to involve

¹ Cf. below, p. 681.

a great deal of obscurity. Nor does the date of Rāmānaja (1050–1135) given on p. 18 coincide with that accepted by the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and by other authorities. On p. 213 f. we are told that Bhānudāsa brought back to Pandharpūr an image of Viṭṭhala which Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagar (1509–1529) had dragged away to his capital. The present writer is not aware whether this image is still meant to be in existence; in that case it must have been brought back to Mahārāṣṭra at least before 1565 as the Muhammadan conquerors made total havoc of the great temple of Viṭṭhalasvāmin at Hampi.¹

These small remarks are, of course, only meant to betray the great interest with which the present writer has perused the extensive work of Professor Ranade.

J. C.

THE ŚĀKTAS. An Introductory and Comparative Study. By ERNEST A. PAYNE. pp. 153. (The Religious Life of India.) Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta, 1933.

The Śāktas and their literature, the Tantras, have been of evil fame since long time ago both within and outside their native country. The Vaiṣṇavas—and even other sects—have heaped abuse upon these their spiritual opponents; and European scholars of different creeds and opinions have been at one in denouncing the infamous rites prescribed in the Tantras and practised by the devotees of the Śākti. And it scarcely seems marvellous that a sect practising human sacrifice,² excessive consumption of intoxicating liquor, and hideous sexual orgies as the means of salvation should not be able to count upon any great degree of sympathetic understanding.

However, Sir John Woodroffe—who, according to Mr. Payne, is not wholly identical with the mysterious Arthur Avalon—Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, and perhaps even other writers have lately pleaded the cause of Śāktism and Tantrism, though they have, according to my humble opinion, done it with more enthusiasm than skill. We are told by these writers that we are chiefly to interpret the Tantras spiritually and symbolically, that the hideous rites and the magical nonsense with which they overflow is not to be taken in

¹ Cf. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 208.

² Human sacrifice was formally abolished in 1835; however, it has undoubtedly been practised in a limited degree even during later years—at least in Assam.

a literal but in a highly spiritual way. This is evidently to overrate the credulity of European readers ; and at any rate the majority of the Tantric sectarians do not appear to have hit upon such an interpretation of their sacred texts.

However, it can only be useful to get an impartial description of the ways and practices of the Śāktas—at least as far as they are known and can be properly described. Mr. Payne, who has probably seen missionary work in India, has made a praiseworthy effort to furnish us with such a description. It would be unjustifiable to suggest that he is an advocate of the Śāakta cause for he has his eyes well open to the abominations of their religion. On the other side he seems to think that there may really be found within the Tantras something of value besides the grossly cruel and sensual rites and the jumble of nonsensical and horrifying magic that fill most of their pages. Mr. Payne also points out that some of the finest pieces of Bengali poetry have been inspired by the worship of Kālī, the great Mother Goddess. This may all be quite right, still the present writer can have no doubt that India, and especially Bengal, would have been in a considerably happier and more lofty status were it not for the existence of the Tantras and the debased cults of Śāktism.

The author seems to be somewhat too prone to accept the theory of a Dravidian influence on Indian religion, and he has made no happy choice in taking Professor Slater for his guide in this field of research.¹ It is fairly safe to assert that the Dravidians, wherever they did issue from and whatever were their racial connections, have never occupied the greater part of the Indian peninsula. It seems, however, highly probable that at a fairly remote age they entered the Indus valley through Balūčistān and later on betook themselves—possibly under Aryan pressure—towards the Deccan and the extreme south. Their presence on the eastern coast simply means that the Andhras or Telugus at one time conquered those parts and took up their habitat there ; however, there are no definite proofs known to me that they ever penetrated further than the southern frontier of Orissa. That the builders and inhabitants of Mohenjo-Daro were Proto-Dravidians now seems to be a favourite idea, though it can, of course, not be proved at the present state of our researches. Mr. Payne does not, however, seem to have observed the hypothesis of Sir John Marshall that Śakti cults *in nuce* are to be met with already in Mohenjo-Daro.

¹ On Slater's book, cf. Dr. Barnett in *J.R.A.S.*, 1924, p. 485 ff.

It would be useless to discuss terminology on this point. Personally, I feel sure that Mother Goddesses figured largely in the cults of Mohenjo-Daro; Śakti-worship in its essential sense, however, may have originated not only at a much later date but in quite a different part of India.

Upon the entangled questions connected with the various cults of female goddesses much light is undoubtedly shed by the curious work of Mr. Briffault called *The Mothers*, though the opinions of its author are partly rather extravagant and his materials not always quite faultless. That Mother Goddesses are peculiar to the cults of Crete, Asia Major, Syria, Mesopotamia, and India—not to mention other countries—seems beyond doubt. There seems, however, to have been but little place for them within the religions of Northern and Central Asia to which that of the Aryans did no doubt originally belong.

That Śāktism in Bengal has had several revivals during times of political upheavals and general unrest is an interesting observation, and one which is scarcely astonishing to the student of Indian history and religions. It has long been obvious to the present writer that Śāktism and Kālī worship went through a mighty renaissance about 1905 and were intimately connected with the epidemic of political assassinations raging in Bengal and elsewhere during that and the following years. And I may perhaps be excused for quoting a few lines published in a Swedish general history¹ some years ago: “Bengal is the home of horrible and bloody cults of a disgusting nature and intimately connected with the terrible gore-dripping and skull-garlanded goddess Kālī. One of her chief temples is at Calcutta; and the popular hymn *Bande Mātaram* praises her as the deity protecting the holy soil of Bengal from the reign of the foreigners. Kālī has an eternal longing for blood; and certainly nothing could be more pleasing to her than the sacrifice of the blood of the loathed *mlecchas*. To make a disagreeable story short: the numerous murders of Anglo-Indian and Hindu officials, that culminated in 1909 and were generally performed by young Bengali students, were, according to the ideas of the assassins, not only political attentates but also human sacrifices to Kālī.”

That *Gaurī* simply means “the yellowish one” and has got nothing to do with the gour should not be doubted; nor is there any shadow

¹ *Norstedts Världshistoria*, xv, 1928, p. 574.

of doubt that *Comorin* is a Portuguese rendering of *Kumārī* (p. 7). On the dismemberment of Satī (p. 7 f.), literature has been quoted in my edition of Fenicio's *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais* (Upsala, 1933), p. 190. That *mudrā* within the series of the *pañca makārāḥ* should ever have meant anything but "mystic gestures" (p. 16, n. 1) is pure invention which is not to be credited. The well-known article "Aghorī" by Crooke in the *ERE.*, i, contains the most vivid description of these filthy and horrible feasts (p. 28). There are, within the work of Mr. Payne, really very few and very slight mistakes or miswritings; however, forms like *dolajātra* (= *dolayātrā*) and some other ones seem rather unnecessary in an otherwise very successful work.

J. C.

L'INDE PROFONDE. Toukaram. Par MICHEL LEDRUS, S.J. pp. 38.
Louvain : Éditions de l'Aucam, 8 Rue des Récollets, 1933.

This is a short but quite able pamphlet on Tukārām, the saintly Mārāṭha poet of the time of Shivāji, written by a Jesuit Father. The biographical data seem to have been taken over from Abbott's translation of that part of Mahīpati's *Bhaktatīlāmṛta* dealing with Tukārām, while for the extracts from his poetry the author is apparently indebted to the work of Fraser and Marathe. Whether Father Ledrus is himself a Mārāṭhī scholar escapes me. At any rate he has apparently busied himself with Sanskrit; and this makes it a little trying to find him repeating the recurring but faulty translation of the Upanishadic *neti neti* by "not so, not so" ("pas ainsi, pas ainsi"). For *neti* always meant "no, no", and will never mean anything else. To the man who first formed this expression the Supreme Spirit could only be described by means of the pure negation—an idea which is foreign neither to the later development of Hindu religion nor to certain amongst the schoolmen.

J. C.

SAHITYA-RATNAKARA. Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI. pp. xix + 126.
Madras : Printed at the Diocesan Press, Vepery, 1932.

It is a time-honoured thesis that Sanskrit literature contains very few historical works; and what there is has taken the form of mostly not very entertaining epic poetry. No doubt the Mahābhārata and even parts of the Purānas may contain some traces of what was once real history, while the Rāmāyaṇa seems to be entirely

founded upon a series of old folk-tales; there is at least not the slightest reason for suggesting that it contains the story of the spread of Aryanism towards the South, and the apes are certainly not Dravidians. Otherwise there is only the Rājatarāṅginī, which is undoubtedly a historical source of great value, while the Gaṇḍavaha, the works of Padmagupta and Bilhaṇa, and perhaps a few others are historically of very slight importance.

Mr. T. R. Chintamani, a Lecturer at Madras University, however, tells us that there exists in Orissa and in the South a small series of historical poems of which only a few seem to be available in print. One of these is the *Sāhityaratnākara*, composed by a certain Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita during the first half of the seventeenth century. This Yajñanārāyaṇa was the son of Govinda Dīkṣita and a court-poet of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore. As Govinda Dīkṣita served the worthless king Acyuta Rāja of Vijayanagar, who died in 1542, he must have been of a fairly great age when his son Yajñanārāyaṇa was born; and we are told in the introduction (p. vi f.) that he remained for a prolonged time a bachelor.

The *Sāhityaratnākara* contains sixteen cantos and ends rather abruptly. It is a sort of panegyric of Acyuta Rāja and Raghunātha Nāyaka. The exploits of Hindu princes have, with few exceptions, not been very grand and exciting, nor could this be said to have been the case with the two rulers glorified in this poem. It is composed according to the old and well-worn rules regulating the *kāvya*; it certainly does not present much of interest nor does it betray any prominent poetical inspiration. However, we ought to feel grateful to Mr. Chintamani and his collaborators for having made this poem, even if it be rather indifferent, available to their fellow-scholars.

J. C.

THE DOCTRINE OF PRAJÑĀ-PĀRAMITĀ AS EXPOSED IN THE ABHISAMAYĀLAMKĀRA OF MAITREYA. By E. OBERMILLER. Reprint from *Acta Orientalia*. vol. xi. pp. 1-133. Oslo, 1932.

Dr. Obermiller, a pupil and collaborator of Professor Stcherbatsky, like his *guru* is just as much at home in Sanskrit as in Tibetan, which seems a necessary outfit for being able to work upon the literature of the Mahāyāna and upon Buddhist philosophy in general. A previous bulky work of his¹ contained a translation, with introduction and

¹ Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, vol. ix, pp. 81-306.

notes, of the *Uttaratantra* of Maitreya. In the present paper he has taken up another work by the same author, the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, and dealt with the doctrine of *praññāpāramitā* as exposed within this book, which in Tibetan tradition enjoys a great fame. Pp. 1-100 contain the real treatise, which is divided up into six chapters, dealing with the literature connected with the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, the different paths (*śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha*, Mahāyāna path) and the stages of the Hīnayāna and of the Bodhisattva, the eight *padārtha*'s and the seventy *artha*'s of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, the concordance of the degrees of the Path with the Subjects of that work, and finally with the author of the work and his system. Then follow about thirty pages containing an Index of Technical Terms in Sanskrit and Tibetan, which is indeed a most useful one.

This work by Dr. Obermiller, like his previous ones, is undoubtedly one of great and lasting merit. Just as are the works by Rosenberg and Stecherbatsky, also those by Obermiller are indispensable to everyone who is busying himself with researches in Buddhist philosophy and its various stages of development. To a scholar who, like the present writer, is unacquainted with Tibetan and only slightly at home in the doctrines of Buddhism they, unfortunately, to a great part, remain books sealed with seven seals.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

THE CRUSADE OF NICOPOLIS. By AZIZ SURİYAL ATIYA. pp. xii + 234.
London : Methuen & Co., 1934. 10s. 6d.

This monograph on the historically so momentous battle of Nicopolis in 1396, its prelude, its immediate consequences and its importance in medieval history as the last serious crusading enterprise from Christendom against Islam, is without any doubt a most useful contribution to our knowledge of the period. Although there existed already a rather extensive bibliography on the subject, as well in general works as in special studies, the author has been able to make use of many new documentary sources or to profit, in a more correct form, from sources only imperfectly known hitherto. After having given, in his first chapter, a survey of European political conditions at the end of the fourteenth century, the second chapter offers gleanings from the propagandist literature of the same century in Christian countries, which make us desirous of getting acquainted with the more

extensive researches on the subject which he promises to give in a later work. This literature is significant for the general trend of thought that still animated in the later Middle Ages the intellectual centres and at the same time for the knowledge as well as the ignorance of geographical, political, and religious conditions in the Near East. It reveals a great contrast between the Christian and the Muhammadan worlds, as far as in the latter hardly any traces of reasoned propagandist literature—besides the religious traditional obligation of the Holy War—are to be found; the Turkish chronicles of the time justify the Ottoman conquests only by saying that the people living in the conquered territories had bad rulers, which no doubt was the case. This contrast shows the intellectual superiority of the Christians, but at the same time their weakness. The following chapters treat successively of the preparations for the battle, the march of the crusaders, the composition of the hostile armies, and the battle itself, while in chapter vii, *The Aftermath*, is undertaken the laborious work of investigating the difficult negotiations and transactions connected with the raising of ransom for the high Burgundian and other French nobles who had fallen into Turkish captivity. Chapter viii, *Conclusion*, gives an epilogue in which the author points out how the Christian defeat at Nicopolis was only a symptom of the breaking up of the early medieval unity of European Christendom on account of the awakening of national tendencies, a conclusion with which it is difficult not to agree.

Throughout the whole book the battle of Nicopolis has been treated from a point of view of European history, which is very naturally indicated by the fact that the European sources and documents are in an overwhelming majority against the Eastern sources. Some literary and statistical documents are presented in the first six appendices. In addition the work is closed by an extraordinarily extensive bibliography, which comprises many works of general reference (including the Qur'ān), which certainly have been of much use to the author but which have no immediate relation to the subject treated. The more special part of the bibliography appears to be fairly complete: there exists a dissertation on the battle of Nicopolis by Gustav Kling (Berlin, 1906), which seems to have escaped the author's attention. It would perhaps be useful in works of this kind to give in a special chapter a reasoned discussion of the different kinds of sources and their relative value; for many important sources the author has done so in the text itself, but a systematical treatment

might be of greater use to the reader, especially if he is not well conversant with their nature.

In the bibliography the author cites not a few oriental sources (unfortunately with rather many typographical errors as on p. 209 : *Ṭashkīrī Zade* for *Ṭashköprü Zade*). Nevertheless these sources have not come fully to their right, which applies especially to the ancient Ottoman Chronicles, of which the author has only used the anonymous Turkish Chronicle edited in French by Buchon in his Froissart edition, the certainly very important Annales and Pandectes of Leunclavius, and the edition of Uruj Bey by Babinger. Some other chronicles of the same kind, however, are since longer or shorter time available, such as "Neshri" (*ZDMG.*, xv), '*Ashik Pasha Zade* (ed. Giese, Leipzig, 1928), and another anonymous chronicle (ed. Giese, Breslau, 1922). It is true that these sources do not throw much more light on the facts, but they are not without value, as has been shown by F. Giese, who has discussed the battle of Nicopolis in No. 34, April, 1928, of the *Ephemerides Orientales* of Harrassowitz at Leipzig. It is noteworthy that Giese here comes to the same conclusion as the author as to the date of the battle, n.l. 25th September, 1396 (cf. p. 151). Giese further points out that nowhere is it said that Dogan was commander of the garrison of Nicopolis (cf. p. 61). It is likewise to be doubted if the inhabitants of the town were at Bayezid's time mostly Turkish, as the town had been, until not long before, a Bulgarian town; even nowadays, as the author says on p. 154, 40 per cent of the inhabitants are Bulgarian.

The discussion of the different Turkish troops in the Sultan's army, on p. 71 sqq., leaves place for some remarks. This applies especially to the "Sipahis". It is not certain if at Bayezid's time there were already paid "Sipahis" besides the fief-holders (*timarli* and *za'im*) and their retinue, who, as horsemen, were also called "Sipahis". The question of the Janissaries is treated by the author with much prudence; mainly on the authority of Ducas he comes to the conclusion that at the time the Janissaries were levied only from the Christian prisoners of war; this fact, however, is equally proved by the ancient Ottoman chronicles.

Finally, something may be said on the question of whether Bayezid was the first Ottoman ruler who bore the title of Sultan, discussed in Appendix x (p. 157 sqq.). While we may be thankful to the author for collecting material on this question from a number of Arabic literary and from numismatical sources, it would seem that the solution

of the problem must be sought in another direction. It is quite certain that in Turkey itself the ruler was not called Sultan, but mostly *Khunk'ar*, as appears from the Chronicles. But where the Ottoman rulers needed the use of a more ceremonious titlature, as on coins or in inscriptions, they made use of the Arabic-Persian protocol as known from Seljuk times, where "Sultan" was a very high title, probably since the time of the first Seljuk conqueror of Persia, Toghrul Bek (cf. my article "Sultan" in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*). On the other hand the word "Sultan" denotes in the Arabic literature since the third century of the Hijra any person who has some political authority and this use of the word has been maintained even after, under special conditions, "Sultan" had become a very high title. Hence the frequent occurrence of the word in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and the apparent confusion in the other Arabic sources.

In using the notes, which have been placed at the end of the book, it is slightly inconvenient that there is no reference at the top of the pages to the chapter to which they belong.

J. H. KRAMERS.

KITĀB AL AWRĀK (Section on Contemporary Poets). By ABU BAKR

MUḤAMMAD IBN YAḤYA AŞ ŞŪLĪ. Edited by J. HEYWORTH DUNNE.

Text and introduction in Arabic. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. J + ۲۵۶.

London: Luzac & Co., 1934. 10s.

The *Aurāq* of Eş Şūlī is well-known by name to all students of Arabic literature. The author, who flourished in the tenth century, finished the portion of the book containing the history of the Abbasid Khalifs and the poetry of members of their line and of certain others who were connected by relationship with the Prophet, but died without having completed a final section on other poetry of the Abbasid time. Mr. Heyworth Dunne now publishes the text of this section, taken from a unique manuscript of the twelfth century at Cairo, which appears to represent as much of it as was produced.

The plan which Eş Şūlī followed in this part of his book was to embody as much as possible of the poetry of the more obscure poets but only a selection of that of those of renown. The work of the latter was generally well known and he himself had taken a prominent part in making it accessible by forming collections. The poems cited are generally accompanied by indications of the persons to whom they

were addressed or the circumstances under which they were composed, and some information about the authors is given, most of it in the form of rather disjointed anecdotes. The work is arranged according to families, all poets who belonged to the same family being brought together, and the families grouped alphabetically under the names of their most prominent member.

The present volume brings under notice about a dozen poets, members of three families of which Abān, Aṣḥja' and Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf stand as the leading representatives. Abān and Aṣḥja' were both associated with the Barmakids and with Hārūn er Rashīd, Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf was one of the viziers of El Ma'mūn. The poetry collected in the book includes a good proportion of eulogies and elegies—the stock-in-trade of those who made their livelihood by poetry—but also many other pieces on a variety of subjects. Some of the poets and their poetry are treated of in other books. El Aghānī, for instance, deals at some length with those who have been named. Mr. Heyworth Dunne has examined this book and several others for the purpose of his edition and shows the result in his footnotes. It appears that something can be added occasionally to the examples of poems given by Eṣ Ṣūlī, but on the other hand he affords a good deal concerning his subjects and their work which is not to be found elsewhere. As an illustration, he cites more than sixty verses of Abān's rendering of Kalila and Dimna in rhyming couplets, whereas El Aghānī, apparently the only other book that records any of this important poem, gives only two. Moreover, the minor poets to whom Eṣ Ṣūlī gives special attention are as a rule noticed in El Aghānī only very slightly if they are not passed over there without mention, and little about them is found in other books. Additions to our knowledge of the Abbasid poetry of the eighth and ninth centuries are particularly welcome, because of the developments in Arabic poetry which were proceeding at the time. Even if Eṣ Ṣūlī did not make such additions his work would be important as one of the earliest authorities for its subject.

Mr. Heyworth Dunne's edition is a good one. The text that he produces is generally satisfactory. The illegibility of the manuscript must have made its establishment particularly difficult, and it is only in parts that he has been able to get help by comparison with other books. He acknowledges the assistance given to him by some of his Egyptian friends in solving problems that presented themselves and doubtless such help must have been very valuable. He has made

a number of excellent emendations, duly recorded in the footnotes, where also he draws attention to several passages which appear to be corrupt, but cannot be restored with certainty. He supplies a good number of useful vowel points and facilitates reading, likewise, by some explanations of difficult words and other comments. In his introduction he gives an account of the Cairo manuscript of the *Kitāb el Aurāq*, and a life of Eṣ Şūlī. He supplies an adequate index. His work has evidently been done with much care.

The printing of the book is not always as good as might be desired.

Mr. Heyworth Dunne states that he means to publish the remaining portions of *El Aurāq*. Fragments of the book preserved in various places appear to cover a good proportion of the whole of the original text. The publication is likely to include much new historical matter of value.

R. GUEST.

NABI. Soziologische Studien zur alttestamentlichen Literatur und Religionsgeschichte. Von ALFRED JEPSEN. pp. xii + 258. Beck, Muenchen, 1934.

Nabi is used to denote those persons who are called in the English version sons of the prophets. The nabi belonged to the Canaanite religion, as is shown by the story of Wen-Amon, and was unknown to Israel until they settled in Palestine, when they borrowed the institution from the older civilization. In Judah the nabi became part of the state religion and is found working with the priest at the capital as, for example, at the coronation of Solomon. It is suggested that David employed a nabi to get oracles for him from God till he got into his power the ephod with which the priests obtained oracles for him. In Israel, on the other hand, the nabis never got State recognition and usually lived humbly on the alms of the poor. The stories show what the nabi would like to have been, a messenger from God, a miracle worker, one who knew the future and things hidden from the common man. Therefore he possessed *baraka*, to use the Muslim term, and was a blessing to his friends and a danger to his enemies. Elijah and Elisha were not nabis but tradition turned them into nabis. In the stories about Elijah we can trace the development. At first he is the Tishbite, no more than a voice bringing the message of God, later he is made into a "man of God", a nabi, and a miracle-monger. The pre-exilic writing prophets had nothing in common with these men,

though Isaiah has been turned into one by popular legend. As a class they existed till the end of the Old Testament period; Nehemiah was accused of suborning nabīs to proclaim him king, and Haggai and Zechariah were typical representatives of the class. During the centuries the conception of the nabi changed considerably and the contemptuous question "Is Saul also among the prophets?" would have had no meaning at a later date. Much of the history of Israel was composed under the influence of this class.

To review this book thoroughly, examining every reference, would take nearly as long as it took to write. A few points may be picked out. The statement that the centre of the northern kingdom was far from Canaanite influence (p. 169) is extraordinary. 1 Sam. iii. 1 does not say "till then there had been no visions in Israel" (p. 151). This might be a possible translation of part of the verse, if it stood alone; but taken together with the rest, "the word of the Lord was rare," it is impossible. Dr. Jepsen admits that it is hard to reconcile 1 Kings xx with what is known from the Assyrian records. He does not refer to the surprising fact that in much of the chapter the king of Israel has no name. It looks as if a popular tale had been attached clumsily to Ahab; especially as he is nowhere else surrounded by a crowd of Yahwe nabīs.

Dr. Jepsen has written a stimulating, one might even say, a provocative book. It is the fruit of much reading and acute thinking. If the basis of his arguments is often slender, that is inevitable in dealing with the Old Testament. It may be exaggerated to say that his conclusions always contradict those of his predecessors, but at least the note of contradiction is very marked. In places the book is more wordy than is necessary. Even if all the conclusions are not accepted, they will have to be met and answered.

A. S. T.

KITĀB IḤTILĀF AL-FUQAḤĀ' (das Konstantinopler Fragment). By AṬ-ṬABARĪ. Ed. JOSEPH SCHACHT. pp. xxiv + 274. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1933.

The only thing to criticize in this book is the printing. The list of misprints is too long and it is not exhaustive. P. 216. l. 4. should be من أبت. In addition to minor slips, many letters have dropped and others are smudged. Here criticism stops.

The manuscript is written without points but, as much of the text is known from other books, the task of reading it is not so difficult as would appear. Professor Schacht has done his work as editor thoroughly and with immense labour. The text has been compared with parallel passages and all variants noted in the margin. Much material is crammed into the short introduction, where the relation of this book to its sources is discussed. *Jizya* (p. xv, l. 17) should be *jihād*. It is tempting to suggest الأضياف instead of الأصناف on p. 217, l. 17. The present text of p. 232 (foot) says that the government must employ a *dhimmi* artisan so that he can pay his taxes!

At times language is more literary than legal; four terms are used to denote "of unsound mind", and they are used indiscriminately.

Some examples may be of interest. Abū Ḥanīfa is sometimes illiberal. If an enemy had freed a slave in his own land and then brought him into the land of Islam, the manumission was invalid. Once, at least, he is clearly immoral. In a land of enemies a Muslim may not sell to them with interest if the profit is to their advantage; but if it is to his own he may. He assumes a very efficient customs service or that Muslim law runs in enemy lands when he says that, if an enemy comes into the land of Islam and buys a slave from a Muslim or a *dhimmi* and takes him back to his own land, the slave becomes free.

Al-Shāfi'i taught that captured books were to be translated and, if they dealt with some useful subject like medicine, they were to be sold and the price put into the booty. If they were idolatrous, they were to be defaced but the covers put to some good purpose. One man taught that the tribute should be paid in local money, even if it were of less value than the state coinage. The papyri show that this opinion did not find favour with the government.

All figures given in the books for the land tax seem to make it less than the tithe. Abū Ḥanīfa held that, if the land tax was by *muḳāsama*, half the harvest might be taken as tax, and al-Shāfi'i would have allowed two-thirds to be taken. It may be noted that al-Shāfi'i did not hold that the *dhimmi*, who turned brigand or acted as a spy for the enemies of Islam, had cancelled the covenant with him.

The publication of this book makes it possible to correct *al-Mīzān* of al-Sha'rāni in places, but it will not supersede it altogether. Mālik and Abū Thaur gave a horseman two shares in the booty; according to *al-Mīzān* they allowed him three shares. But this book says nothing

about the man mounted on a camel. Property stolen or captured from a Muslim, if recaptured by a Muslim army, must be restored to the owner; so Mālik as reported in *al-Mīzān*. Al-Ṭabari adds the qualification "if claimed before the distribution of the booty". In *al-Mīzān* there is no *kitāb al jihād* but much of the material is brought under the head of "division of booty".

The system of al-Awzā'i needs such long reports that its disappearance from practical life is not surprising.

A. S. T.

A LEXICON OF ACCADIAN PRAYERS IN THE RITUALS OF EXPIATION.

By C. J. MULLO WEIR. pp. xix + 411. Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1934. 21s.

This book provides an edition of the prayers in the form of a lexicon, a systematic arrangement of the grammatical forms, and notes on the etymology of the words. The review deals with the last section only.¹

A number of words and meanings are common to B. and South Semitic, but do not occur in A. The list of words in Brockelmann. *Grundriss* 1, 127, in which *ḥ* becomes *ḥ* must be greatly enlarged. Certain roots common to most Semitic languages occur in B. with peculiar meanings; e.g. *dll* "to praise".

There are a few mistakes. H. *y'd* corresponds to A. *w'd*, not to *w'd'*; A. has no *šll* "to rest"; A. *šbš* should be *šwš*. Occasionally Dr. Mullo Weir equates roots which are similar in form but quite different in meaning.

A few suggestions may be made.

aguhhu "waistband, loincloth", cf. A. *ḥkw*.

akū "weak", cf. E. *aky*.

apkallu "sage", cf. SA. *ʾfkl*.

askuppātu "threshold", cf. A. *skf*, *uskuffat*.

baḥulāti, *ba'ulāti* "mankind", cf. SA. *bkl*. (Brockelmann compares

H. *bhr*.)

būlu "cattle", possibly A. *bhm*.

dāšu "act unjustly, oppress", A. *dyš*.

ešēku "distribute", perhaps A. *wšk*.

gašāru "strengthen", cf. A. *jsr*.

¹ Abbreviations: A. Arabic, B. Babylonian-Assyrian, E. Ethiopic, H. Hebrew, SA. South Arabian.

saḥmaštu "violence", probably A. *ḥms*.

ḥašālu "crush", cf. A. *ḥusāla* "dross".

ikkāru "peasant", cf. A. *'akkār*, H. *'ikkār*.

kamāsu "bow down", cf. SA. *kms* (probably) "subdue".

kasū "bind", perhaps SA. *kt* "command" (?).

kaṣū "cold", cf. A. *sk'*.

kaḥlītu "bowels", the connection with A. *ḥlb* and H. *ḥrb* is not mentioned.

kaṇnu "girdle", E. *kn*.

le'u "be capable", A. *l'y* "be slow, hindered". There are cases of a root having opposite meanings in two languages.

maḥāru "be in front, meet", A. and SA. *mḥr*.

malāšu "pluck out", perhaps A. *mls* "be smooth".

mašāru "send away", SA. *mšr*.

mēḥū "tempest", cf. A. *mḥw*.

mešrū "abundance", cf. A. *šrh*.

na'ādu "revere", cf. A. *na'ād* "calamity".

nīrtu "slaughter", A. *nḥr*.

palsāḥu, *parsāḥu* "crouch down", A. *fršḥ*.

rašū "grant", A. and SA. *ršw*.

rušumtu "mud", cf. A. *rāšib* "clay stopper of a wine jar".

saḥpāḥu "scatter", cf. SA. *sfḥ* "announce".

siḥlu "thorn", cf. A. *'iḥil*.

šarāḥu "be strong", cf. E. and SA. *šrh*.

It may be noted that B. did not always keep the emphatic sounds, e.g. *k* sometimes corresponds to *ḳ* in other languages. Also one root may appear in more than one form in B., e.g. *mašā'u* and *misū* both correspond to A. *msh*. This also occurs in SA.

A. S. T.

LEGENDS OF OUR LADY MARY THE PERPETUAL VIRGIN AND HER MOTHER HANNA. pp. 314, pl. 33. 7s. 6d. net.

ONE HUNDRED AND TEN MIRACLES OF OUR LADY MARY. pp. 355, pl. 64. 10s. 6d. net.

Both translated from the Ethiopic by Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1933.

These two volumes are cheap editions of books published some twelve years ago, the Ethiopic texts being omitted and the plates reduced in size. The lives of the Virgin and her mother are practically

translations of familiar apocryphal tales and so are the most interesting miracles. Latin and French parallels are quoted with copious references to the literature on the subject. The tales have a mixed history. One, about a spring which Jesus caused to flow, is evidently a Christian adaptation of an Egyptian legend. Muslim influence is seen in some. There is a trace of theological disputes in the statement that Muhammad was sent to the Arabs only. That it is wicked to be one of "the council of judges" recalls the temper of early Islam. That a good woman can wear only "pure" clothes, such as have not been bought with the price of fornication or other illegal traffic, may come from the same source. So do the horrors of the punishment in the grave. Water that is as sweet as honey and as white as milk suggests the rivers of the Garden. That the Virgin was in the body of Adam as a lustrous pearl and from him passed to the patriarchs recalls the doctrine of the light of Muhammad.

Natural objects such as leaves with holy words on them are common to Muslims and Christians. So is the tale of the man who put the money he owed in a piece of wood, threw it into the sea, and trusted in the Prophet or the Virgin to carry it to his distant creditor. The Virgin gave a thirsty dog drink from her shoe. Saladin pardoned an adulteress for the same kind deed.

The practice of incubation is mentioned and a lame man was not permitted to enter a church. Many of the miracles are immoral. The use of the word *mihrāb* in Qur'ān 3, 32 is probably derived from the story that the Virgin as a girl lived in the Temple. The pictures are delightful.

A. S. T.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM. BY SIR MOHAMMAD IQBAL. pp. vii + 192. Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1934. 7s. 6d.

It is hard to do justice to this book because parts provoke criticism while the general purpose secures our sympathy. Someone said that an article for the Quarterly Review had to be written three times: once profoundly; once simply; and once with profundity hidden in simplicity. It is to be feared that this book was written once only. Take this sentence: "It is the application of the principle embodied in this verse to the reporters of the Prophet's traditions out of which were gradually evolved the canons of historical criticism" (p. 133).

The grammar is bad. Rules of criticism are evolved out of reports not out of reporters. The sentence should run: The application of the principle embodied in this verse to the reported traditions of the Prophet gradually evolved the canons of historical criticism. Sir Mohammad says that Christianity (which had originally appeared as a monastic order, p. 139) is hostile to the world while the Qur'ān makes the world a witness to the nature of God and good in itself. If he quotes the Qur'ān, a reviewer may quote the Bible. The refrain to the story of the creation of the world is, "God saw that it was good," the cherubim sang, "The fulness of the whole world is His glory," and Jesus said, "Consider the lilies of the field." On this subject the Qur'ān teaches nothing new.

On p. 68 we read, "I have conceived the Ultimate Reality as an Ego; and I must add now that from the Ultimate Ego only egos can proceed." We want some proof of this second statement; it reminds us of the axiom of the Muslim philosophers that from one only the one can proceed. The Bible provides a useful text for part of this statement: "God made man in His image." On p. 65 this opinion of the Ash'arite thinkers is quoted, "The atom in its essence, therefore, has no magnitude; it has its position which does not involve space. It is by their aggregation that atoms become extended and generate space." One expects some indication that this is nonsense. Again, the Qur'ān says that God is light. Sir Mohammad says:

The teaching of modern physics is that the velocity of light cannot be exceeded and is the same for all observers whatever their own system of movement. Thus, in the world of change, light is the nearest approach to the Absolute. The metaphor of light as applied to God, therefore, must, in view of modern knowledge, be taken to suggest the Absoluteness of God and not His Omnipresence which easily lends itself to a pantheistic interpretation.

No objection can be taken to this pouring of new wine into old bottles; but it must be recognized that the wine is new. Surely, it is a mark of a great man that his words are capable of a wider meaning than he ever anticipated. That the prophet was neither theologian nor philosopher is one of the certain facts of history, and we may be sure that he did not pray, "God! grant me knowledge of the ultimate nature of things" (p. 3).

Sir Mohammad quotes the verdict of Goldziher (the name is spelt wrongly) that the traditions are, on the whole, untrustworthy, and sets against this the verdict of Aghnides (*Mohammedan Theories of Finance*,

p. 59) that those in the canonical collections "are genuine records of the rise and early growth of Islam". He has forgotten that Goldziher's judgment applies only to the traditions as records of the life and opinions of the prophet. He used the traditions to write the story of the rise and early growth of Islam.

Sir Mohammad makes a spirited defence of the laws of inheritance as well adapted to Arabian society; he does not say if they may be altered to suit a totally different society.

The antitheses are too sharply cut. To say that the Qur'ān is anti-classical, in other words, empirical, forgets the work of Aristotle, who taught the observation of nature, and of the physicians, whose work was the basis of all Arabian medicine.

Criticism has been concerned with details and modes of presentation. The book is a fervent attack—in the best spirit of the *jihād*—on unbelievers. Religion is not abandoned to physical science. If the facts of religion do not come under the ordinary rules of science, so much the worse for science; the spiritual man judgeth all things and is judged of none. It is the man that counts, call him soul, self, ego; his life does not consist in the abundance of the things he possesses. Man is not a finished product. He was made a little lower than the angels and what he shall hereafter be is hid from mortal eyes. God breathed His Spirit into man, and it is his duty to put himself at the service of Him who can do for him abundantly far more than he can ask or think. Religion is not the repetition of a creed; it is companionship between God and man and therefore leads to the fellowship of man with man.

Nor is heaven a holiday. Life is one and continuous. Man marches always onward to receive ever fresh illuminations from an Infinite Reality which "every moment appears in a new glory". And the recipient of divine illumination is not merely a passive recipient. Every act of a free ego creates a new situation, and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding.

An inspiring book.

A. S. T.

PAGAN SURVIVALS IN MOHAMMEDAN CIVILIZATION. By Professor EDWARD WESTERMARCK. pp. viii + 190. London: Macmillan, 1933. 8s. 6d.

If a custom is not part of statutory Islam, Professor Westermarck counts it a pagan survival. He has described many such customs and

has speculated a little on the origin of them. It may be useful to give examples from other lands of some of them and to say something about the theories.

There is no sharp cleavage between the clean and the unclean, the holy and the forbidden. A holy man brings blessing to the house he visits, but the touch of a Jew, who is unclean, may encourage plants to grow. Similarly among the Hebrews, those who worshipped strange gods were slain but the touch of the ark killed Uzzah. The two opposites have the same effect! In the sentence, "They shed in the sacred place blood which it is a sin to shed," no one would guess that the same word represents "sacred" and "which it is a sin to shed". The explanation must be sought in the fact that originally the supernatural was a-moral. It was dangerous, trespass on it brought punishment, and it was highly infectious. One word denoted this dangerous thing. When moral ideas came into being and the supernatural was divided into two, this word was still used for what was dangerous because it was unclean and also for what was dangerous because it was holy. This is clearly seen in Hebrew. Divines debated whether certain books defiled the hands; in other words, were they part of Holy Scripture? If part of the canon, they were holy, and their holiness would come off on one who handled them and must be removed before he could go back to the everyday duties of life where things unclean were common. For the contact of the holy with the unclean might produce an explosion. For the same reason, those who took part in the sacred race round the Ka'ba did so naked, or borrowed clothes from the townspeople of Mecca. If their own garments had been brought into contact with the holy place, they would have been infected with its holiness and useless for daily wear.

The belief that there is blessing in certain animals is found outside Africa. The prophet said: "The devil does not come near one who has a noble horse, or a house where such a horse is." And again: "Wellbeing is tied to the forelock of a horse." He also said: "God put His blessing on the sheep," and "Pray where the sheep lie down." On the other hand, some would not pray where camels were accustomed to camp, for some camels are descended from the jinn. Another tradition runs: "The cock is my friend, the friend of my friend, and the enemy of God's enemy; he guards his house and four others round it." So it is not surprising to find the cock a favourite object of sacrifice. Another tradition is: "If a black dog (or a jinn) come to you while you are eating, throw it something, for it has desires." "In other words,

the evil eye will smite you. It is related that 'Uthmān saw a very beautiful boy and said: "Blacken the dimple in his chin," to avert the eye. These may be pagan survivals, but they are not peculiar to north Africa. That sexual intercourse destroys the efficacy of a charm reminds one of those men who removed their seal rings before intercourse or visiting the latrine.

It is curious that in the Muḥarram celebrations in Baghdad a Christian is always present. They say that he fought for Husain at Kerbela and he is distinguished by the umbrella he carries.

The custom of killing a sacrifice in the presence of one whose help is wanted is recorded from the Yemen; but the use of the word 'ār (shame) for it seems peculiar to north Africa. An old story shows how this name arose. One who had provoked the caliph's wrath took refuge by the grave of the caliph's son. A friend of the suppliant said, "To break faith with the dead is a shame to the living." This book is practically an extract from the author's larger work *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*.

A. S. T.

THE DAWN OF CONSCIENCE. By J. H. BREASTED. pp. xxvi, + 431.
New York, London: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 1934. 12s. 6d.

Egypt saw the dawn of conscience and the history of morals is set against a background of religion. At first the sun was worshipped as a power of nature and then it became the ruling force in the affairs of men, the shepherd of his people. The king at death was lifted to the sky and became one with the sun. The worship of the sun was a State religion and over against it was the popular worship of fertility, the combination of earth and water, of Osiris, who became the god of the dead in the underworld. The dead man was identified with Osiris and enjoyed the "pious" services of his son Horus. Then the two faiths mingled; the sun was brought down to light up the underworld, Osiris was raised to the sky, and all the dead enjoyed the after life in the fields of the sun. The heretic king, Ikhnaton, tried to make the worship of the kindly sun a universal religion and failed.

The earliest known moral judgment, "He who does what is loved, and he who does what is hated; life is given to the peaceful and death is given to the criminal," is dated about 3500 B.C. The words right and wrong do not yet appear. Round about the twenty-seventh century the tombs assert claims like this, "I was one beloved

of his father, praised of his mother, whom his brothers and sisters loved." This family conception of goodness is illustrated by the pictures in the tombs where domestic life is all important. Morals developed in the family. The unbroken history of Egypt in its secluded valley allowed the idea of moral order to grow. "I had these statues made by the sculptor and he was satisfied with the pay I gave him." This is but one sample out of many showing that morals looked beyond the family and were essential if man was to stand in the judgment. A minister was so anxious to avoid even the appearance of evil that he gave judgment against his own kin, though the right was on their side. Centuries later a kings aid that this was "more than justice." To the same age belong the maxims of Ptahhotep. One of them runs, "When thy fortunes are evil, thy virtues shall be above thy friends." Moral ideas were associated with the sun god rather than with Osiris and now even the king had to be justified to obtain life in the hereafter.

About 2500 B.C. we read, "More acceptable is the virtue of the upright man than the ox of him that doeth iniquity," and a little later, "A man's virtue is his monument; forgotten is the man of evil repute." When the old kingdom fell to pieces pessimism became common, as is shown by such compositions as the Song of the Harper and the Dialogue of the Misanthrope with his Soul. At the end of this period king Amenemhet said,

"I gave to the beggar. I nourished the orphan,

I admitted the insignificant as well as him who was of great account,

But he who ate my food made insurrection;

He to whom I gave my hand, aroused fear therein."

Yet in the Instructions to the Minister it is written, now as for "him who shall do justice before all the people" it is the minister. In the period represented by the Book of the Dead morals gave place to magic.

After the failure of Ikhnaton the old happy content is gone; its place is taken by a feeling of insufficiency and sin. "Punish me not for my many sins. . . . All day I follow after my own dictates as the ox after its fodder."

A short review cannot touch all the striking texts quoted but it must not omit the professor's reminder to man, the moral animal, that he is only at the beginning of his development.

A. S. T.

GENERAL WILLIAM EATON. By F. RENNELL RODD. pp. 314. London : Routledge, 1933. 12s. 6d.

William Eaton dreamed a dream of a State in north Africa under American protection. In 1784 the Barbary corsairs captured an American ship. Two years later peace was made with Morocco at a price. When a treaty was made with Algiers in 1795 it had cost 900,000 dollars in subsidies, bribes, and ransoms. America grew tired of buying useless treaties and sent small fleets to the Mediterranean. In Tripoli the reigning Bashaw (to use the current spelling) had deposed his elder brother, who lived in exile at Tunis. Eaton, who was consul at Tunis, thought of exploiting the situation at Tripoli. He would use the exiled Bashaw, who had partisans in the country, rouse the tribes of the south, and invade Tripoli from the east while the fleet attacked the capital. In Egypt he collected a small miscellaneous army. Somehow he contrived to lead it along the desert coastland to Derna, being met half-way by American ships with provisions. He captured Derna and was ready to advance on the town of Tripoli when American ships arrived with news and orders. Peace had been made with Tripoli behind his back and he was ordered to embark with his foreign soldiers. So ended the dream.

Eaton had a policy ; one can hardly say as much for the American Government and its commanders in the Mediterranean. The march along the coast to Derna was a great feat. Perhaps it is not surprising that he did not always get on well with his colleagues. He could write. His dispatches are clear and to the point. An extract from a letter may be allowed, describing his servant :

Born in Gibraltar, is free of London, a convict in Ireland, a burgo-master in Holland, was circumcized in Barbary, was a spy for the devil among the Apostles at the Feast of Pentecost, has the gift of tongues, and has travelled in Europe. And he will undoubtedly be hung in America, for I intend to take him there.

The end is best left untold.

A. S. TRITTON.

KREST'YANSKAYA DOLYA. *Rūz-i siyāh-i kārgar*, "The labourer's plight". By AḤMAD 'ALĪ KHĀN KHUDĀ-DĀDA. Translated from the Persian into Russian by V. TARDOV. pp. 230. Moscow. 1931. 2s. 9d.

The Persian original of this book was printed in Kermānshāh in 1927 and is not easily obtainable nowadays. The story is that of

a Kurdish peasant born in 1300/1882 whose adventures extend over the years of the Persian revolution down to the times of the war (Sayyid Ḍiyā ad-Dīn's cabinet is mentioned on p. 191). The hero's biography is an uninterrupted series of misfortunes and "spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes". Some of the pages read like a melancholy satire but on the whole the novelty of the book chiefly consists in its realistic tendency, a rare phenomenon in Persian literature. It is more of a "social document" than a novel. The style (so far as one can judge of it through the garb of a foreign translation) is simple and unaffected.

The book belongs to the same class of literature as Zayn al-'Ābidin's *Siyāḥat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm-beg*, but differs from it by reason of the lower social position of the observer who has no time to go into the higher problems of policy and administration which leave unaffected the depths of rural life.

The Russian translation has been done by a competent hand and the foot-notes give a correct explanation of technical terms. Some geographical names have been misread, so p. 51 instead of *Chom-Chomal* read: *Chamchamāl* (near Bisutūn) and the Kurdish summer huts made of branches are called *kapir*, not *kabir*.

V. MINORSKY.

GRAMMAIRE DU VIEUX-PERSE. A. MEILLET. Deuxième édition entièrement corrigée et augmentée par E. BENVENISTE. Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris. Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931. Frs. 60.00.

In 1915 M. Meillet wrote his *Grammaire du vieux perse* to show *comment . . . la méthode comparative aide à tracer une description* of a little known language (p. xvii). He offered to philologists a most valuable interpretation of the linguistic facts preserved in the Achaemenid inscriptions. The texts had been notably improved by fresh collation since the dictionary of Bartholomae had registered the words, and M. Meillet could bring much of importance from his own independent studies. The result was useful also in indicating the problems which remained to be solved. The first edition, soon exhausted, is now followed by this second edition, revised by M. Benveniste, who has explained the form of his revision (p. xviii) to be the addition of new paragraphs, the modification of most of

the paragraphs, and—what is most important—the incorporation of more recent matter from the recently published inscriptions. Since the publication of the second edition, too, there have been important publications of new inscriptions, and more are to be expected.

Among the problems due to the Old Persian script, there is that of the final and medial 𐎱. It would seem more acceptable if it were recognized that medial 𐎱 in *ptiya br m*, and *ptiyavhyiy* stood not, as has usually been read, for *ā*, but was here used, as in initial position, for *a*. We should then have *pati-a-baram*, *pati-a-vahyaiy* (cf. p. 49). It is also desirable to recognize two uses for final 𐎱: (i) to indicate final *-ā*, (ii) to indicate a final vowel *-a*, to distinguish this final vowel from the cases in which a final consonant once existed, though no longer indicated in the Old Pers. script. So *mrtiya* Voc. Sing. *martiya*, or Nom. Plur. *martiyā* distinct from *mrtiy* Nom. Sing. *martiya(h)*, or *abr abara(t)*. It then suffices to admit this in *utata*, *hya -ahya* Gen. Sing., beside the defectively written *hya -ahya*, and similarly in *nam* beside *nama* both for *nāma* Neut. Acc. Sing. This can be extended to explain also the case of *avašniya* *avašanyā(t)* beside *avšt* *avašata(h)* with the *a* treated as the final of *ava*. This is preferable to the assumption of two preverbs *ava-ā-*, where the participle, as also later Iranian *ʿwt*, has only the one preverb *ava-* (cf. pp. 91–3).

The following notes are offered in hope that they may be of service. P. 15: We now know also of the first Cyrus king of Parsumaš (see Weidner, *Archiv f. Orientforschung*, 1931, and Campbell-Thompson, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, 1933). P. 43: Doubts as to the reading *Bābairuš*, in spite of the Pāli *Bāveru-*, are roused by the Gr. *Babulōn*. The Pāli form is not certainly from the time of Darius, and is possibly from Middle Iranian. It may be noted that, according to the usual transcription, Old Pers. has *Aθurā* (Elamite *Aššura*, Gr. *Assurioi*), but in Mid. Iran. it was rather with *-ō-*, as in Arm. *Asoresan*, Pahl. *ʿskrstʿn* **asōrastān*, N.Pers. *Sūristān*. The Elamite has *bapili*. P. 49: *asabāribiš* rather than *asabāraibiš* is suggested by *ušabārim*, hence *-bāri-*. P. 50: In meaning a *h āha* is preterite, hence from **āsat*, rather than perfect **āsa*. P. 60: *a θ iy*. An uncertainty as between *t* and *θ* is now attested, beside *mⁱ t r* and *mⁱ θ r*, also in *f r t r m* beside *f r θ r m*. Possibly *a θ iy* means *ati*. P. 72: It is now possible to add the Mid. Iran. (South. Dial.) *vašn*. P. 75, 155: *a r š n m*. My proposal to read **ā-ranjanam* (*BSOS.*, vi, 598) seems to me preferable to a derivation from *arg-* "to have worth". M. Benveniste, in

conversation, expressed agreement with this view. P. 80: We have now also *a n a h i t* (see R. G. Kent, *JAOS.*, 54, 51). We should probably read *Anāhīta* with \bar{i} , to agree with Gr. *Anaeitis*, and N.Pers. *Nāhēd Nāhīd*. P. 76: In the problem of the phonetic values of *b d g*, discussed again by Lommel in his review of this book *OLZ.*, 1934, 184 f., a piece of evidence which seems to be important for *d* is available in the Armenian word *partēz*. As has been recognized, this can be explained as a word borrowed before the Armenian shift of *d* to *t* from an Iran. *pari-daīza-* (not Old Persian). Since the Armenians lacked δ , they rendered δ by *r*, certainly in the Parthian period, even after *r* of a preceding syllable, cf. *aroyr* "brass", Sogd. *rwδ-*, Bal. *rōd*. It is possible to infer that in *partēz* they were representing a *d*, not δ . P. 159: The Georgian *gušag-i* translates Pers. *dīda-bān* "watchman" in Visramiani (see O. Wardrop's translation, *Oriental Translation Fund*, n.s. xxiii, p. 17). Prof. Schaefer has recently discussed the word in *Iranica* (1934), p. 5. P. 156: The texts in Scheil, *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, vol. xxiv, make *naučaina-* certain, excluding *naurina-*.

H. W. B.

ESSAI DE GRAMMAIRE SOGDIEUNE, DEUXIÈME PARTIE, MORPHOLOGIE, SYNTAXE ET GLOSSAIRE. E. BENVENISTE. Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale. 1929. Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner. Frs. 75.

R. Gauthiot had completed the study of the phonology of Sogdian, and after his death this was published as the first part of the *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, with an introductory note by M. Meillet. He had been able to use for comparison with the dialect of the Buddhist texts, the Sogdian translations of the Nestorian Lectionary, and the fragments of Manichean texts, published by F. W. K. Müller. The decipherment of the Sogdian Buddhist script was achieved in 1912, so that Gauthiot had worked very rapidly. M. Benveniste undertook to complete the *Essai*. The second volume was published in 1929, after considerable delay in the printing. Important studies which appeared before the printing was finished could happily be referred to. The study of Sogdian being new, important work has appeared each year. New texts have been made accessible by Reichelt, by Lentz (in *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten*, von E. Waldschmidt und W. Lentz, 1933), and by Rosenberg.

Every text has brought new information, so that no book could claim to be more than preliminary. Thus important studies by Reichelt have advanced knowledge of the Sogdian verbal system.

The second volume of the *Essai* treats in detail of verb, noun and pronouns, adverbs and conjunctions, with syntax. The major part necessarily retains its value. It is in matters of interpretation of forms that progress has been great. It remains, with all the new material, a valuable book of reference, which has been of great service during the years since it was published. In using it, it is now, however, necessary always to consider what later studies have brought.

In transcription only one sign was ambiguous which represented both *n* and *z* medially and initially. Comparative study has decided most of these cases, as for example 'nw'z'k "all", which had earlier been transcribed 'nw'n'k, but appears correctly in the glossary.

The vocalization, which is an important part of the work, could naturally not claim to be final in all cases. Hence the transcriptions of -'k, 'y, pp. 93-4, cannot all be accepted now. So *mrt'y* is probably *martē* (or *martī*) not *martāy*. Certain suffixes, too, can be now more fully explained. So the -n'k of agent, probably -*anak*, is best treated separately from the -*ān* participle, and the adjective -n'k *ānak* (as in *pct'n'k* butānak "of Buddha").

In the inflexion it is interesting to note -*skwn* in Manichean texts also, in the form *qwndyskwn* "is making" quoted by Lentz (Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu in Manichäismus*, p. 40). Here we have the fuller form as in Buddhist Sogdian, beside Christ. Sogd. -*sqn*.

It is now clear from Reichelt's study in the *Studia Indo-Iranica* in honour of W. Geiger, 1931, that the augment played a large part in Buddh. Sogd., not only in 'β' (here p. 43). By a recognition of the augment a different and more satisfactory explanation of the preterites of type *pt'yγwšw* than could be given here (pp. 43-44) becomes possible. Similarly, the infinitive in -*t*, -*ty* is certainly to be separated in origin from the participle in -*t* (p. 54).

One etymology may be proposed. On p. 169 *ptk'wn-* (misprinted in the text) is connected with the kavis. Could one not rather take it direct from *kav-* "to be crooked, bent"? It is possible to compare Av. *apakava-*, *frakava-*, Pahl. *nikōn*, and to think of Saka *kūra-* "false".

PAMIR-DIALEKTE I. Materialien zur Kenntnis der Schugni-Gruppe.
 VON WOLFGANG LENTZ. 1933. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck &
 Ruprecht. RM. 15.

The materials on the Shughnī group of dialects here published were collected by Dr. Lentz as ethnographer and linguist of the Russian-German Alai-Pamir Expedition in 1928. The list of earlier publications on this group is given (p. 109). and to these the present book brings great enrichment. In careful transcription the author has recorded prose texts and songs, and has accompanied them here with an important bibliographical introduction, exhaustive indices of pronouns, numerals, verbs, and a separate index of the other words. all fully provided with references. It is a work not only of value to students of Iranian philology, with its clear picture of the Shughnī language as a whole (more than an aggregate of E. Iranian words), but to ethnographers and students of literature and folk-lore. The section (p. 57 f.) on the character of the songs is in this latter respect particularly worthy of notice. Before this book was finally printed, the first Shughnī book to be printed in the Latin script reached the author, and he was able to add an interesting notice of it (p. 215 f.). It may be sincerely hoped that the wish of the author of this first book that through it education may be brought within reach of the Shughnī people, may be speedily fulfilled. The adaptation of the Latin script is itself of interest.

The first fruit of the result of Dr. Lentz's Pamir studies, costing as all such work does, much labour, is to be followed, and it will be hoped, soon followed by the further materials on Yāzgulāmī, Ishkāshmī, and Wakhī which are promised.


H. W. B.

CODICES AVESTICI ET PAHLAVICI BIBLIOTHECAE UNIVERSITATIS
 HAFNIENSIS. Vol. I: The Pahlavi Codices, K 20 and K 20b.
 1931. £12 12s. Vol. II: The Pahlavi Codex, K 26. 1932. £6 6s.

The long deferred project of publishing the Avestan and Pahlavi Codices of the University of Copenhagen in facsimiles has begun to be realized with the publication of these two first volumes. The state of the MSS. had not permitted of their being sent abroad for the use of scholars. It was, therefore, necessary either to visit the Library or to obtain photographs.

In K 20 is contained a series of twenty Avestan and Pahlavi

texts, many of which were not earlier available in facsimile, or even in printed editions. Several of the texts were translated by West in *SBE.*, v, but these translations were useful rather in indicating the contents than in matters of detail. The texts are : (1) Artāk Virāz Nāmak, (2) Mātiyān ī Yavišt ī Friyān, (3) Length of a Man's Shadow, (4) Yašt fragment, (5) Ahraman and Ēšm, (6) Šāyast nē Šāyast. (7) Frahang ī Oīm, (8) Bundahišn, (9) Vahman Yašt, (10) Handarz ī Ōšnar ī dānāk, (11) Mātiyān ī gijastak Abālaiš, (12) Āturpāt ī Mahraspand's answers to the King, (13) Yašt fragment, (14) Srōš Yašt Haδōxt, (15) Yasna extracts, (16) The recital of the Yaθā ahū vairyō, (17) Rivāyat in Pahlavi, (18) Čim ī gāsān, (19) Drōn offering, (20) Patī ī xvāt. The second volume contains the two texts Artāk Virāz Nāmak and Yavišt ī Friyān.




Frequent use, since I wrote an earlier notice for the *JRAS.*, 1933, p. 1001, has confirmed how excellently the work of reproduction has been carried out. The MSS. are in almost every case quite clear. It is possible that occasionally an examination of the MS. with magnifying glass would enable doubtful signs to be determined. I think at the moment of K 20, 122, v. 19, where it is impossible to be sure of  on the facsimile. But such cases are not common.

The intention of the University of Copenhagen to make accessible these valuable MSS. cannot be too highly praised. The original orthography is always disguised when a Pahlavi text is printed. With the increasing knowledge of Middle Iranian in the Turfan texts and Sogdian, Pahlavi has left the stage of disappointing guess-work, although it is even now in many passages impossible for the interpreters to agree. These splendid volumes therefore satisfy a want, and it is to be hoped that the later volumes of the series will not be long delayed ; in particular, the facsimile of the Dātastān and the Čitakihā ī Zātspram will be eagerly awaited. H. W. B.

ŠĀYAST NĒ ŠĀYAST: A Pahlavi Text on Religious Customs, edited, transliterated, and translated with introduction and notes by JEHangir C. TAVADIA. 1930. Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hamburgischen Universität. Hamburg: Friederichsen. De Gruyter & Co. RM. 10.

The reviewer has already had an opportunity of publishing a notice of this excellent book in the *JRAS.* Further use of it, together

with the facsimile in the Codices Avestici et Pahlavici of the University of Copenhagen, has confirmed the opinion expressed, which a first acquaintanceship had suggested. We have here an up-to-date treatment of a difficult Pahlavi text, full of important information and words. West's earlier translation in the *SBE.*, v (1880) was naturally no more than a preliminary work, which must necessarily become antiquated with the increasing study of Middle Iranian materials. Dr. Tavadia has here offered transliteration, translation, and notes with a glossary of selected terms. His knowledge of modern customs among the Parsis is naturally evident and has produced most profitable results. For the customs of Persia the whole book is of interest. The many difficulties of the text have been successfully overcome.

The following notes may be useful. The word discussed on p. 9, , Parsi-Pers. همکارزه, is probably to be read *hamkarzak*, if the reading *klzk karzak* 'flesh' of the Pahlavi Psalter is trustworthy. P. 30:  is used of the head of the young child Zartušt in *DkM.* 614, 17, *tarūk sar ī avē purr χ^rarr apurnāyāk*. P. 86: Similarly, *šan* "hemp" seems to occur beside *pambak* in *Gr.Bd.* 118, 1, *šan ut naδ pambak*. For , *varm* (N.Pers. *barm*) should be read rather than *narm*, see my note in *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 511. P. 93: The word left untranslated in the quotation of *Gr.Bd.* 117, 1 f., is to be read *kardal* "mustard", with *k* beside N.Pers. *khardal*, as Turfan Mid. Iran. (S.) *qyrzng* "crab", beside N.Pers. *khari'ang*. This *kardal* is associated with *kuncūt* in *Gr.Bd.* 93, 11, on account of the oil extracted from it.

H. W. B.

THE BALL AND THE POLO STICK OR BOOK OF ECSTASY. A translation of the Persian Poem Jūi u Chaugān or Hālnāma by 'Ārifī, with three unpublished Polo miniatures in colour. By R. S. GREENSHIELDS, I.C.S. (ret.), M.R.A.S., 1932.

This is a literal translation as a companion volume to the text which Mr. Greenshields edited in 1931. It is usefully done, and may be looked upon as a partial commentary to the text. The miniatures here reproduced are most attractive. The reader will, however, naturally get far more by reading the text itself where alone he can follow all the double meanings. It is somewhat of a merit to publish such a text. Scholars are more often drawn off to works of greater importance.

H. W. B.

CONTES, LÉGENDES ET ÉPOPÉES POPULAIRES D'ARMÉNIE. II: Légendes, traduits ou adaptés de l'arménien par FRÉDÉRIC MACLER. Les Joyaux de l'Orient Tome XIV, 1933. Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

M. Macler has here translated from various modern Armenian dialects seven tales, of which six were published in Moscow in 1901 by S. Hakouni, and one by Njdehian [Nždehean] in Tiflis in 1902. They are most interesting examples of Armenian folk-lore with Biblical reminiscences, marvels, and charming pictures of everyday life among Kurds and Armenians. The tale of Khalantar is interspersed with verses, and hence interesting also for its form.

H. W. B.

ORIENTAL STUDIES IN HONOUR OF CURSETJI ERACHJI PAVRY. Edited by JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY, with a foreword by A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, 1933. Oxford University Press. 50s.

Contributions to this fine volume of studies have come from Japanese, Indian, Parsi, American, and European scholars, who have all succeeded in relating their work in some way to the complex study of things Iranian, their origins, institutions, influences, or evolutions. They deal with history, mythology, religion, folk-lore, architecture, linguistics. The delay in publishing has meant that some of the articles can no longer be considered up to date—during the past four years publications in Iranian and related studies have been numerous—but most of the contributions are probably unaffected and retain their value. The abundance prevents a full treatment. A. T. Olmstead has at last informed the Iranianist what the *ilu Assara ilu Mazaš* means from the Assyriological point of view. This has long been needed, in view of the extensive and sometimes uncritical use made of these words. A. Götze has written on *Šunaššura*, but here Iranian cannot be excluded by the considerations urged by Götze, since Av. *asūna-* may contain *suna-*, Skt. *śuna-*, and further, the cognate words occur in Iranian, so that absence of the word from the extant Iranian texts would prove nothing. History is represented by the articles of Barthold (insisting on the tolerant relations of Islam and Buddhism in E. Iranian territory), Herzfeld and Lehmann-Haupt (both contributed articles on the date of Zoroaster; it is useful to have the considered opinion of a specialist historian that the two Vištāspas could be identical, although no decisive proof is adduced

even here), Keith (on the home of the Indo-Europeans). Kincaid, Modi, Ogden, Sayce, Wesendonk (on the title "king of kings"). Linguistic problems and religious matters have received most space. They are so many that only a few are named here. A. V. Williams Jackson and Scheftelowitz have contributed Manichean notes (that of Scheftelowitz cautions against earlier interpretations of the Fihrist passage on the parentage of Māni). The article of Pagliaro on the Fires of Zoroastrianism is of interest. H. Collitz has compared Yama with Saturnus, Bertholet treats of the doctrine of the guardian angel, Shigeru Araki discusses the disparate character of a chapter of the Vidēvdāt. In linguistica, Caland proposed interpretations of Av. *āstūtas* as middle participle, *frača* equivalent to *fra*, *upaštābairyāi* possibly to **upastāvarī*. This latter word is also discussed by Schwyzler, who investigates all the possibilities of misreading an older text, and treats also of *vakaṃsaoš*. H. Güntert explained Av. *aku-*, *sima-* and *hāirišī*, R. G. Kent has treated the name *Ahuramazdā*, Kramers explained Av. Gāthic *daēnā* as "community", which, however, hardly convinces. In Pahlavi, Dhabhar has a useful interpretation of the earlier misunderstood *dast passaχ*^r, here "hand of punishment". Nyberg has an important translation of and notes on the Krsāsp legend in the Pahl. Riv. Dd., although at times perhaps too much confidence is shown in the text. Benveniste has explained *astax^rān* "bone", as a compound, of which the posterior member had earlier not received sufficient attention. Wider prospects are afforded by Margoliouth's article on Mihyar the Dailamite, by Schwarz on Balkh, S. Konow on the relation of the Sakas to Zoroastrianism, Laufer on the "Persian Wheel", and other papers of interest.

This list alone makes evident the importance of the whole book. It is excellently printed, and but a few misprints have escaped the proof-readers, of which it may be permitted to refer to one: on p. 24 read *spj^rdho* for *spidho*. One may in conclusion express the wish that the volume may be a source of pleasure to the recipient.

H. W. B.

THE VALLEYS OF THE ASSASSINS. By FREYA STARK. pp. [5], 365, 22 plates, 3 maps. London: Methuen, 1934. 12s. 6d.

Though entitled *The Valleys of the Assassins*, Miss Stark's book covers, in reality, a good deal more than that particular area. She

describes in addition, not only her discovery of the long-lost Assassin stronghold of Lamiasar, and her travels around the lofty Takht-i-Sulaiman and the adjoining districts of Mazandaran, but also two journeys in Luristan. Her experiences in Luristan are described in the first half of the book.

On her first journey Miss Stark travelled in N.W. Luristan, which still has the attraction of being very imperfectly known. She was very anxious to find some of the Bronze Age graves, in particular, those in which men and horses are said to be buried together, but in this she was disappointed; in many parts the graves had already been rifled, and in others the people were disinclined to dig, sometimes because of religious scruples and sometimes because of their (enforced) respect for the new Persian law of antiquities. Miss Stark nevertheless was able to get one quite interesting skull, and to purchase a number of bronzes. Miss Stark says, in speaking of one of her endeavours to purchase bronzes: "I now had a difficult time, for, with no experience to guide me, I had to estimate every object as it came along and strike a balance between my anxiety to secure it, the necessity of not spoiling my own market, the advisability of not showing that I had any money to speak of with me, and the fact that I had very little."

Miss Stark's second journey was to the mountains of the Pusht-i-Kuh, in search of some hidden treasure which is said to exist in a cave somewhere there. It would be unfair to Miss Stark to give away the "plot", for it makes a good story.

Though many of the tribes-people whom Miss Stark encountered were poverty-stricken, they were as hospitable as their limited means would allow. One of the tribesmen once said to her: "What I have, I give you. What is not here, you cannot have."

When travelling from Qazvin to Alamut, Miss Stark had a better guide than the late Captain Eccles, Mr. J. T. Henderson, and the reviewer had in 1928, for she was able to avoid the route up the river-bed in the Alamut gorge, and to go instead by the ancient track over the ridge to the east of the gorge, of which our guide denied the existence. The famous Rock is, as Miss Stark remarks, a grim place. Of the Castle of Ḥasan-i-Sabbāḥ she says: "Nearly everything is ruined beyond the power of imagination to reconstruct"; this is perfectly true, for the late Captain Eccles and the reviewer endeavoured to make a plan of these remains, but they were in so ruinous a state that the task proved impossible.

Lamiasar (of the remains of which a good sketch is given on p. 243) must in its time have been almost as striking as Alamut. It is situated, as Miss Stark remarks, in country about which very little is known, where there are many unidentified sites yet to be discovered in its recesses. It is to be hoped that some day Miss Stark will pay a further visit to those parts and make some more discoveries.

As Miss Stark herself explains, her book was written "for fun", and so much serious archæological, historical, and geographical data are omitted. Nevertheless, it adds much to our knowledge of these out-of-the-way parts and of the peoples who dwell therein, and the excellent maps will serve to fill in a number of areas that have hitherto been mere blanks.

The book is interestingly and amusingly written, and Miss Stark's descriptions reveal her sympathy with the people she met, and her understanding of them.

L. LOCKHART.

ASAF A. A. FYZEE : THE ISMAILI LAW OF WILLS. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$. pp. ix + 94.
London, Bombay, etc. : Humphrey Milford, 1934. 8s. 6d.

"The systematic historical study of Islamic jurisprudence" as Mr. Fyzee rightly says, "is still in its infancy"; his own qualifications for that study (we may add) are excellent. In the *Da'ā'imū-l-Islām*, the law book of an esoteric sect, he has material of exceptional interest and we look forward eagerly to the promised complete translation of which the present thin volume is only an instalment. May we offer a small suggestion for the complete work? It would be a convenience to many readers if the Arabic and English could be printed in parallel columns or pages.

Judging by the present instalment, the distinguishing characteristic of the *Da'ā'imū-l-Islām*, when compared with the better-known works of Islamic lawyers, is its greater religiosity. The *Hedaya*, for instance, thinks it necessary to begin by justifying the legality of wills "although contrary to analogy"; and only refers to the Qur'ān as a second argument in support of its dictum: nor are the *Minhāju-t-tālibīn* or the *Ithna Asharia* authorities (if Baillie's *Imamecca* be a safe guide) very different in their attitude. The *Da'ā'im*, on the other hand, begins with the express text of the Qur'ān and goes on through many pages of mingled political, religious, moral, and esoteric exhortation of considerable eloquence. After all this—which is strictly speaking

not law at all though of value to the student of legal history—comes the purely legal part of the book. This, as Mr. Fyzee rightly points out, is of interest in that it more often agrees with Sunni than with *Ithna Asharia* doctrines.¹

One or two minor inaccuracies should be corrected when the larger work appears, but do not detract from the merit of Mr. Fyzee's work. The 'Ibaḍis (p. 5) are not *Shi'i*, and to class them as such is about on a level with calling English Roman Catholics Methodists because they are dissenters from the Established Church. The word " would " in the third line on this page is obviously a misprint for " should ". There is no such community as " the Malaks " of Nagpur C.P. (p. 4) : the *Atba-i-Malak Badar* community whose affairs came before the Privy Council in *Mohammad Ibrahim v. Commissioner of Income Tax, Nagpur*, 32 Bom. L.R., 1538, is the Mehdi Bagh sect referred to in a footnote on the same page. The word *Malak* is part of the title of the community and of its religious head for the time being, but not of individual members of the sect. We have met Daudi Bohras of distinction who asserted that the word Bohra was of pure Arabic derivation, and Sulaimanis who repudiated the word altogether. These views are probably unsustainable, but they should, it is suggested, receive mention in a legal work. An esoteric sect with an autocratic *dā'ī* bears a superficial resemblance to a Hindu caste with an autocratic *guru* : and there are many legal dangers for a Muslim sect in being supposed to be of Hindu origin. In this connection the recent great judgment of Tyabji J. in *Akbarally v. Mahomedally* (1933) 57 B. 551, does much to assert the Islamic liberty of the Daudis.

S. V. FITZGERALD.

कात्यायनस्मृति सारीङ्गार or KĀTYĀYANASMṚTI ON VYAVAHĀRA.

By P. V. KANE. 10 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$. pp. xlii + 372. Bombay. Rs. 4.

This is the most complete reconstruction of the lost *dharmaśāstra* of Kātyāyana which has yet appeared, though, as Mr. Kane himself admits, there are considerable gaps. But the value of such a reconstruction as this will not be completely lost even if (as is by no means impossible) a manuscript of the *smṛti* itself should hereafter be

¹ Incidentally Mr. Fyzee speaks of my "repeating the inaccuracy" of that *Ismailis* are governed by *Ithna Asharia* law. If he will look at my book again he will see that I merely mentioned a prevailing opinion but carefully dissociated myself from it.

discovered. In that event we shall have a guide to the principles followed by the *nibāndhakārs* in their citations from the *smṛtis*.

Mr. Kane—one instinctively says Dr. Kane, and it can only be modesty which has kept him from the scarlet gown—is one of those rare scholars who have so completely saturated themselves in the literature of a period that they are able, as it were, to live its life. Anything which he says about the śāstric literature must be received with respect: and he appears to be equally at home in the modern literature of judicial precedent. It is all the more to be regretted that he has committed himself to superficial comparisons with Roman law without first consulting some scholar with a real knowledge of that system.

The author of the “*Kātyāyanasmṛti*” was obviously no mere visionary sage but a practical lawyer. First-hand acquaintance with the work of the courts and with the manner in which problems present themselves to a lawyer are apparent at many points in his work. Mr. Kane therefore has good grounds for assigning him to a late period in the development of the *smṛti* law. Procedure occupies a large part of the work and in spite of a few archaisms, such as ordeals (in which, indeed, all the *dharma* writers compare unfavourably with the *arthaśāstra*) his procedure is markedly modern in tone and free from mere ritualism.

It is more startling to see *Kātyāyana* held up to admiration as a champion of women’s rights, apparently on the basis of his rules regarding *strīdhan*, rules under the complexity of which generations of Hindu law students have groaned. But complications are seldom associated with enlightened views. True the writer does assert (v. 105–6) a woman’s unfettered disposition over *śandayika* (other than gifts of the husband, v. 907): but what a restricted list *śandayika* is! It can seldom mean more than personal ornaments and house furniture. The woman’s subjection to her husband, her absorption in him are laid down though not perhaps in such harsh terms as in some of the older śāstras. Her perpetual tutelage is asserted (v. 930), and here again though the language used is not so harsh as Manu’s the effect is even more striking:—she can spend for her husband’s spiritual benefit without asking anybody’s consent: for her own, *whatever she does* must have the permission of father, husband, or son.

Mr. Kane quotes the apt parallel of the English Common Law prior to the Married Women’s Property Acts. Probably in śāstric as in English society the actual position of woman was better than

the bare letter of the law would lead one to infer. In any case, English law has had its reformers, let us hope that Hindu law may be equally fortunate.

S. V. F. G.

A HAUSA-ENGLISH DICTIONARY AND ENGLISH-HAUSA VOCABULARY.

Compiled for the Government of Nigeria by the REV. G. P. BARGERY. pp. 1,226. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1934. Price 25s.

Bargery's Hausa Dictionary is one of the most complete lexicographic representations of an African language. The Hausa language is the expression of an old and high African civilization, which had, before the advent of the European, reached a remarkable development and had through long periods been enriched by influences from North Africa and from the East; in more recent times Islam has pervaded the country and has brought about deep changes in the mental and also the material life of the people. All this has contributed to the enormous richness in vocabulary of Hausa, which draws its word-material from original African negro languages, from the Hamitic stock in the north and east, from Arabic, and in present days also from English.

The user of this Dictionary will soon be under the impression that its author is fully master of the language. The structure of Hausa is complicated, its means of word formation by change of sound or of tone or by adding formative elements are extremely far developed, and only an expert like Mr. Bargery could represent this wealth in linguistic growth so fully as is done in this Dictionary. As far as I see, the author proves to be a reliable guide. He goes to the root of the meaning of a word, then illustrates it through all its various developments, and explains its use in phrases, which in many cases are also of folkloristic or anthropological value. Of high usefulness are the many references from one word to another, which help to clear up meanings and lead the reader into the inner life of the language; thus under the word *kinibibi*, which means "silly, pointless excuses", ninety-seven words are given which bear relation to *kinibibi*: by looking up these words the reader will gain a most interesting insight into the character, the social valuations, and the customs of the people. Still larger is the number of references under *k'ato* "huge": here the reader's attention is directed to about 150 words which have a similar, yet in

no case the identical meaning. These cross-references to so-called synonyms are the greatest help for any one who wants to understand the life and function of a language, its ways and means of expression and its resources in word-building.

The Dictionary is not limited to one dialect, though the pronunciation adopted seems to be based on the speech-form used in Kano. Most of the work was done in Kano and Katsina, but the native staff of helpers also included Hausas of Sokoto, Zaria, and other places, and the author made visits to Daura, Gumel, Hadejia, and to the French territory north of Nigeria, including Gobir.

Mr. Bargery uses two orthographies, a broad one with a narrow one added in brackets. This is very wise from a practical point of view, it makes the book equally useful for the practical man and the scientific investigator. His representation of sounds will meet with general agreement, since in the narrow transcription all essential sounds are given their own symbols. The phonetic introduction is somewhat short, attention is drawn to a number of dialectal variations, but these do not seem to be complete. So e.g. the fact might have been mentioned that a word like *bakwai* "seven", is often pronounced ^ɸ*bokwi*, in fact, this is the only pronunciation I have heard (although I should admit that my experience in Hausa is limited to the coast region); likewise *tafi* is very frequently heard as *tefi*, and similar forms of vowel-assimilation are frequent. The consonant *k* is before *i* and *e* so much palatalized that at least in some dialects it becomes a palatal *t*. *k'*, *t'*, *ts'*, *c'*, and *s'* occur as ejective sounds, that is to say, are followed by a glottal stop. Of these *k'* and *t'* seem to be original, while *ts'*, *c'*, and *s'* are dialectal variants of *t'*. According to some authors the language has also an ejective *p'*. Prietze mentions it, for instance, in *p'alp'ela*, *falf'ela* "a bird", a word not found in Bargery's book. This ought to be further investigated. The same is true of the implosives *b* and *d*; here the question would be whether a glottal stop is connected with the formation of these sounds; the implosive *b* in Duala and other Cameroon languages seems to be different from the corresponding sound in Hausa.

Bargery is the first author who has fully realized the importance of tone in Hausa. The general view was that Hausa had stress accent only, but no tones. Bargery shows convincingly that though Hausa is not a tone language in the same sense as Yoruba, Ewe, Twi, etc., yet it uses semantic as well as grammatical tones, and that a correct pronunciation of the language is utterly impossible without observing

the intonation. This is a real progress and gives Hausa quite a new feature. The tones are carefully marked in the narrow transcription and also in the grammatical introduction. On the other hand, stress is also there, but the author leaves it unmarked. The relation between tone and stress is another problem, which calls for a continued study of this important language.

Hausa is also of interest from an historical point of view. Though one may hesitate to call it a Hamitic language without qualification, yet it has definite Hamitic features, and, in a study published by W. Vicychl in the African section of the *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* (Berlin, 1934) the relations between Hausa and ancient Egyptian are dealt with; the results of this study appear to be important, they show not only words and grammatical formations which both languages have in common, but also the existence of rules according to which sounds have changed.

For all these studies Bargery's Dictionary provides a sure starting-point, and at the same time it will be equally indispensable for all those who have to learn the language. The author as well as the Government of Nigeria, who financed the compilation and the publication of the book, may well be congratulated on their achievement.

D. WESTERMANN.

NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTE ON THE WORD *CHIAO*

A certain amount of work has been done on the history of Chinese conjunctions and particles, but very little on the history of Chinese vocabulary in general. I am going to deal here with the word *chiao* 徼. In early texts, the Confucian classics, the "philosophers" (with the exception of *Lieh Tzŭ*) in the *Tso Chuan*, the *Kuo Yŭ*, etc., this character is always read in the first tone, and has the meaning "to seek". But not "to seek" in general. Almost always it means to seek a blessing from Heaven, to bring upon oneself a heavenly reward. Less often it means to bring upon oneself a curse, to "let oneself in for" a disaster or punishment. In current literary Chinese the word has, however, a quite different sense. It is read in the departing tone, and functions as a noun, meaning "limit", "boundary", "goal", and so by metaphorical extension the "issue" of an event. The two earliest examples of this substantival sense occur in *Lieh Tzŭ*¹ and in the opening clauses of the *Tao Tê Ching*. *Lieh Tzŭ*, it is generally admitted, is certainly not earlier than the second half of the third century B.C. The *Tao Tê Ching* belongs, according to my view (which is also that of China's foremost scholar, Ku Chieh-kang), to the same period. This substantival sense occurs again in the *Chan Kuo Ts'ê*,² which dates from the beginning of the second century B.C. Here we find the expression *chiao-t'ing* 徼亭 "a guard post at the frontier". Now in *Huai-nan Tzŭ*³ this same expression is written 郊亭, which leads us to the conclusion that 徼 in its sense "limit", "boundary", "frontier" is simply a phonetic equivalent used to express a particular sense of 郊 "frontier". One may compare the use of 繳 for 絞 (to wind thread or rope).

These considerations help us to understand a difficult passage in the *Analects*.⁴ 惡徼以爲知者。惡不孫以爲勇者。惡訐以爲直者。 It is clear that the last two clauses mean "I hate those who mistake disobedience for courage. I hate those who mistake indiscretion for frankness". Knowing that *chiao* means "to seek" in ancient texts, and not realizing that it only means "to seek" in a very limited, technical, ritual sense, the commentators have taken the first clause to mean "I hate those who mistake seeking for wisdom"; "seeking" being unconvincingly explained as meaning

¹ i. 11.

² viii. 10.

³ End of ch. xiii.

⁴ xvii, 24.

“prying into other people’s affairs”. But the sense required by the context is “I hate those who mistake cunning for wisdom”. The word intended is quite clearly 狡 “cunning”, “sly”, “specious”. I submit that just as 狡 has a doublet 繳, so 狡 originally had a doublet 獬, which became obsolete. Puzzled by 獬, the scribes turned it into 傲.

There is an old variant reading 狡, which, though erroneous, points in the right direction.¹

A. WALEY.

[The following note on a Kanarese MS. in the Marsden Collection has been sent us by the Rev. Leo Saldanha, S.J., of Bajpe, South Kanara, India.—EDITOR.]

On my recent visit in October, 1933, to the School of Oriental Studies I was requested to see two manuscripts of the William Marsden Collection, Nos. 34 and 37 in order to class them according to the language in which they were written. The first MS., No. 34, is a folio volume of about 700 pages, neatly written in Dravidian Kanarese characters, and I could easily read it and decipher the language though nearly 200 years old. Its language is pure Kanarese spoken in the missions of Raichur, Mudgal (Bijapur whose Sultan supported a mission by the Jesuits of Goa),² Dharwar, Bellary, Mysore, North and South Kanara, which have as their vernacular the Kannada or the Dravidian Kanarese language which has its own script. By Dravidian Kanarese I do not mean either Mahrathi or Konkani or Kanari or the Pramana language as understood by the Portuguese or Goan contemporaries of Fr. Thomas Stephens, but I mean that Dravidian language called Karnataka—Kannada, or the present Kanarese Dravidian language which is spoken by the people in the missions stated above. No author is mentioned nor the date of its compilation. From reading its contents, I find the following:—

I. Its name is “Satya Upadesha”, i.e. Teaching of Truth, namely, Truths of Christian Religion. The page of the cover has on it a detailed calendar stating the days of Catholic devotion and practices of piety to be observed. The first section of the volume consists entirely of

¹ Compare *Odes*, No. 215 (ii, vii, 1, Legge, p. 386). 彼交匪敖。萬福來求。For 交 a citation in the *Han Shu* (xxvii B, fol. 3 verso) gives 傲, which is obviously right: “They ask-for-blessing without arrogance, and ten thousand blessings come . . .” 傲 is here, as frequently in old texts, for 傲.

² Cf. Colonel Meadows Taylor, *Story of My Own Life*.

sermons or instructions (*prasangas*) on Christian truths. It has six parts: (1) Creed, (2) Our Father, (3) Commandments of God and the Church, (4) Sacraments, (5) Virtues and Vices, (6) Christian's daily exercise.

The second section has as its title Sacred Pearls (*Divya Muthu*), instructions on Christian perfection. They are 104 in number.

The third section has the passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ with a chapter on the practice of devotion on the Sacred Passion from sunset of Thursday to Friday afternoon peculiar to the Kanarese Christians.

The fourth section contains a life of the Mother of God (*Deva Mateya Charitre*), Blessed Virgin Mary.

The fifth section contains lives of some saints (*Archasistara ngapak jnananghi*):—

1. St. Stanislaus Kostka, a novice of the Society of Jesus.
2. St. Clement, Pope and Martyr (*Archa Santappara Charitre*).
3. St. Juliana, Virgin and Martyr (*Archa Julianammara Charitre*).
4. St. Laetitia (*Archa Letisyammara Charitre*).
5. St. Cecilia, Virgin and Martyr (*Archa Ceciliammara Charitre*).
6. St. Agnes, Virgin and Martyr (*Archa Agnesammara Charitre*).
7. St. Theodora, Virgin and Martyr (*Archa Devadanammara Charitre*).

Taking it as a whole, I find that the volume is a complete exposition of Christian truths, Christian morals, Christian perfection—a veritable mine of religious instruction and a *multum in parvo*.

In Volume III, Part I, pp. 144–145 of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, the learned Jesuit writer of the article “The Marsden MSS. and Indian mission Bibliography”, the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., says: “It would be interesting to know whether the folio volume of the Marsden MSS. entered here under our No. 34 represents the five volumes of de Almeida's *Jardim dos Pastores*. If it does, an effort should be made on the Goa side to have the complete series republished. We need scarcely add that Konkani is often spoken of in old accounts as Kanarese.”

On comparing as he suggests on p. 144 the contents of this folio volume with the contents of vol. i of *Jardim dos Pastores* (of Fr. Miguel de Almeida, S.J., as stated in the *Examiner*, Bombay, 22nd July to 19th August, 1922) also found in the Marsden Library, London, I find that (1) *Jardim dos Pastores*, vol. i, contains directions for the *pastors of souls* (missionaries) whereas “Satya Upadesha”

has a series of instructions directed to the faithful. (2) The former is written in *Konkani* language and in Latin characters; the latter is written in Dravidian *Kanarese* characters and in the Dravidian Kanarese language. (3) The former begins (besides duties of pastors) with discourses for Christmas Day, discourses on Grace and birth of Christ, whereas the latter begins with discourses on God and His Existence and Attributes at the outset. (4) The first volume of the former completes the discourses (48) with Eternal Life including the passion of Our Lord (10th discourse), on Quinquagesima Sunday, whereas the latter has six sections (of which the third is on the passion) exposing serially all the Christian truths and morals. (5) The former is a series of Sunday sermons in order of the ecclesiastical year, but the latter is a complete exposition of Christian truths without following the order of Sundays.

From this I conclude that *Jardim dos Pastores* is quite distinct from "Satya Upadesha" both in language and script, scope and treatment, and has nothing in common with the former of which it is not a translation. From what I could gather, till now, about "Satya Upadesha", I conclude that (a) it is a work of a Catholic writer, (b) who was a Jesuit missionary among Dravidian Kanarese people, (c) it is a book of instruction probably put in the hands of catechists among remote Christian congregations. The book is well worth the trouble and expenses of republication, cost what it may.

II. The other MS., No. 37, of the same collection is a small pamphlet in Kanarese language and character containing a short exposition of Christian Doctrine for neophytes and children, in catechetical form of question and answer (dialogue) between a catechist or the missionary and his neophyte pupil, for initiation into Christian truths and practices. It is a pious treatise suggesting several pious practices and prayers (*mantras*) evidently of Catholic origin and containing invocations (*pratina*), a kind of litany as Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., remarks. As the matter of this MS. tallies fully with that of MS. 30 in the same collection in Nagari characters and Mahratta language, the former is practically a translation of the latter, and must have been composed by the Jesuits of the Goa province. As the latter is in the same handwriting as that of the manuscripts of the Adipurana and the Devapurana, both of which are Fr. Stephens' works, I conclude that the author of the Mahratti MS., No. 30, which was subsequently translated into Dravidian Kanarese (the MS. No. 37) must be the same as that of the Christian Purana.

SUMMARY OF A THESIS FOR DEGREE OF PH.D.

PAÑJĀBĪ ṢŪFĪ POETS

BY LAJWANTI RAMA KRISHNA, 1934

The title of the thesis denotes the Ṣūfī poets who wrote in the Pañjābī language, and not those who merely belonged to the Pañjāb. The period dealt with is A.D. 1460 to 1900.

Before entering into an account of the poets and their poetry we have in an introductory chapter briefly sketched Ṣūfīism outside India, followed by a description of its growth and development in the Pañjāb. Here we have also classified different trends of Ṣūfī thought into separate schools. The verse-forms, the technical terms, and other peculiarities of Pañjābī Ṣūfī poetry have been fully explained.

The following few chapters have been devoted to life-histories and to the discussion at length of the works of the outstanding poets representing various schools. In these chapters a few specimens from each poet's verse are transliterated and literally translated. The poets are Ibrāhīm Farīd, Mādho Lāl Husain, Sultān Bāhū, Bullhe Shāh, Alī Ḥaidar, Fard Faqīr, Hāshim Shāh, and Karam Alī.

In the chapter that follows, are discussed some Ṣūfīs who, though unknown to the public, appear to have been good poets. A few examples, to illustrate their mystic ideas, and taken from the extant portions of their manuscripts, are given.

The last chapter deals with those Ṣūfī poets who, from a literary view-point, were of little importance.

Throughout this dissertation we have clearly indicated the sources of our information for the life accounts, the works, and mystic ideas of the poets. All verse quotations are taken from books, the authenticity of which is established either by finds of manuscripts or by unanimous acceptance of them by Pañjābīs of every denomination. Information gathered from guardians of shrines and the minstrels attached to them, the descendants of the poets and the learned, has been referred to as such.

A bibliography of books, journals, and pamphlets consulted or quoted is appended.

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Die Stellung der Munda-Sprachen

Von P. W. SCHMIDT

IM Jahre 1928 erschien bei Luzac in London ein Buch unter dem Titel *Munda-Magyar-Maori. An Indian link between the Antipodes. New Tracks of Hungarian Origins*. Der Verfasser dieses Buches, Herr W. F. von Hevesy, der sich hier unter dem Pseudonym F. A. Uxbond verbarg, verehrte mir ein Exemplar (15. 1. 29) mit seiner persönlichen Widmung und bat mich, darüber eine Besprechung zu veröffentlichen. Obwohl ich die schöne Alliteration des Titels „Munda-Magyar-Maori“ und den grossen Mut, den der Verfasser bei der Konstruktion seiner Theorie zeigte, anerkennen musste, konnte ich mich doch nicht entschliessen, der Sache näher zu treten.

Vielleicht werden die Linguisten den Grund dafür verstehen, wenn ich ihnen einige Einzelheiten des Buches hervorhebe. In der ersten Hälfte (S. 1-110) bemüht sich der Autor, den Beweis einer Affinität zwischen dem Ungarischen und dem Maori zu erbringen und zwar nur des Ungarischen ganz allein, ohne die anderen ugro-finnischen Sprachen auch nur zu nennen. Im zweiten Teil des Buches zieht er die Munda-Sprache als Stützpunkt zwischen diesen beiden so weit von einander entfernten Sprachen herbei; aber auch hier wird die Mundasprache einzig und allein mit der ungarischen Sprache in Beziehung gebracht, nicht mit den übrigen ugro-finnischen Sprachen.

Unter diesen Umständen konnte ich mich nicht entschliessen, mich mit diesem Buch näher zu befassen, obwohl sein Verfasser die von mir aufgestellten linguistischen Gruppen der austro-asiatischen und austrischen Sprachen annahm und seine These auf die Verwandtschaft des Maori und des Munda stützte. Er versichert, dass die

Munda-Sprachen ganz treu die Grundzüge der austro-asiatischen Sprachen (S. 134) bewahrt erhalten haben. Ohne eine Einschränkung erkennt er sogar (S. 143): „Besides prefixes and suffixes Munda languages make use of infixes,“ und er bemüht sich, Infixe auch im Ungarischen zu finden. Endlich, nachdem er eine ganze Reihe von angeblichen Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Munda und Maori zitiert hat, zögert er nicht, folgenden Satz niederzuschreiben (S. 147): „They suggest the question *whether Magyar is not much more closely allied to the Austric-Munda-Languages than to any other family and that it should therefore be classed with it instead of with the Finno-Ugrian (Uralian) Family, even though it may possess some common features with the latter.*“¹

Ein Jahr später erschien ein Artikel unter dem Titel „On W. Schmidt's Munda-Mon-Khmer Comparisons. Does an Austric Family of Languages exist?“ im *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Languages* (vi, 1930, S. 187–200), diesmal unterzeichnet von Herrn von Hevesy, ohne dass er darin eine Erwähnung seines früheren Buches gemacht hätte. Herr von Hevesy nimmt hier in einer Reihe wichtiger Punkte eine Stellung ein, die ganz entgegengesetzt ist derjenigen, die er in seinem Buche vertreten hatte. Einerseits kennzeichnet dieser grundsätzliche Wechsel einen wirklichen Fortschritt, andererseits aber ruft er neue Kritiken hervor. Zunächst verlässt er seine These, dass die ungarische Sprache vielmehr eine Munda-Sprache sei als eine ugro-finnische; er behauptet jetzt im Gegenteil, dass die Munda-sprachen den letzteren angehören. Zweitens lässt er aus der Trias Munda-Magyar-Maori das zweite Glied verschwinden, ohne ein Wort darüber zu sagen. Drittens stellt er, ohne seine frühere günstige Stellung der austro-asiatischen Gruppe und der austrischen Sprachenfamilie gegenüber zu erwähnen, sich zur letzteren feindlich, weil, wie er jetzt behauptet, die Mundasprachen nicht zur austro-asiatischen Gruppe und zur austrischen, sondern zur ugro-finnischen Sprache gehören. Die Logik dieser Bejahung ist nicht sehr einleuchtend, denn wenn auch die Mundasprachen nicht zu den austro-asiatischen Sprachen gehören würden, bliebe noch eine grosse Anzahl anderer austro-asiatischer Sprachen übrig (Khasi, Palaung-Wa-Riang, Mon-Khmer, Moi, Bahnar, Bersisi, Senoi, Nikobar, Semang), die mit den austronesischen Sprachen immer noch die linguistische austrische Familie bilden würden.

¹ Kursiv von Herrn von Hevesy.

Aber der Autor bemüht sich, in diesem Artikel zu beweisen, dass die Vergleiche der Santali-Wörter mit solchen anderer austro-asiatischer Sprachen, die ich in meinem kleinen Buch *Die Mon-Khmer-Völker* vorgebracht habe, zu 70 % falsch seien; denn sie setzen praefixe Bildungen voraus, während es sich nach seiner Meinung um Suffixe handle.

Selbst wenn auch alle diese Wortvergleiche mit Recht kritisiert worden wären, was durchaus nicht der Fall ist, so würden sie nicht mehr als den fünften Teil der von mir vorgebrachten Ähnlichkeiten bilden, und einige der wichtigsten wären vom Verfasser überhaupt nicht berührt worden. Im übrigen hat v. Hevesy die zahlreichen grammatischen Beziehungen der Munda-Sprachen mit den austro-asiatischen und austronesischen Sprachen ganz weggelassen. Er schien sich übrigens selbst eine Tür für den Rückzug offen zu halten, indem er schrieb (S. 199): „We do not want to assert that there are no common elements between Santali and Khmer, etc., etc., but they are very few; further, even a part of them relates to terms connected with the manifestations of civilisation, thus are probably loanwords.“ Ich werde später zeigen, dass diese beiden Behauptungen vollständig unhaltbar sind.

Im Jahre 1932 liess Herr von Hevesy in Wien neuerdings ein Buch erscheinen, das recht umfangreich war. Dieses Buch führt den genügend langen und energischen Titel *Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien. Es gibt keine austrische Sprachfamilie. Das vorarische Indien finnisch-Ugrisch*. Hier führt der Verfasser nach jeder Richtung hin im positiven und negativen Sinne den Wechsel seiner Front durch, ohne ihn aber als den ganz radikalen Wechsel erkennen zu lassen, der er ist, ausgenommen da, wo er auf Seite 350 folgenden bescheidenen Satz einfügt: „... denn auch wir sind der Versuchung einst unterlegen, im Verlauf einer Studie (Uxbond, Munda-Magyar-Maori) die sich dabei aufdrängenden linguistischen Fragen mit noch weit unzulänglicheren Mitteln anzugehen.“

Es ist sicher, dass Herr von Hevesy sich inzwischen tiefere und genauere Kenntnisse in den ugro-finnischen Sprachen angeeignet hat. Er zieht den Nutzen daraus, dass er einen eingehenden Vergleich der Laute, der Wortbildung, der Grammatik und des Wortschatzes der Munda-Sprachen mit den ugro-finnischen durchführt. Damit hat er eine aner kennenswerte Arbeit geleistet. Ich lege indes seinen Vergleichen der Laute (S. 17 ff.) weniger Bedeutung bei, denn er bemüht sich nicht einmal das Vorkommen derselben Vokale und Konsonanten

oder ihren Wechsel in denselben Worten zu zeigen, um damit eine feste Basis der phonetischen Regeln zu erreichen. Er will vor allem die Unterschiede im Wechsel der Laute feststellen und rechnet nicht mit der Möglichkeiten, dass es sich dabei nicht um einen Wechsel der Laute, sondern um einen solchen der Präfixe und Suffixe handelt, die, was ihre Laute anbetrifft, von einander ganz unabhängig sind. Er kam auch gar nicht dazu, die Tatsache zu erläutern, dass die ugrofinnischen Sprachen keine cerebralen und nasalen Konsonanten besitzen, die aber nicht allein für die Munda-Sprachen charakteristisch sind, sondern für alle austro-asiatischen Sprachen eine wichtige Rolle spielen. Eine günstigere Aussicht mag man seinen Bemühungen zuschreiben, wo er gewisse Munda-Suffixe der Wortbildung in Beziehung gebracht hat mit solchen, die in den ugrofinnischen Sprachen vorkommen (S. 45 ff.). Es scheint mir ein Verdienst des Verfassers zu sein, gezeigt zu haben, dass die suffixale Bildung der Munda-Sprachen sehr verbreitet und wichtiger ist, als ich dies in meinen Mon-Khmer-Sprachen dargelegt hatte (S. 15, 47 ff.). Ich will ebenfalls glauben, dass er auch eine Anzahl Übereinstimmungen in den suffixalen Bildungen festgestellt hat. Da ich aber kein Fachmann im Ugro-Finnischen bin, kann ich hierin kein massgebendes Urteil abgeben. Auf jeden Fall aber muss die Vergleichung mit viel mehr Exaktheit vorgenommen werden; denn bei einer grösseren Anzahl von Fällen, die ich untersucht habe, konstatierte ich, dass die semasiologischen Nuancen, die er für seinen Vergleich der Suffixe benötigte, in den angegebenen Fällen in den Sprachen selbst nicht zu finden waren, sondern nur von ihm selbst hergestellt wurden. Er geht auch ohne Zweifel viel zu weit, wenn er in den beiden linguistischen Gruppen nicht allein die einfachen Suffixe, sondern auch die zusammengesetzten wiederfinden will.

Die Lage wird noch weniger günstig, und teilweise geradezu verzweifelt beim Vergleich der grammatischen Formen. Es ist ganz unfassbar, dass der Verfasser in zwei oder drei sehr seltenen und selbst fraglichen Formen der Munda-Sprachen einen Zusammenhang zu finden sucht mit den Komparativ-Suffixen *mb* (*bb*), *mp* (*pp*), die den ugrofinnischen eigen sind (S. 73). Mehr Wert hat sein Vergleich des Pluralsuffixes *k* in den beiden Gruppen (S. 74) und der Existenz eines Unterschiedes im Konkretum und Abstraktum im Substantiv, demonstrativen Pronomen, im unbestimmten und fragenden Fürwort. Aber er macht aussichtslose Anstrengungen, wenn er sich der Mühe unterzieht, die persönlichen Fürwörter der Munda-Sprachen mit den

ugro-finnischen in Zusammenhang zu bringen, während die enge Beziehung der ersteren zu denen der austro-asiatischen Sprachen offen zutage liegt. Man ist zufrieden, zu sehen, dass Herr von Hevesy nicht mehr versucht, in den ugro-finnischen Sprachen inklusive und exklusive Formen im Plural des Personalpronomens zu finden, die in den austro-asiatischen und austronesischen Sprachen so verbreitet sind (S. 88). Wo er das Pronomen personale behandelt (S. 89 f.), unterlässt er die Hervorhebung der charakteristischen Unterscheidung in den Munda-Sprachen, die unmittelbare Anhängung des Possessivums an das Substantiv allein bei den Verwandtschaftsnamen, vorzunehmen, während bei den anderen Substantiven die Possessiva an das Suffix *tu* angehängt werden. Es ist wenig Hoffnung, die Anstrengungen des Autors mit Erfolg gekrönt zu sehen, wenn er eine Beziehung zwischen den Systemen der Deklination und Konjugation der beiden Gruppen aufstellen will (S. 92 ff.). Dass mit den Systemen im ganzen nichts zu machen ist, mit dem einen wie dem anderen, ist evident, und der Autor selbst hat dies schon erkannt; es genügt ihm, nur die *Wurzeln* der entwickelten und festen Formen der ugro-finnischen Sprachen in den Munda-Sprachen zu finden. Das ist aber ein sehr gefährliches Unternehmen ohne Kenntnis der phonetischen Gesetze der beiden Gruppen.

Nun kommt v. Hevesy am Ende des Buches zu den Infixen, denen es natürlich gebührt hätte, früher berücksichtigt zu werden, u. zw. gleich nach den Prä- und Suffixen. Diese Verspätung ist ein deutliches Zeichen dafür, dass der Verfasser selbst sich bewusst war, dass sich hier die gefährlichsten Klippen für seine These, dass die Munda-Sprachen den ugro-finnischen angehörten, finden. Das gerade ist der Grund, weshalb er solange mit der Behandlung der Infixe gezögert hat. Er wusste schon, dass er hier kein Argument *für* seine These finden würde; er war aber zufrieden, dass er auf keine Argumente *dagegen* stieß.

Bevor wir nun mit der Prüfung seiner Anstrengungen, sich vor dieser drohenden Gefahr zu schützen, beginnen, wollen wir einen Blick auf die Elemente werfen, die in etwa für seine These sprechen könnten, dass die Munda-Sprachen zu den ugro-finnischen gehören. Wir können hierfür beiseite lassen den Vortrag, den Herrn von Hevesy für den 3. internationalen linguistischen Kongress 1933 „Die Munda-Sprachen Indiens, finnisch-ugrische Sprachen“ vorbereitet hatte; denn er ist nichts als ein kurzer Auszug aus seinem früheren Buch. Aber es ist interessant zu lesen, was er sich gezwungen sieht, am

Schlusse zu bekennen: „Obwohl diese Neuigkeit in der Finno-Ugristik [v. Hevesy's Artikel], auf welche ich die Aufmerksamkeit lenkte, von mir seit einem Jahr zugänglich gemacht worden war, hat, ausgenommen der kurze und oberflächliche Bericht von Sauvageot, kein Finno-Ugrist, so viel ich weiss, Notiz davon genommen. Die Behauptung eines Zusammenhanges mit Indien, hat vor allem nicht die Sympathien *der ungarischen Gelehrten* gefunden.“ Wenn Herr von Hevesy sich hier über diese völlige Ablehnung seiner These seitens der kompetenten ugro-finnischen Autoritäten beschwert, so möchte ich mich für ihn einsetzen. Vom Standpunkt der allgemeinen Linguistik scheint es mir nicht ausgeschlossen zu sein, einen gewissen Zusammenhang der Munda-Sprachen mit den ugro-finnischen, sowie eine gewisse Anzahl von Elementen, die beiden gemein sind, anzunehmen: so in der Wortbildung, der Grammatik und vielleicht auch im Wortschatz. Aber in positiver Hinsicht halte ich es für unzweifelhaft, dass die Munda-Sprachen nicht als eine Untergruppe der ugro-finnischen Sprachen betrachtet werden können; sondern sie allein sind allen anderen entgegengesetzt. Aber ich halte auch diese letztere Ansicht für wenig wahrscheinlich, während viel mehr Gründe für eine andere These sprechen, und zwar die folgende: Auf eine austro-asiatische Grundlage der Munda-Sprachen haben zu einer gewissen Zeit und in einer gewissen Gegend ugro-finnische Sprachen einen Einfluss ausgeübt, der noch zu bestimmen sein wird, der aber ohne Zweifel ausserhalb Indiens, vielleicht noch an der nördlichen Grenze Indiens, wirksam war.

Wenn wir uns bis jetzt mit dem Wert der positiven These des Herrn von Hevesy beschäftigten, nämlich dass die Munda-Sprachen den ugro-finnischen angehören sollen, müssen wir uns noch ein wenig mit seiner negativen These befassen, dass die Munda-Sprachen nicht den austro-asiatischen Sprachen angehören. Wie ich auch schon gesagt habe, hat er selbst die sehr richtige Empfindung dafür gehabt, dass eben hier die grosse Bedeutung der Infixe der Munda-Sprachen hervortreten werde. Man muss ihm danken, dass er den Versuch seines zweiten Artikels nicht mehr erneut hat, auch in den ugro-finnischen Sprachen Infixe zu finden. Er bekennt also stillschweigend, dass sie keine Infixe kannten. Wer nun aber auch nur wenig in der allgemeinen Linguistik bewandert ist, weiss, wie selten in den Sprachen der Welt die wahre Infigierung — d.h. die Infigierung konsonantischer Elemente in den Wortstamm oder selbst in die Wurzel — vertreten ist. Auf diese Art wird die Existenz einer solchen Infigierung in Sprachen,

die nicht sehr von einander entfernt sind, immer ein sehr wichtiges Moment für die frühere innere Verwandtschaft dieser Sprachen bilden, das um so mehr, wenn ein grosser Teil dieser Infixe selbst identisch ist. Dass sich dieses zweifache Moment für die austro-asiatischen Sprachen realisiert findet, und damit auch für die Munda-Sprachen und die austronesischen Sprachen, habe ich schon zur Genüge in meinen „Mon-Khmer-Sprachen“ (S. 14, 43) festgestellt. Dieser Hinweis ist von ebenso grosser Bedeutung wie der, dass in allen benachbarten linguistischen Gruppen die Infigierung fehlt.

Herr von Hevesy bemüht sich, den Gefahren zu entgehen, die von hier aus seine negative und positive These bedrohen, indem er versichert, dass die Infigierung, massgebend für die wirklichen austro-asiatischen Sprachen, von nebensächlicher Bedeutung in den Munda-Sprachen werde (S. 107 f.). Diese Behauptung kann im Angesicht der wirklichen Tatsachen nicht aufrecht erhalten werden. Die Infigierung wird in allen anderen austro-asiatischen Sprachen in demselben Masse angewendet wie auch in den Munda-Sprachen. Sowohl in der einen als auch in der anderen Gruppe sind Sprachen, die sie intensiv anwenden, aber auch andere, bei denen die Verwendung abgeflaut ist, und es sind sowohl in der einen als auch in der anderen oft vorkommende wie auch seltene Infixe. Aber die Tatsache, dass in den Munda-Sprachen zwei Infixe sind, die den anderen austro-asiatischen Sprachen ganz fehlen, wie *k* und *t*, beweist, dass die Infigierung für die Munda-Sprachen kein fremdes Element ist, was auch sehr schwierig zu verstehen wäre, sondern aus dem lebendigen Genius der Sprache hervorgeht. Es ist also sicher, dass die Infigierung im allgemeinen und die Identität mehrerer Infixe im besonderen eine starke Stütze für die innere Verwandtschaft der Munda-Sprachen mit den austro-asiatischen darstellt.

Ich glaube nicht, dass ich hier alle anderen Momente noch eingehend behandeln muss, die ich in meinen „Mon-Khmer-Sprachen“ (S. 14 ff, 36) zu Gunsten der These vorgebracht habe, dass die Munda-Sprachen zunächst zu den austro-asiatischen und mit diesen die austronesischen Sprachen zur linguistischen austrischen Familie gehören, nämlich :

- 1) die Identität des phonetischen Systems ;
- 2) die Gleichheit der Wortbildung in einer Präfigierung ersten und zweiten Grades, in einer Infigierung und Suffigierung.
- 3) In einer ursprünglichen Postposition des Genetivs, der in den

Munda-Sprachen in der Suffigierung der possessiven Formen erhalten ist;

4) das Vorkommen eines Inklusivs und Exklusivs der 1. Person Plural des Pronomen Possessivum bei einigen dieser Sprachen;

5) das Vorkommen eines Dual und Trial des Pronomens Possessivum ebenfalls in vielen dieser Sprachen.

Diese Elemente wurden von Herrn von Hevesy nicht bestritten. Aber er hat seine ganzen Bemühungen angewendet gegen die Einheit des Wortschatzes, die ich als sechstes diesen fünf Elementen anreichte. Wie ich schon gesagt habe, macht er das Zugeständnis, dass diese Sprachen wohl gemeinsame Elemente haben, aber er behauptet, 1) dass ihre Zahl sehr beschränkt ist, 2) dass ein Teil davon in den „manifestations of civilization“ bestehe und nun vermutlich Lehnworte darstellen.¹

Aber keine dieser beiden Behauptungen ist richtig. Selbst wenn man diejenigen meiner Wortvergleiche, die von ihm als falsch bezeichnet wurden, wegliesse, wovon aber gar nicht die Rede sein kann, bliebe ihre Zahl noch sehr gross; auch befinden sich darunter die gebräuchlichsten und intimsten Worte, über die eine Sprache verfügt. Diese sind: 1) das Pronomen Personale der I. und II. Person singularis; 2) das Pronomen demonstrativum; 3) die Zahlen von 1-6; 4) Worte, die Körperteile bezeichnen: Auge, Nase, Mund, Hand, rechte Hand, Brust, Fuss, Oberschenkel, Blut, Knochen und Exkrement; 5) die folgenden Worte, welche Verwandtschaftsgrade darstellen: Sohn, Ahne, Vater, Mutterbruder, Neffe, Gatte, jüngere Gattin, Häuptling, Dorf, Fremder; 6) Tiernamen: Tiger, Ratte, Vogel, Ente, Pfau, Fisch, Ameise, Wanze, Laus, Fliege, Raupe; 7) folgende Worte bezeichnend Naturobjekte: Wasser, Wald, Sonne, Wind, Morgenrot, Nacht, Reis, Baumwolle, Rotang, Eisen; 8) Adjektive: weit, klein, fett, lange, dicht, klar, herb, nachfolgend, durstig; 9) Verba: heben, essen, sich baden, nennen, fühlen, gähnen, sterben, eingraben, flechten, weben, Baumwolle schneiden, schreien, leuchten.

Unter diesen Worten sind mehrere, deren gemeinsame austroasiatischen Formen eine ganz eigene Gestalt gerade beim Santali annehmen, was Herrn von Hevesy entgangen ist: der Endvokal ist nicht mehr am Ende, sondern zwischen den beiden Anfangskonsonanten: so wird aus *bri*-Wald im Santali *bir*; aus *sni*- Sonne, *siñ*; aus *kni* Ratte, *kon hon*; *kla* Tiger, *kul*; *ymu*, *num* Name *num*.

¹ Bull. School of Oriental Stud. vi, 1930, S. 199.

Wenn ich nun zur Prüfung der Vergleiche der Mundaworte mit denen der ugro-finnischen Sprachen schreite, die Herr von Hevesy durchgeführt hat (p. 115 bis 328), so ist die Zahl der Vergleiche beim ersten Blick überwältigend gross, es sind 1134! Es fehlen aber darunter zuverlässige Vergleiche des Pronomen personale, des Numerales, dann der Wörter, welche Teile des Körpers bezeichnen, der Tiere, Pflanzen, Naturkörper und der gebräuchlichsten Naturgegenstände. Was er am öftesten bringt, ist der Vergleich einer Wortwurzel aus der einen Gruppe mit dem Worte selbst aus der anderen; das ist aber eine Methode, die, ohne vorher die phonetischen Gesetze festgestellt zu haben, sehr gefährlich ist, was mir jeder wirkliche Linguist zugeben wird.

Die Zahl der 1134 Vergleiche hält aber auch bei weitem nicht einer ersten Prüfung stand. Denn erstens hat Herr von Hevesy in seine Liste Lehnwörter aus dem Hindi, Bengali, Desi, Bihar und Sanskrit, aufgenommen die natürlich nichts mit einem inneren Zusammenhang dieser zwei linguistischen Gruppen zu tun haben und daher beiseite gelassen werden müssen. Zweitens hat er eine unglaublich grosse Zahl von Vergleichen gesammelt, die er selbst als fraglich bezeichnet. Drittens sind in der Liste eine grosse Anzahl von Vergleichen, die schon beim ersten Blick als unzutreffend erscheinen. Ich habe mir die Mühe gegeben, die Liste bis zu Nummer 500 zu untersuchen, das Resultat ist folgendes: 170 Lehnwörter, 100 fragliche Vergleiche, 90 unhaltbare Vergleiche, zusammen 360. Auf diese Weise bleiben von den 500 vom Verfasser angeführten Vergleichen nur 140 als weniger verdächtig. Es blieben also von der Gesamtzahl der 1134 Vergleiche des Verfassers annähernd 300 übrig; aber ich glaube, dass selbst von diesen noch ein Teil ausgeschieden werden müsste.

Das Endresultat der ganzen Untersuchung der positiven und negativen These des Herrn von Hevesy kann kein anderes sein als dieses: Die Munda-Sprachen gehören, was ihren Ursprung anbelangt, den austro-asiatischen Sprachen und zusammen mit den austronesischen der austrischen Sprachfamilie an. Sie haben gemeinsam mit ihnen ursprünglich die Nachstellung des Genetivs und die Präfigierung neben der Infigierung. Später kamen sie in Berührung mit Sprachen, welche die Voranstellung des Genetivs und die Suffigierung übten, und durch den Einfluss dieser Sprachen wurden diese zwei Elemente auch in die Munda-Sprachen eingeführt. Früher glaubte ich, dass es die Dravida-, die arischen oder die tibeto-chinesischen Sprachen seien, welche diesen Einfluss ausübten. Jetzt verneine ich nicht

die Möglichkeit, und selbst auch die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass auch die ugrofinnischen Sprachen solch einen Einfluss auf die Munda-Sprachen ausübten. Es ist die Aufgabe der Ugro-Finnisten, diese Frage zu untersuchen.

Herr von Hevesy klagt bitter, dass sie sich weigern dies zu tun. Ich finde diese radikale Zurückweisung nicht begründet, aber sie scheint mir verständlich und gerechtfertigt in einiger Hinsicht. Das hohe materielle und formelle Niveau, das die Vergleichung der ugrofinnischen Sprachen bereits erreicht hat, lässt ihre Vertreter zögern, neben diese Sprachen eine Sprachengruppe zu stellen, die, wie die der Munda-Sprachen, noch wenig bekannt und noch nicht gut in sich selbst studiert sind. Aber die Erfüllung dieser letzteren Aufgabe ist heute ausgeschlossen wegen der Unzulänglichkeit des Materials, das uns zur Zeit noch zur Verfügung steht. Wenn aber das grosse Wörterbuch des Santali von Rev. Bödding und die Munda-Enzyklopaedie von Rev. P. Hoffmann fertig sein, und auch noch einige Grammatiken und Wörterbücher anderer Munda-Sprachen vorhanden sein werden, dann wird man diesen Versuch machen können.

Ich hoffe, dass Herr von Hevesy teilnehmen wird an diesen Arbeiten und uns einige Spezialstudien über die einzelnen Munda-Sprachen etwa von der Art wie meine Studien über die Lautverhältnisse der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen, der Khasi-Sprache, der Gruppe Palaung-Wa-Riang, und der Sprachen der Sakai und Semang liefern wird. Erst nach solchen Arbeiten würde er schliesslich auch ein kleines Büchlein veröffentlichen können über die Munda-Sprachen und ihre Beziehungen, wie ich es vor 30 Jahren veröffentlicht habe mit meinen Mon-Khmer-Sprachen, ein Bindeglied zwischen den Sprachen Mittelasiens und Ozeaniens (Braunschweig, 1906). Ich bin absolut sicher, dass nach solchen tieferen und soliden Studien Herr von Hevesy mir nicht mehr bestreiten wird, dass die Munda-Sprachen in ihrem Ursprung und auch in vielen ihrer Elemente zu den austroasiatischen Sprachen angehören, sondern er wird selbst schöne, neue Beweise für diese These liefern. Er wird dann auch schon seit längerer Zeit erkannt haben, dass kaum einer von den wenigen Gelehrten, die er jetzt als Anhänger seiner heutigen These angibt, ernstlich die Existenz der linguistischen austroasiatischen Gruppe zu der die Munda-Sprachen gehören, bestreiten wollte, wie auch nicht die der austrischen Sprachfamilie, die aus den beiden Gruppen der austroasiatischen und der austronesischen Sprachen besteht.

Notes on the Arabic Materials for the History of the Early Crusades

By H. A. R. GIBB

THE publication of the first volume of M. René Grousset's history of the Crusades, which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue, brings out again, and all the more vividly because of its wealth of detail and effort to present a complete and rounded-off picture, the very serious gaps in Orientalist research on this period. Whereas the study of the Western and Greek sources has progressed to a point at which it may be said that little more remains to be done, research on the Oriental sources is incredibly backward. The European scholar has at his disposal, apart from the topographical studies of van Berchem¹ and M. René Dussaud,² only two works of any size, Derenbourg's study of Usāma ibn Munqidh,³ and Professor W. B. Stevenson's *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge, 1907), together with such articles as those on the Syrian cities by Honigmann and others in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*. Valuable as these are, they do not carry him very far. Usāma presents a lively picture of certain aspects of Syrian life, but he was a minor figure and the scope of his material is too restricted. Professor Stevenson attempted for the first time to situate the Crusaders in their eastern surroundings, but the main object of his work was the careful sifting of the Oriental sources for data of political history and chronology.

It is not, however, one or two general works which are required: it is a whole series of monographs on important figures, on specific aspects of the political and social life of the time, and on the Oriental sources themselves. Not a single political figure prior to Saladin and the Third Crusade—Ṭuġtagīn, ʿĪl-Ghāzī, Zankī, Nūr ad-Dīn—has ever been studied in detail: we know next to nothing of the composition of the population in the various regions of Syria, their relations with one another and with ʿIrāq and Egypt, or of the significance of the Shiʿite, and more especially the Bāṭinī, movements in Syria: the criticism of the Oriental sources, Arabic, Syriac, and Armenian,

¹ "Notes sur les Croisades" in *Journal Asiatique*, 1902, mai-juin.

² *Topographie historique de la Syrie* (Paris, 1927).

³ *Vie d'Ousama (Ousāma ibn Mounqidh, Ire Partie*, Paris, 1889).

has not even begun. Failing these, the Muslim princes and peoples remain, even in M. Grousset's work, so many lay figures, a kind of vague patchwork backcloth against which the Western knights make a brave enough show, until it presently falls down and envelops them, still valiantly struggling, in its folds.

It is not the object of the present paper to remedy these deficiencies forthwith, but to touch on certain points relating firstly to the social situation in Syria, and secondly to the Arabic sources, which have emerged in the course of several years' study of the period of the early Crusades.

I

It is one of the principal services rendered by M. Grousset that, for the first time in any general history of the Crusades, he brings out the importance of the Byzantine "Crusades" of the tenth century as the forerunners of the Latin Crusades, and as establishing a certain juridical claim by the Eastern Empire to the restoration of its former Syrian territories, the last of which it had lost only in 1084. But it has generally escaped notice that the same fact played a very important part in determining also the nature of the first Muslim reactions to the Latin Crusades. For more than a century the Muslims of Egypt, 'Irāq, and Persia had been accustomed to the spectacle of Christian principalities in Antioch and Mesopotamia, and even of intermittent Christian protectorates over Aleppo and parts of inner Syria. The Christian states had taken their place in the normal political framework of Syria, and the religious aspect of the struggle had long since ceased to hold any prominent place in the minds of its population. Muslims and Christians were intermingled with one another, especially after the extensive immigration of Armenians into northern Syria; Christians ruled over Muslims and Muslims over Christians, without interference from either side. Though the Christian states had been temporarily recovered by the Saljūqids, the report that fresh Christian armies were on their way through Anatolia to recapture them roused no more than ordinary apprehensions,¹ and was regarded with comparative indifference by all the Muslim princes except the one directly concerned, the ruler of Antioch itself, Yāghī

¹ Is William of Tyre a good enough authority for the accusation that the Muslims "brutally eliminated" the indigenous Christian elements in Jerusalem on the arrival of the Crusaders (Grousset, 284-5)? The statement seems to be contradicted by numerous passages in which Fulcher and others speak of the native Christian population (e.g. the jubilant passage on the reception of Baldwin I, quoted G. 213).

Siyān. That the newcomers were Franks, instead of Greeks, conveyed very little to them. The Crusaders' occupation of Antioch and Edessa merely restored, from their point of view, the *status quo ante*. The Fāṭimid wazīr, al-Afdal, had been quick to seize the opportunity of renewing with them the traditional Fāṭimid-Byzantine defensive alliance against the Saljūqids, temporarily interrupted in 1055.¹ It is true that the negotiations came to nothing when the Franks themselves seized Jerusalem from the Egyptians, but even that failed to inspire an immediate uprush of religious feeling and of resolve to drive them out. It was not merely the disintegration of the Saljūqid empire, therefore, which was responsible for the absence of any vigorous counter-attack from without.² For a century and a half, Syria and Mesopotamia had been left to fight their own battles, with some intervention from Egypt, and for the most part Syria and Mesopotamia were left to fight them now.

If this view be accepted, it is clearly a false conception to speak, as M. Grousset has done, of every offensive against the Latin states as a "counter-crusade". No doubt every war against non-Muslims, from the days of Heraclius to those of 'Abd al-Karīm, has been styled a *jihad* by its supporters, but that in itself shows the cheapening of the term. What distinguished the Crusades was that they were a mass movement, in which men of all ranks and classes were caught and swept forward by a wave of emotion. There was nothing corresponding to this amongst the Muslims until the time of Nūr ad-Dīn at the earliest, perhaps not until the time of Saladin. Some faint hint of it may doubtfully be detected in the undertakings of Mawdūd, but even these were conducted as routine expeditions, differing in no respect from any others. Only in one minor episode of this period does one sense on the Muslim side something of the Crusaders' exaltation of feeling, namely in the defence of Damascus against Baldwin II's raid in January, 1126.³

¹ See Ibn Muyassar, ed. Massé, p. 7. and E. Laurent, *Byzance et les Seljoucides*, p. 22. The fact that the calculations of the Fāṭimid government were based upon the history of the earlier Byzantine invasions is noted by all historians; but there is a tendency to over-emphasize in this connection the importance of Jerusalem to the Fāṭimids. At the time of the First Crusade the possession of Jerusalem was of little political importance, except as implying control of southern Palestine. It was the establishment of the seat of the Latin kingdom at Jerusalem that caused it to acquire subsequently the symbolic significance which it had by the time of Saladin.

² Although, of course, the disintegration of the local Syrian kingdom of Tutush was responsible for the absence of a united resistance within Syria.

³ Ibn al-Qalānisi, ed. Amedroz, 213 (*Damascus Chronicle*, 175).

It is almost equally misleading to regard the expeditions of the governors of Moṣul as so many instances of Saljūqid intervention, as when Karbūqa, for example, arrives with a "grande armée seljūqide".¹ None of the Oriental sources suggest that Karbūqa had more than his own troops, together with those of his minor vassals and of Ḥimṣ and Damascus. It should be recalled that, although he was formally recognized as governor of Moṣul, Karbūqa had in fact captured it for himself with a force of adventurers only two years before,² and that on the arrival of the First Crusade the Saljūqid armies were engaged in Khurāsān and almost immediately afterwards in the long civil wars between Barkiyāruq and Muḥammad. It is unlikely that there was a single Saljūqid squadron in Karbūqa's force, and the size of his private 'askar may be gauged from that of which his successor Jikirmish disposed in the battle of Ḥarrān, namely 3,000 horsemen.³ The governors of Moṣul were drawn into the conflict by the Frankish conquest of Edessa and the resulting political complications in the Jazīra; and even when they held an official mandate to engage the Franks, it in no way affected the essentially personal character and objects of their operations, unless perhaps under Mawdūd.⁴ The one genuine instance of Saljūqid intervention in the whole history of the Crusades was the expedition under Bursuq b. Bursuq, the governor of Hamadhān, in 1115; and the authorities are singularly unanimous that this "counter-crusade" was openly directed against the Muslim princes, and only as an afterthought against the Franks. It had the striking result of bringing into temporary existence a Syrian bloc, Franks and Muslims (except for two minor chieftains) making common cause against the Eastern invader. Several causes may be and have been assigned in explanation of this development, but in view of the absence of detailed studies of the principal characters concerned, it is premature to come to any definite conclusions. But two points, at least, seem to emerge from the fact itself: one, that "counter-crusade" was the last idea entertained by the

¹ Grousset, pp. 97, 107.

² Cf. *Encyc. of Islam*, s.v. Kurbūka.

³ Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x, 256, 5-4 from foot; on the same expedition Sukmān had 7,000 Turkmen horsemen with him. Cf. the army of Saif ad-Dīn, prince of Moṣul, early in 1176, when, with the aid of the Ortuqids of Ḥiṣn Kaifā and Mardīn, "numerous forces assembled to join him, reaching 6,000 horsemen" (*ibid.*, xi, 283, 5-7).

⁴ In the *Damascus Chronicle*, p. 99, n. 4, there is a serious error; Mawdūd was the son of a certain Altūntagīn, and was not the nephew of Karbūqa.

princes of Syria and 'Irāq alike at that time¹; the other that the Franks had with surprising speed adapted themselves to the traditional atmosphere and alignments of Syrian politics.

In regard to another aspect of the politico-social situation in Syria, the Sunni-Shi'a schism, it is still difficult to reach absolute conclusions. A careful study of the scanty contemporary materials, nevertheless, leads to the impression that all historians of the Crusades have greatly exaggerated its significance in Syria at the time of the First Crusade and in the following decades. This is due partly to the fact that Western historians, seeking a guiding thread in the labyrinth of Oriental politics, have thought to find it in the religious schisms, and interpreting these as rival political groups have used them as a kind of universal clue²; partly (and herein is their excuse) that Ibn al-Athīr and the other writers of the Ayyubīd and Mamlūk periods were themselves obsessed to a great extent by an anti-Fāṭimid bias. In reality the lines of political division had little to do with dogmatic differences, and least of all in eleventh- and twelfth-century Syria. Had the Fāṭimids been inclined to religious intolerance, the case might have been different, but they were (apart from the personal eccentricity of al-Ḥākim) one of the most tolerant dynasties in Islam. If the Islamic world had been otherwise unified, the emergence of political Shi'ism would have been disastrous³; but though it prevented union, it was not in itself a prime cause of disunion. The healing of the schism was a necessary prelude to the union of forces against the Crusaders, but the schism was not a factor of importance in their first success.

The real mainspring of Syrian politics, it can hardly be doubted, is to be found in the principle of "beggar-my-neighbour" which had governed the relations of the amīrs of Syria and Mesopotamia ever since the disintegration of the Caliphate. Where ambition, jealousy, and fear were the dominant motives, questions of religious

¹ The episode of the émeute at Baghdād in 1111 (cf. Grousset, 460-1) shows the Caliph himself, so far from being moved by the Syrian appeal, furious at the affront to his personal dignity and only restrained from taking violent measures against the ringleaders by the tact of the Sultan; see the original and more detailed account in the *Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 110-12.

² M. Grousset, for example, seeks to explain the refusal of Ruḍwān of Aleppo to co-operate with the other Syrian princes and with Mawḍūd by his patronage of the Bāṭinīs, thereby inverting cause and effect. The true reason is more probably to be sought in his embitterment at the repeated disappointment of his ambitions.

³ As it was later on, in the sixteenth century; cf. A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, vol. i (Oxford, 1934), pp. 347-400.

conformity and belief were of small account. Religion had long since abdicated the claim to control political action,¹ and the only other restraining force, love of country, while not absent amongst the general population and possibly even such minor local chiefs as the Banū Munqidh, was obviously ineffective where foreign Turkish governors were concerned. No student of Islamic history in the tenth and eleventh centuries needs to be reminded that when the Saljūqid Ruḍwān of Aleppo declared for the Fāṭimids in 1097 in view of an alliance against Damascus, he was but following the footsteps of numerous amīrs and princes, who had accepted or rejected the nominal suzerainty of one or other Caliph for the sake of securing a momentary tactical advantage over a local rival. Similarly, the readiness of Ibn ʿAmmār of Tripolis to assist the Franks and even to accept a quasi-protectorate, could find more than one parallel in the history of Syria since the days when the Arab Shiʿite Ḥamdānids of Aleppo had invoked the Byzantine protectorate and seen the great Basil II himself hastening to defend them against their fellow-countrymen and co-sectaries, the Fāṭimids.

Thus the refusal of Aleppo and Damascus, and that of Damascus and Egypt, to co-operate against the Crusaders were due to the same general causes, into which religion scarcely entered. In the former case, they took a personal form: the rivalry between the sons of Tutush, and in particular the resentment of Ruḍwān at the loss of Damascus.² In the second case, they were rather historical: the spectre of the former Egyptian occupation of Damascus on the one side, and of the former kingdom of Tutush on the other. The rulers of Damascus were afraid that the Fāṭimids should attempt to reassert their claim to the city: the Egyptian government feared lest a restored Saljūqid kingdom should attempt the coup which Tutush may have planned, but never carried out. Both sides were consequently not ill-pleased, in the long run, that the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem interposed a buffer between them—provided the buffer did not turn into a boa-constrictor. Nothing is more instructive in this connection than to observe the deliberate inertia of Damascus on the Palestine front between 1099 and 1105, while Godfrey and Baldwin I were

¹ This is, notwithstanding its external conformity, the note sounded by Nizām al-mulk in the *Siyāset-Nāmah*, and is frankly acknowledged by no less an authority than al-Ghazālī (*Ihyāʾ ʿUlūm ad-Dīn*, ii, 124).

² The possible influence exerted in this and similar situations by a certain historic antagonism between the populations of Aleppo and Damascus may be suspected, as a supplementary factor, but the whole subject awaits investigation.

engaged in establishing the kingdom and securing it against the Egyptian counter-attacks, and how, as soon as ʿUḡtagīn was convinced that the Egyptians were unable to dislodge the Crusaders, he willingly co-operated with them, not in combined attacks with full forces, but in minor operations designed to harass the Franks and prevent the expansion of the kingdom. Note, too, how the relations between Egypt and Damascus grew progressively more cordial, to the extent that ʿUḡtagīn even instigated Egyptian raids (if Ibn Muḡassar¹ is to be believed), and that finally he and his successors accepted Fāṭimid robes of honour and diplomas.² The same indifference to sectarian divisions was shown by Usāma b. Munqidh, who served Zankī and the Fāṭimids with equal zeal, by Ibn ‘Ammār of Tripolis, and even by the Egyptian wazīr al-Afdal, whom the Fāṭimid history asserts to have been a fervent Ismā‘īlī³ but the Damascus chronicler claims as “a firm believer in the doctrines of the Sunna”.⁴ Before the close of the twelfth century, however, there can be little doubt that Shi‘ism was thoroughly discredited in Syria, but it remains to be investigated how far the activities of the Bāṭinīs were responsible for this change, or whether it was a by-product of that waxing religious enthusiasm which led up to the real Counter-Crusade under the leadership of Saladin.

II

The second field in which Orientalist research has lagged behind, and which is a prerequisite for any real study of such problems as are touched on above, is the critical examination of the Oriental sources. Every historian of the early Crusades has up to the present used the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr as the principal Arabic source, and has accepted his version of affairs under the control of Kamāl ad-Dīn’s Chronicle of Aleppo and Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī’s *Mir’āt az-Zamān*. The recovery of Ibn al-Qalānīsī’s Damascus Chronicle completely changes the situation. It is not only that Ibn al-Qalānīsī is a contemporary and reflects the contemporary attitude, whereas Ibn al-Athīr is permeated by the very different mentality of the thirteenth century,⁵ nor is it that the former

¹ Ed. Massé, p. 63.

² *Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 179, 280. According to Ibn Muḡassar (p. 70) similar advances were made by the Fāṭimids also to Āqsunqur al-Bursuqī after his occupation of Aleppo.

³ Idrīs ‘Imād ad-Dīn: *‘Uyūn al-Akhhbār*, vol. vii (MS. of Dr. A. H. al-Hamdani); cf. aṣ-Ṣairafi, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla’l-Wizāra*, ed. A. Mukhlis, 57–60.

⁴ p. 164 (Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 204, 16: حسن الاعتقاد في مذهب السنة).

⁵ The point has already been observed by M. Grousset in a note to p. 510.

views events from the angle of Damascus and the latter from the wider but more distant angle of Moṣul. The important point for our present purpose is that Ibn al-Qalānisī is one of the *original sources* of Ibn al-Athīr—the only one for this period so far recovered—and a comparison of the two accounts enables us to investigate his methods of compilation, and to check in some degree the accuracy of his information in this portion of his chronicle. The results of this examination are not reassuring, and go to show that while Ibn al-Athīr, because of his much wider field than that of either the Damascus or the Aleppo chroniclers, must always remain a principal source, he is not to be relied on in details of fact, of chronology, or of interpretation, and must always be used with caution.¹ Outstanding though his work is, in comparison with the historians of his own age whose productions have come down to us, he is yet not entirely free from those romantic and empirical tendencies which are visible over a wide range of mediaeval Islamic literature.

A detailed analysis being impossible within the limits of an article, it is proposed in the following paragraphs to examine briefly a few typical passages, illustrating how Ibn al-Athīr's methods may result in misleading or suspect information, and to touch still more briefly upon Kamāl ad-Dīn's work in the same connection.

(1) Ibn al-Athīr very frequently suppresses elements of the original narrative, and occasionally uses the rest to support a false interpretation. Under A.H. 494 (1100–1) Ibn al-Qalānisī relates an attempt by Sukmān b. Ortuq to *recapture* Sarūj, and its recovery by the Franks. His text reads as follows: فيها جمع الامير سكيان بن ارتق خلقاً كثيراً من التركمان وزحف بهم الى افرنج الرها وسروج في شهر ربيع الاول فتسلم سروج واجتمع اليه خلق كثير وحشد الافرنج ايضا الخ ("In this year the amīr Sukmān b. Ortuq collected a great host of Turkmens and marched with them against the Franks of ar-Ruhā [Edessa] and Sarūj in the month of First Rabi'. He captured Sarūj and was joined by a large body [*i.e.* of volunteers], while the Franks also collected their forces.")² Ibn al-Athīr, apparently because he found no account in his sources of the capture of Sarūj, rewrites this and misrepresents it

¹ Somewhat similar conclusions were reached by the writer some years ago after comparing Ibn al-Athīr's narratives of the early history of the Arabs in Central Asia with his sources in Ṭabarī and Balādhurī.

² Ed. Amedroz, p. 138: *Damas. Chr.*, p. 50.

as the *capture* of Sarūj: وفيها ملك الفرنج مدينة سروج من بلاد الجزيرة وسبب ذلك ان الفرنج كانوا قد ماكوا الرها . . . فلما كان الآن ("In this year the Franks captured the town of Sarūj in Mesopotamia. The cause of this was the Franks had already captured ar-Ruhā . . . and at this time Sukmān collected a great host of Turkmens in Sarūj and marched against them.")¹

(2) The frequency with which Ibn al-Athīr alters the dates given by Ibn al-Qalānīsī (and always does so wrongly)² raises a question of motive, which cannot be answered at present. But occasionally also he alters the tenor of a sentence or phrase in the original. An example will be found in his account of the Crusaders' capture of Tripolis in 1109 (A.H. 502), which is freely quoted from Ibn al-Qalānīsī.

The relevant passage in the latter reads: ذآت نفوسهم لاشتغال اليأس: من تأخر وصول الاصطول المصرى فى البحر والميرة والنجدة وقد كانت غاة الاصطول أزيحت وسير الريح تردّه لما يريد الله من نفاذ الامر المقضى ("Their spirits were lowered by universal despair at the delay of the Egyptian fleet in bringing provisions and reinforcements by sea, for the stores of the fleet had been exhausted and the direction of the wind remained contrary, through the will of God that that which was decreed should come to pass.")³ Ibn al-Athīr, to begin with, places this (wrongly) under the year 503, and renders the passage above by:

ذآت نفوسهم وزادهم ضعفاً تأخر الاسطول المصرى عنهم بالميرة والنجدة وكان سبب تأخره له انه فرغ منه والحثّ عليه واختلفوا فيه اكثر من سنة وسار فرّدته الريح فتعدّر عليهم الوصول الى طرابلس ليقضى الله ("Their spirits were lowered and their weakness was increased by the delay of the Egyptian fleet in bringing them provisions and reinforcements. Now the cause of his [presumably al-Aḫlāl's] dilatoriness in regard to it (the fleet) was that he did not

¹ Ed. Tornberg, x, 222 (cf. Grousset, p. 63).

² e.g. Egyptian capture of Jerusalem: I.A. 489 (wrong), I.Q. 491; Bātinī attack on Shaizar: I.A. 502, I.Q. 507 (i.e. after the expulsion of the Bātinīs from Aleppo, which is surely correct); Crusaders' raid on Damascus: I.A. 520 (wrong), I.Q. 519; and cf. section (5) below. There are many other instances.

³ Ed. Amedroz, 163; *Damas. Chr.*, p. 89.

give his attention to it and to hastening on its preparations,¹ and they [? the Egyptian ministers] disagreed (or shilly-shallied) about it for more than a year; and it set off, but the wind drove it back, so it became impossible for them to reach Tripolis, in order that God should bring about a matter which was to come to pass.”²

The difference between these two versions is obvious. Ibn al-Qalānīsī implies that the stores and provisioning for the fleet and the town of Tripolis were not available until the harvest in the spring of 1109, that the necessary measures were then taken without any stinting (cf. *Damascus Chron.*, p. 91), and that the delay was a fatality due to the contrary wind. If he does not explicitly absolve the Egyptian government from the charge of dilatoriness, at least he says nothing to incriminate it. Ibn al-Athīr, on the other hand, makes a definite accusation against the Fāṭimid government, and particularly asserts that the fleet was detained in Egypt “for more than a year”. There is, fortunately, no dubiety in this instance; Ibn al-Athīr’s statement is untrue. For Tripolis fell in July, 1109; in August, 1108, the Egyptian fleet was in Syrian waters, and had very effectively come to the assistance of Sidon, defeating a considerable squadron of Italian vessels and relieving (and presumably reprovisioning) the town.³ It had therefore returned to Egypt only in the late autumn, and the story that it was kept back “for more than a year” is a fiction due to anti-Fāṭimid bias.⁴ Whence, then, did it find its way into Ibn al-Athīr’s chronicle? That he derived it from another written source seems to be excluded by his otherwise close following of the text of Ibn al-Qalānīsī. There can therefore, it would seem, be little doubt that the source is a certain oral tradition current in Moṣul, in accordance with which Ibn al-Athīr “corrected” the statements of his written authority.

¹ The text is difficult, and I give this translation subject to correction. The reading of the passage in the *Receuil* (*Hist. Or.*, i, 273) is: *وكان سبب تأخره انه فرغ وكان سبب تأخره انه فرغ منه وارتجت عليه واختلقوا فيه أكثر من كل سنة* and is rendered in the translation: “Depuis plus d’un an cette flotte était prête et pourvue de tout, et on ne s’accordait pas sur les instructions qu’on devait lui donner.”

² Ed. Tornberg, x, 334.

³ *Damas. Chr.*, 87; cf. Stevenson, 50; Grousset, 253-4.

⁴ Needless to say, the further reflections on this subject by the author of the *Nujūm* (Abu’l-Mahāsīn, ed. Popper, ii, 335, 3-9; quoted by M. Grousset, p. 357, as confirmatory of I.A.’s statement) are equally to be rejected: the whole of Abu’l-Mahāsīn’s passage, in fact, deserves to become a classic example of reckless mis-statement. It is noteworthy that Abu’l-Fidā (*R.H.C. Or.* i, 10) omits the passage entirely.

(3) Another of Ibn al-Athīr's tricks of compilation is to group together a number of items, sometimes quite unconnected, sometimes even of different dates, which as a result of this grouping convey, whether by accident or design, a certain impression. Thus, under A.H. 504, after relating Tancred's capture of al-Athārib in that year (December, 1110),¹ he proceeds: "And great was the fear of them amongst the Muslims, whose hearts rose into their throats, for they were convinced that the Franks were about to capture all the rest of Syria, for lack of any to defend it and repel them from it. So the lords of the Islamic cities in Syria set about negotiating an armistice with them, but the Franks would not agree to any terms except a tribute in ready money, and that only for a short period." He then appends a list of rulers and places and the amounts which they undertook to pay: Ruḍwān of Aleppo, 32,000 dinars and other objects; the lord of Tyre, 7,000 dinars; Ibn Munqidh of Shaizar, 4,000 dinars; 'Alī al-Kurdī of Ḥamāh, 2,000 dinars; and concludes: "the armistice to run only up to the time of the ripening and harvesting of the crops."² Note that this passage is inserted *after* Mawdūd's victory at Ḥarrān in July, 1110, and conveys the impression that even this brought no real relief to the Muslim territories, which were just as exposed to Crusading attacks as they had been before. The idea that undoubtedly influenced Ibn al-Athīr in so arranging his material (whether deliberately or not) was his firm conviction that the Muslims in Syria were beaten from pillar to post until the advent of Zankī, who was the true champion of the Faith and repeller of the Franks.³ But of the four agreements which he cites, only one, that between Ruḍwān and Tancred, certainly dates from after the capture of al-Athārib.⁴ The agreement between Baldwin and Tyre was concluded in 1107 or 1108,⁵ that between Tancred and Shaizar in 1109 or early in 1110.⁶ The armistice with Ḥamāh, if the statement is correct (for no other independent source mentions it), probably dates from the same period as that with Shaizar. By grouping these three with the Aleppo agreement, Ibn al-Athīr unduly magnifies the effect of Tancred's

¹ Cf. *Damas. Chr.*, p. 105.

² x, 338 (R.H.C. Or. i, 278-9); summarized by Rohricht, p. 88, and Grousset, p. 459.

³ That this is an exaggerated view of Zankī's achievement has already been rightly demonstrated by Stevenson (p. 124).

⁴ Even here Ibn al-Athīr exaggerates the amount of the tribute, which both Ibn al-Qalānisi (*Damas. Chr.*, 106) and Kamāl ad-Dīn put at 20,000 dinars.

⁵ *Damas. Chr.*, 82.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 99.

victory and to that extent misrepresents the actual situation in Syria.

(4) It is a habit of Ibn al-Athīr to supplement the information contained in his sources with picturesque anecdotes, some of which may possibly have a basis of fact, but which more often, probably, serve the purpose of summing up in a striking sentence or illustration either the historian's own view or the traditional view of a given situation. Two examples may be quoted. Immediately after the passage referred to in the preceding section, Ibn al-Athīr inserts, in abridged form, accounts (derived from Ibn al-Qalānīsī) of the riots provoked by refugees from A'leppo at Baghdād against the Sultan and the Caliph in February, 1111, and of the Greek embassy of the previous month (December–January).¹ To these he adds: "The men of Aleppo used to say to the Sultan 'Have you no fear of God, that the king of the Greeks should be so much more zealous than you in the cause of Islam, as even to have sent an embassy to you to engage you in the Holy War against the Franks?'"² The addition is evidently a reflection generated in the lively imagination of the chronicler by the accidental juxtaposition of the two items, but possibly in this instance no great distortion of historical fact is involved.

The second example, which relates to the assassination of Mawdūd in the Great Mosque at Damascus on 2nd October, 1113, is not so innocent. The *Damascus Chronicle* (p. 140) leaves the motive of the assassination unresolved. Ibn al-Athīr³ attributes it to a Bāṭinī, adding: "Some said that the Bāṭinīs in Syria feared him and killed him, and others said that on the contrary it was Ṭughtagīn who feared him and set a man on to kill him." Having thus (quite justifiably) performed his duty as a historian in recording the view which was taken at Moṣul and also, apparently, at the court, Ibn al-Athīr proceeds: *حدثني والدي قال كتب ملك الفرنج الى طغتكين بعد قتل مودود كتاباً من فضوله [فضوله] ان أمة قتلت عميدها، يوم عيدها، في بيت معبودها،* *حذثني والدي قال كتب ملك الفرنج الى طغتكين بعد قتل مودود كتاباً من فضوله [فضوله] ان أمة قتلت عميدها، يوم عيدها، في بيت معبودها،* ("My father related to me that the King of the Franks wrote a letter to Ṭughtagīn after the slaying of Mawdūd.

¹ *Kāmil*, x, 339; *Damascus Chronicle*, 111–13. In regard to the latter it is a little curious that Ibn al-Qalānīsī does not explicitly mention either Baghdād or the Sultan.

² وكان اهل حاب يقولون للسultan اما تتقى الله تعالى ان يكون ملك الروم اكثر حجة منك للاسلام حتى قد ارسل اليك في جهادهم.

³ x, 347–8.

which contained the following phrases: 'A nation which has slain its support, on its festival day, in the house of the Being whom it worships, justifies God in exterminating it'''). The story has every appearance of being legendary; it is derived from oral tradition at Moṣul, and attributes to Baldwin I a pretty taste in Arabic rhymed prose; but it serves the purpose of giving telling expression to Ibn al-Athīr's own conviction without actually committing him to it in his own words.¹ For the rest that conviction strongly colours his account of the relations between Tuḡtagīn and Mawdūd during the previous campaigns, and leads him even to revise the story of the assassination itself, where he heightens the dramatic effect (and at the same time implicitly contradicts Ibn al-Qalānīsī's careful description of its actual setting) by asserting that 'they were walking hand in hand'.

(5) These, and many other instances which could be cited, raise the very important question of how far Ibn al-Athīr is to be trusted when he is the sole authority for an alleged event. It is impossible, of course, to lay down any general principles. While he is likely to be more trustworthy in dealing with events in Moṣul and the neighbouring provinces than with those which took place at a distance, a certain caution is surely justified in receiving his unsupported statement, and the more sensational and picturesque it is the greater need there is of hesitation to accept it at face value. Two cases may be briefly examined here by way of illustration.

In connection with the attack made on Damascus by the united Latin forces in the late autumn of 1129,² Ibn al-Athīr has a long and circumstantial story to the effect that the wazīr at Damascus, Abū 'Alī al-Mazdaqānī, and his Bātinī protégés entered into a conspiracy with Baldwin II to deliver Damascus to the Franks in return for the possession of Tyre. This is represented as being the cause of the Crusaders' attack, which was, however, forestalled by the massacre of the Bātinīs in Damascus in the preceding September. There is no hint of this in Ibn al-Qalānīsī (and on this occasion there is no reason why he should have adopted a reticent 'official' attitude, since the existence of such a plot would have given additional point

¹ It is, in any case, impossible to attach to it the weight which it is given by M. Grousset: 'A tort ou à raison, Tuḡtekin se trouva dès lors suspect aux yeux de tout l'Islam [which is in contradiction with Ibn al-Athīr's former statement quoted above], et une indication d'Ibn al-Athīr prouve que cette déconsidération l'atteignit aussi aux yeux des Francs' (p. 276).

² I.A. x, 461-2; *Damas. Ch.*, 191-9; cf. Rohricht, 186-7; Grousset, 658-665.

to his vigorous denunciations of the sect), nor, more strangely still, in the Latin historians, and the suggested retrocession of Tyre is highly suspicious.¹ The Bāṭinī plot is not necessary to account for the Frankish attack on Damascus, in view of the death of Ṭuḡtagīn in 1128 and the arrival of the new Crusading army. Thus the story, though not impossible, seems to be nothing more than romantic invention, the starting-point of which was supplied by the massacre of the Bāṭinīs in Damascus and their subsequent surrender of Bānyās to the Franks.

The second example is offered by Ibn al-Athīr's story of Zankī's capture of al-Athārib in 1130, which it is the more important to correct since even Professor Stevenson makes one of his rare slips in this connection.² Under the year 523 (1129) Ibn al-Athīr inserts, in an abridged form, the narrative which Ibn al-Qalānisī gives under 524 (1130). There can be no question that 524 is the correct date. Sawār, who was apparently at the time governor of Ḥamāh for the amīr of Damascus, took part with the 'askar of Ḥamāh in the operations against the Crusaders round Damascus in December, 1129, i.e. in the last days of 523.³ His transference of his services to Zankī is therefore correctly dated by Kamāl ad-Dīn early in 524, and accounts for the appointment of Sawīnj to the command of Ḥamāh. Zankī's "jihād" in this year (524/1130) consequently consisted of two treacherous assaults on the possessions and persons of his Muslim allies. But Ibn al-Athīr, having placed all this in 523, is left with the task of finding suitable employment for his hero in 524. Now it happened that during the conflict between Alice of Antioch and her father Baldwin in that year a body of Muslims unnamed made a raid on the suburbs of al-Athārib and of Ma'arrat Maṣrīn.⁴ The raid *may* have been made by Zankī's troops, during his stay at Aleppo prior to the seizure of Ḥamāh. It is this quite minor expedition which has apparently been seized upon by the Moṣul tradition and exultantly magnified into the full-dress opening of the Counter-Crusade, signalized by the siege, capture, and dismantling of al-Athārib after a tremendous defeat of the entire Frankish forces. And with an impressive rhetoric which seems to carry its own conviction. Ibn al-Athīr concludes the

¹ It is difficult to see what good Tyre would have been to the Bāṭinīs; and, on the other side, what would the Venetians have said?

² *The Crusaders in the East*, pp. 125 and 129. But he decisively rejects the alleged capture of al-Athārib in 1130 (p. 129, note 3).

³ *Damascus Chronicle*, 197.

⁴ Kamāl ad-Dīn, R.H.C. Or., iii, 661.

detailed narrative of these mythical exploits with the words: "The fortunes of the Muslims were revolutionized in those districts; the power of the Infidels weakened and they realized that there had come into the land that which had never entered into their calculations, and the most that they could do henceforth was to hold what they possessed, whereas heretofore they had nursed the ambition of conquering it outright."¹

(6) Kamāl ad-Dīn, in his *Chronicle of Aleppo*, bases himself largely on independent sources, but sometimes quotes Ibn al-Athīr and sometimes also Ibn al-Qalānisī, usually without abridgment. He is less sensational than Ibn al-Athīr and more straightforward, probably also more reliable in detail. Yet he too sometimes adds to his sources, whether with or without justification can rarely be said. Thus the passage in which he relates the surrender of Artāh by its Armenian garrison is transcribed textually from Ibn al-Qalānisī,² but he adds at the end: "And this was all due to the evil conduct of Yaghī Siyān and his tyrannical government of his lands" (وهذا كله لقبح سيرة يفي) (سيان وظلمه في بلاده). This is clearly an unauthorized supplement, an attempt to explain an unwelcome fact by the familiar method of throwing the blame upon an individual. In this instance, the solidarity which the Armenians of Cilicia and the Taurus had shown with the Crusaders renders the explanation unnecessary; and even were Yaghī Siyān a particularly bad governor (and there may well have been a tradition at Aleppo to that effect), he can hardly be held responsible for their action at this juncture.

A more complicated problem is offered by the narrative of the unsuccessful siege of 'Azāz in the year 517 (1123-4), which according to the existing text of Ibn al-Qalānisī was undertaken by Tuḡtagīn and Āqsunqur in June, 1123, and according to Kamāl ad-Dīn in January, 1124, by the combined forces of Balak b. Ortuq and the other two.³ The difference of dating is the more remarkable since, except for his introductory sentence, Kamāl ad-Dīn quotes Ibn al-Qalānisī almost textually. The change has therefore been deliberately made, and for the obvious reason that during June and July, 1123, Balak was engaged in occupying Aleppo and as much as possible

¹ x. 466-7. Zankī did not, in fact, reappear in Syria until 1135.

² R.H.C. Or., iii, 578; Ibn al-Q., 134 (*Damascus Chron.*, 42-3).

³ R.H.C. Or., iii, 640; Ibn al-Q., 210 (*Damas. Chron.*, 169-170); cf. Stevenson, 110; Grousset, 595-6.

of the territory to the south-west of it.¹ It is unlikely, on the other hand, that Ibn al-Qalānīsī was mistaken as to the month, and it is surprising to find no mention of Balak in his narrative. The explanation is that by some error the whole paragraph relating to this campaign in Ibn al-Qalānīsī's book (or some copies of it) was inserted under A.H. 517 instead of A.H. 519 (1125-6). It followed naturally on Āqsunqur's relief and occupation of Aleppo in January, 1125, and is mentioned in its proper place by Fulcher of Chartres (iii, 42), whose description tallies with that of Ibn al-Qalānīsī, as well as by Kamāl ad-Dīn himself and by Ibn al-Athīr.² Moreover, Āqsunqur spent the year 517 in 'Irāq, where he was engaged in hostilities with Dubais, and did not return to Moṣul until 518.³ It is clear also that the paragraph was accidentally misplaced from the fact that Ibn al-Qalānīsī follows up the account of the battle by relating the despatch of an envoy from Damascus to Egypt, the reply to which arrived in August, 1126.⁴ The only possible conclusion is that Kamāl ad-Dīn, finding this expedition related under A.H. 517 in his copy of Ibn al-Qalānīsī, and unable to accept the date there given, transferred it and combined the narrative with that of an isolated attack made on 'Azāz by Balak at the close of 517, and thus unwittingly transformed a minor raid into a major operation terminating in a serious defeat for the Muslims.

These few examples may serve to show how much there is to be done in the textual and historical criticism of the Arabic sources, and also that the materials at our disposal, however incomplete, enable it to be done to a certain extent. Such a critical scrutiny must, obviously, be made on the Arabic texts themselves; for this reason, it is not on the historian as such that the work must fall in the first instance, but on the Orientalist who possesses an adequate equipment for this new field of "higher criticism". Not until he does his part will a satisfactory and fully balanced history of the Crusades become possible.

¹ Kamāl ad-Dīn, 636-7; *Damas. Chron.*, 167-9. (Note that in the second last line of p. 168 in the *Damascus Chronicle* "First Rabī" is a copyist's error for "First Jumādā" [began 26th June].)

² R.H.C. Or., iii, 651; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 443.

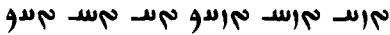
³ According to Ibn al-Athīr, x, 439.


⁴ *Damas. Chron.*, p. 179.




Iranian Studies IV

By H. W. BAILEY

ganāk

CORRESPONDING to Av. *anra-*, *angra-*, the Pahlavi has the word  (occurring also with the double-dotted 𐭪). Numerous explanations had already been proposed when Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten*, i, 1916, 18 ff., discussed the word more fully than had till then been done. He concluded that the Pāzand *ganā* was untrustworthy, rejected Spiegel's explanation of *gan-* as equivalent to *zan-*, equally Darmesteter's *zanāk*, his own earlier reading *zūrāk*, and Andreas's *druvāk*, to suggest a new interpretation *dawāk* 'deceiving'. This interpretation has itself found no favour. The spelling is not easily reconcilable with it, and the activity of Ahriman does, indeed, include deception (*vīyāpānēnītan*), but this is not his prime activity. Moreover, insufficient grounds are given for rejecting the Pāzand reading. Nyberg in turn (*Hilfsbuch*, Glossar 77) proposed *gannāk* < **gandāk* 'stinking', transferred to the moral sphere, as Balōčī *gandag* 'bad', Sogd. *γnt'k* 'bad'. The *-āk* cuts it off from the corresponding Balōčī and Sogdian words, *nd* > *nn* is rare in Pahl. (see B. Geiger, *WZKM* 1933, 106 f.) and the view fails to explain the interpretation by *zatār*. The view of Salemann (*GIP* *ib.* 266, note to § 28) recognized a transcription of Av. *anra-* with *n* in place of the *g* which he considered usual in such transcriptions (see, however, below). Herzfeld, *AMI* i, 133, note 1, expressed the same opinion, explaining simply from the "Palaeographie der Inschriften des VI bis VIII scl.", and in *AMI* vi, 61 *anrak* is read and explained as a *scriptio plena* with *-k* for Av. *-a*. B. Geiger, *WZKM*, 1933, 106 f., also holds to a reading *anrāk*, and I myself used it in *BSOS* vi, 589. A slight amount of additional evidence makes it profitable to discuss the problem again.

Against the reading *anrāk* there are it seems convincing reasons. Against *-āk* with long *ā* is the form, and equally *-k* as transcription of Av. *-a* with *scriptio plena* runs counter to the abstract  *GrBd* 11¹⁵, 48¹¹—here only *-ākīh* is possible.¹ It is further impossible

¹ Apart from this, however, *-k* could represent *-ak*. So 3 *'nqr'k* *GrBd* 95⁴ (see Herzfeld, *AMI* i, 142, note 3)  representing an unattested Av. **θri-anura-*, as the following gloss  'claw' indicates. In *IndBd*, 29⁸  is in 30⁸

to accept the view which explains) as a transcription of Avestan *n* and *ng*. For this particular Avestan *n*, *ng* as also *nḥ*, there are enough examples in Pahlavi spelling to show the regular method of representing the sound. An early example (of the third century A.D., if Herzfeld's dating Paikuli, i, 82, is to be accepted) is *nyl'vsng* (plate 140, no. 3, quite clearly written), the Avestan *nairyō.sanḥō*. The following cases are to be noted :—

(a) Transcription of Avestan words :—

𐭑𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	<i>zairimya-mura-</i> Vid. 13 ⁶
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	* <i>θri-amura-</i> GrBd 95 ⁴
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	<i>avn̄rō.maiṅyūs</i> Dd. 36 ¹¹ , 13, 101
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	¹ <i>hazavn̄rō.zəmahe</i> DkM 668 ⁷ , 8, 692 ¹ , 2, 4, 6, 8, 9.
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	<i>DkM</i> 335 ³ , 5, 8
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	<i>franrase</i> DkM 613 ⁸
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	<i>ranḥā-</i>
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	<i>kanḥa-</i> کنگ
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	<i>nairyō.sanḥō</i>
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	<i>vivarḥana-</i> ایونجهان
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	<i>aiwyaṅḥana-</i>
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	<i>haošyanḥa-</i> اوشنج اوشنج

(b) In contrast to these Avestan forms stand the genuine dialect developments :—

𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 *IndBd* 18¹⁷ 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 is *GrBd* 66⁴ *rēšak* 'root', *GrBd* 96⁷ TD 2 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕
 DH 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 *zāzak* 'hedgheg'. An extreme case is K 20 92, v. 9 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 for 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕
lang 'narcotic', in *GrBd* 43¹² *mang* explained as 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 **bang-ič*. It is not an
 otherwise unmentioned plant, as Christensen thought, *Le premier homme et le premier*
roi, p. 16 *bīnāγ*, p. 48 note *bīnāγ*. Cf. also *Frah. Pahl.* 25⁷ 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 *mā* 'not', and
 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕.

¹ *Dāt. Dēn.* 36⁹, 18 *hzngrīkzym*, corrupted 36²⁴ *hzgrem'n* and K 35 197, r 14
 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 (= *SBE* 18, 258).

*nh*¹ Pahl. *narsēh*, Inscr. (North.) *nryshv*, (South.) *nrshy*, Sogd. *nryšnx*, Turfan Mid. Iran. (N) *nrysf*, (S) *nrysh*, Coptic *narsaph*, Arm. *nerseh*, Syr. *narsai*, Arab.-NPers. *nrsy*.

h NPers. *pērāhan* **pari-yāhana-*

Pahl. 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭮 *ēvyāhan*

hr Pahl. NPers. *hazār*, Saka *ysāra-*, Sogd. *zār*, Oss. *ærzæ*, Pahl. *frāsyāk*,

frāsyāp, *DkM* 613³ 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮, *ahrēman*, *ahraman*, Arm.

Haraman, *Arhmn*. Turfan Mid. Iran. *'hryvr*.

ng Pahl. *bang*, *mang*, *sang*, beside *sag*, cf. Pahl. Psalt. *sky*.

The Arab.-Pers. transcriptions quoted confirm the Pahlavi texts.

The use in Pahl. of 𐭪 beside 𐭪 for old *ng* (*sng*, *sg*; *rng*, *rg*; as also in transcriptions of Av. *'rng*, *'rg*) is probably due to dialect pronunciation, cf. *Khūrī sik*, *sig* 'stone', *AO* 1930, p. 57, with *-g* developed from *-ng*, and not a distinct method of transcription. It is clearly unsatisfactory to postulate a transcription other than with *ng* for Avestan *angra-*, *anra-* in the Pahlavi books. For this word we have the actual transcription in *angraman*. It would probably have required **angrōk* to transcribe Av. *anrō*, which makes **anrāk* still more unlikely.

The problem can, however, be simply solved in another way, already indicated by Spiegel (although with mistaken association with NPers. *afgandan*) who proposed a verb **ganēt* 'he strikes' (*Commentar über das Avesta*, i, 14). Bartholomae's rejection of this, because such a present form beside Pahl. *zanēt* did not exist (*Zur Kenntnis der mittelir. Mundarten*, i, 20) is insufficiently grounded. Not only do we find from another verb *gam-* forms with *g-* and with *z-* in one dialect (actually with differentiated meanings, which does not affect the present point) in Turfan Mid. Iran. (S) *hanzapt* 'come to an end', *hanzāpt* 'completed', *hangapt* 'assembled', *hangāpt* 'assembled' (see Henning. *ZII* 9, 190 f., 197), but the present *gan-* 'to strike' is attested in Sogd. (Buddh.) *'wyn'nt* *SCE* 182 'écraseront', *γnkyn* 'striking', *βr'γ'n'nt* *SCE* 261 'frappent'. NBalōcī has *gānay* 'to kill', which need not be a denominative² (*Morgenstierne*, *NTS* v, 45), beside

¹ This development *nh* > *h*, not *nh* > *ng*, makes the explanation of Turfan Mid. Iran. *'rdhng*, *''rdhng* as **arta-θanga-* equivalent to the Arabic *bušrā al-haqq*, by Schaefer, *Gnomon* 9, 1933, p. 347, note 3 (which seems likely to impose itself), very uncertain. For **sanha-* or **θanha-* either **sah* (**sēh*) or **tah* (**teh*) must be expected, while *-hang* could represent only Old Iran. **θanga-* or *hanga-*, in association with *ard-*.

² Arm. *gan* (stem *gani-*) 'striking', *ganem* 'I strike', could as well be an Iranian **gāni-* (cf. Old Pers. *bāji-* to *bag-*), as a genuine Arm. word. *HAG* 431.

janay. The existence of *-ayn* in *mārayn* Vid. 18² 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *GrBd* 185³. TD 2. P 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 185⁵, TD 2 𐭠𐭣𐭥 P 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥. Gr. *μάραγμα*, Syr. *mrǧn* 'a kind of whip', and the transcription 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *rrafstrayn* would at least be favourable to the preservation of a word *gan-*.

The Pāzand *ganā* as reading of 𐭠𐭣𐭥 is therefore very likely. In sense it is excellent. The activity of Ahriman (contrary to the view of Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntnis der mitteliran. Mund.* i, 20) is essentially destruction, cf. *GrBd* 5¹¹ *bē tō ut dām-īc ī tō mrōcēnom tāk ham-ē ham-ē raβišnīh*, and the results of the attacks of Ahriman according to *Zātspram* 4³: *kū-m bavandak mat pērōzīh, cē-m škāft asmān ut āhōkēnūt pat tom ut tār, ut-am grift pat drūpuštīh, ut-am āhōkēnūt āp, ut-am suft zamūk vīnāsīt pat tārīkīh, ut-am hōsēnūt urvar, ut-am margēnūt gāv. ut-am vīmārēnūt gayōmart.*

The desire of Ahriman is destruction: *zatār-kāmakīh GrBd* 3³.

The practice of translating half of an Avestan epithet is known, besides this *ganāk mēnūk* in *frāxr-kart*, Av. *vouru.kaša-* (beside *varkaš*, *Mēn. Xrat* 43¹⁵), *ganāk var* (beside Turfan Mid. Iran. 'hryvr) see *BSOS* vii, 295 ff., *frāxr-gōyūt*, Av. *vouru.gaoyaoitīs (GrBd* 172²), *ciθrō(k)mēhan* beside *paiḍāk-mēhan GrBd* 86⁸⁻⁹, 92¹⁵. Complete translation is also found: *kāmak-sūt (Dāt. Dēn. purs.* 35⁴) is Av. *vouru.savah-*.

Besides the use to translate *anrō* in *anrō.maiṇyuš*, *ganāk* renders *angra-* standing alone in the Gāθās. It appears in adjectival form 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *DkM* 22³, 23⁴ *ganākīk*, and with abstract suffix *ganākīh (GrBd* 11¹⁵ *ān mēnōk ī-s ganākīh (P. TD 2 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥. not anākīh) ī dāmān ī ohrmazd hačīs* that *mēnōk* whence arises destructiveness for the creation of Ohrmazd', and *GrBd* 48¹¹⁻¹²: *ganākīh hast zatārīh ar aβzōnākīh* (with the usual gloss *zatār*). Cf. *DkM* 622²⁰ *ēt ganāk*.

It does not seem necessary to attach importance to the alternative spelling with 𐭠𐭣 or 𐭠. Additional strokes are freely added by the scribes. So 𐭠𐭣𐭥 is 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *bandak*, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *dēnīk*, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *bažišn* (as well as *bōžīšn*), 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *zīndak*, *zīrandakīh*, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 beside 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *and*.

The constant addition of the gloss *zatār* may imply a word not in ordinary use, but not necessarily so. It was the practice to add such glosses, cf. *Zātspram*, 4⁴: *guskān ī xrat vīmārīh ī gōnak gōnak*.

If, then, *ganāk* is a verbal adjective in *-āk*, it is probable

that the opposite of *ganāk* is so too. This is 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 *DkM* 651⁷, 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 *DkM* 820¹¹ (Av. *spəntō.dāta-*), 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 *Vid.* 13¹⁶, 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 *GrBd* 32², 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 *Zātspram* 1⁶ rendering Av. *spəntō* in *spəntō.maiṇyuš*. It is to be read *spanāk*, *spēnāk* 'exercising constructive supernatural power'. Hence to verbal base *span-*, Av. *spanu-* (in *spənvač*, *spanvanti*, on which see *BSOS* vii, 276 ff.), as Pahl. *čīn-* to Av. *vīčīnaot*, Pahl. *kun-* to Old Pers. *kunautiy*. The two spellings *-n-* and *-yn-* are similarly found in *škyṇyt *škēnēt Dāt. Dēn.* 36⁸⁴, *Frah. Pahl.* 21⁴, beside *škanēt*. NPers. *šikanad*. It is certain that the attempt to derive this form from the Av. comparative *-panyah-* (as Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntnis der mittellir. Mund.* i, 18 ff.) fails completely to explain the form. In opposition to *ganāk* 'destructive', *spēnāk* 'constructive' is exactly in place, and furnishes a further proof of the correctness of the reading *ganāk*.

kavāt

The interest of the problem of the *Kavāt* passage (*GrBd* 231, 14 ff.) is attested, since my tentative note in *BSOS* vi, 69 ff., by two recent discussions, by Herzfeld, *AMI* vi, 81, note 1. and Christensen in *BSOS* vii, 483. We are now somewhat nearer the solution, although further consideration has convinced me that no attempt has so far solved all the difficulties. The additional evidence of the Paris MS, which I was able to give to Professor Christensen, is of importance. Professor Herzfeld's new treatment appeared before he could know of it. The new reading proposed by Professor Christensen: *pat kavātak rōn bē aβsart*, is satisfactory. Two problems which remain are here noticed.

(1) In addition to the evidence for the meaning of *kavātak* given in *BSOS* vi, 69 ff., may be noted also the Pahl. 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 *kavāt-ē* (*Zand ī xvartak apastāk*, ed. Dhabhar, p. 377), to which corresponds Pāzand *kaβādah* (Antia, *Pāzend Texts*, 95. 11), and *Wakhī kuāt* 'young of an ass', as quoted by Junker, *Ein Bruchstück der Afrīnaghān ī Gāhānbār*, p. 22. Balōči *kawāl* 'a camel up to three years' (Gilbertson, *The Balochi Language*, 190) is perhaps of Indian origin, judging from information given to me by Professor Morgenstierne.

(2) Verse 2.

P 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮

Here Professor Christensen's readings *uḍa-šān* (three syllables)

and *rōḏē* (two syllables) are not altogether convincing. Two syllables are therefore missing. Possibly it should be read :

*ut-šān*¹ < *kavāt* > *pat rōt bē hišt*.

By this means the emphatic paronomasia of *kavāt(ak)* is present in four out of the five lines. Professor Herzfeld in a letter of 11 2 '34 suggested *u.š . . . ān pa rōt bē hišt*, remarking that a word for 'parents' was needed. I do not, however, feel justified in so separating up 𐤎𐤍𐤍𐤍.

(3) Verse 5.

P 𐤎𐤍𐤍𐤍 𐤎𐤍𐤍𐤍 𐤎𐤍𐤍𐤍

The second word is here the difficulty. It seems best to read :

frazand kavātak nām nihāt

For the spelling 𐤎𐤍𐤍𐤍, two points are to be noted. The scribe is apt to write 𐤎 in place of 𐤎 (so in *GrBd* 95³ DH and P 𐤎𐤍𐤍𐤍 𐤎𐤍𐤍𐤍 **kurrakān ī xar*) or 𐤎 for 𐤎 (K 20, 120 v 14 𐤎𐤍𐤍𐤍 𐤎𐤍𐤍𐤍 is in *GrBd* 116¹³ *šaftālūk*). The spelling 𐤎𐤍𐤍𐤍 for *kavāt* is found in *GrBd* 127¹¹, as interpreted below.

Hence the verses will read :

kavāt [apurnāy] *andār kēβūt-ē būt*
ut-šān < *kavāt* > *pat rōt bē hišt*
pat kavātak xōn bē aβsart
uzav bē dīt stat bē parvart
frazand kavātak nām nihāt

'Kavāt (that is, child²) was in a chest, and they abandoned the child (*kavāt*) on the river, the blood froze in the child, Uzav saw him, took him, and brought him up, he named the child *Kavātak* (*and* : he named the young child).'

(4) An allusion to this legend of the finding of Kavāt is contained in one other passage. *GrBd* 127⁹⁻¹¹ reads :—

¹ Continued consideration of the problem of 𐤎, etc., now inclines me to understand AP. as Aramaic, to be read *ut* (*uδ, u*), just as 𐤎 Aramaic 𐤎 is *ut* (*uδ, u*). For a similar double spelling cf. 𐤎 (perhaps = Z for Aramaic ZY, as L = *man* is for LY) = *ī* beside 𐤎 ZY-*m* = *ī-m*.

² For the gloss in this position, cf. *GrBd* 95¹ P 𐤎𐤍𐤍𐤍 𐤎𐤍𐤍𐤍 *angurak panē* < *ak* > 'claw, that is *pančak* (claw)'.

*hast ī *kavātakān* 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *kē uzav ī tumāspān andar dēh nišāst*
*pat ān pātdahišn ka-š *kavāt vīndāt* (P 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, TD 2 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥).

‘There is the fire Kavātakān, which Uzav, son of Tumāsp, set up in the province (of?), in recompense for that that he found Kavāt.’

This fire is not mentioned by Mas‘ūdī in his list of fires (*Murūʾi adh-Dḥahab*, ed. de Meynard, iv, p. 73 f.).

(5) A further allusion, possibly to another part of the legend, should be mentioned here. In *Dāt. Dēn. purs.* 36²⁶ occurs *ān ī xvarr tōxmak čēgōn kai kavāt* ‘he who is born of the splendour, namely Kai Kavāt’.

ēvakān

A frequent word in Pahlavi is 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. So in the statement *GrBd* 180¹³ 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *kartan dērang hangartīk ēn and nipišt* ‘to make is long, so much only is written in brief’. Similarly *GrBd* 40¹¹ *ut-šān yut yut duškunišnīh ī xvēs* 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ōšmurt* ‘and they recounted their own several misdeeds’. See also *GrBd* 60⁶, 116⁸, 127⁷, 144¹⁴, 187³, *DkM* 772⁸, *Zātspram* 6¹, 9¹⁰, 16, and *K* 35, fol. 246, 12 (= *SBE* 47, 139), *Šahr. ī Ērān* 1 (here Markwart read *pat dōkān*, translating ‘twice’).

For the reading we have *K* 20, 91, v. 12 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, Pāz. *dōga*, which certainly intends *dōkānak* ‘double’. So the Pāzand of the *SGV* 5²⁶⁻⁹² *duga*, Skt. *vistīrṇam*, 11¹²⁹ *dugānīhā*, Skt. *prācuryeṇa*. The *Frah. Pahl.* Cap. xi title 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 is discrepant (cf. also West’s *gōkān* ‘statements’, *SBE* 37, 145).

Yet these readings with *d-* and *g-* are almost certainly wrong. A phrase like the Georgian (*K’art’lis C’xovreba*, ed. Brosset, p. 343) *romelt’a t’wt’oeulad c’armot’k’ma grjel ars* ‘to speak of which severally is long’ points to a different explanation. An excellent interpretation is secured if one reads *ēvakān* ‘singly, severally’. And this reading can be justified. Spellings without initial alef in words beginning with the vowels *ē-*, *ī-*, and *u-* are certainly rare. There occurs, however, *GrBd* 223¹³ *hanjaman ī īsatvāstrān* 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. In the *Dāt. Dēn.* and *Pahl. Riv. Dd.* 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ēstēt* is common. Similarly 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 is *ēvkart*, beside 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ēvkart*.

Some support may also be recognized in K 20, 166, v. 9, *ut-aš ēvak-ē* 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 *gōβom*, where *ēvak-ē* occurs together with *ēvakān*.

Beside this 𐭕𐭕𐭕, the fuller spelling is known in *ēvakānak* (*Mēnōk ī xrat*, 2⁶ 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕, Pāz. *šugāna*, see also Nyberg, *Glossar* 69). Turfan Mid. Iran. 'yvg'ng 'gleichartig', Andreas-Henning, ii, p. 8.

In *Zātspram* 9¹³ 𐭕𐭕𐭕 (bis) is, however, *dōkānak* 'double'.

pahrist

The Arab.-Pers. *fihrist*, *fihris* 'index, table of contents, catalogue' can be explained as a Middle Iranian word of the southern dialect **pahrist* from *pati-raz-* 'to arrange, order'. The development *št* > *st* in this dialect is well-known (see Tedesco, *MO* xv, 203), and the *-i-* of *-rist* may be due either (1) to Arabic influence as in *xvārizm*, OPers. (*h*)*uvārazmiš*, NPers. *xvārazm* (rhyming with *razm*), or (2) the form *-rist* is here attested for Middle Iranian. The *-i-* of *fih-* is doubtless of Arabic origin, as seen in such forms as *sijistān*, beside *saġastān*, Gr. *sakastanē*, Arm. *sakastan*, *HAG* 71, or *tibrīz*, Arm. *t'avrēž*, NPers. *tabrīz* (cf. also A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, pp. 30, 69). On the many derivatives of *raz-* see Tedesco, loc. cit., 205, and B. Geiger, *WZKM* 1934, 115 ff.

The participle of *raz-* is attested in two forms:—

(1) *-ā-*, Av. *rāšta-*, NPers. *afrāšt*, *ārāst*, *pairāst*, *rāst*, Pahl. *rāst*, *vīrāst*, *patrāst*, *pairāst*, *frārāst*, *ārāst*, *aβrāst*, *rāstak*, Turfan Mid. Iran. *vīrāst*, *vīrāst*.

(2) *-a-*, Sogd. (Buddh.) *rašt-*, (Manich.) *patrašt-*, Saka *rrašta-*, Av. *rašta-*, NPers. *rasta*, Pahl. *rastak*, *-i-* Pahl. *ristak* 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 (K 20, 6 r 8, = *rāst*), *ristak* 'custom', Arab.-Pers. *fihrist*, 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 (K 35, 197 r 13 *patrist*. Similarly *Nīrang*. 46 r 14 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 *aβristak* 'upright'.

For *-i-* in the form *rist*, cf. Turfan Mid. Iran. 'obyst' 'fallen', Pahl. *ōpast*. Similarly in NPers. *-istān* (*zamistān*, *tābistān*) and *-īst* (*dānist*, *šāyist*).

Turfan Mid. Iran. (S) 'yryst probably belongs here. It is found in *Mahnāmay* 179–180:—

ēδ rāy čē-š nē 'yryst aš āvām nē būδ andak niβišt

'for the reason that he did not apply himself, and had not time, he wrote little.'

This would be *ērist* from **adi-rasta-*.

A frequent word in the Turfan Mid. Iran. is the preterite *phryst*, with present *phryz-* (see the references in Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, i and ii). A meaning 'direct, control, rule' seems to suit the contexts best. It is also the meaning directly attested for *phlysty* in the *Pahl. Psalt.*, Psalm 135, 16, *MNV phlysty lmy ZY NPŠH BYN vyd'p'n* 'who directed his own people in the wilderness', where the Syriac has *dbr* 'lead'. So *nivist hēnd aβar zamāy phryz'n* 'they began to rule over the earth' (Andreas-Henning, loc. cit., i, p. 28). This will also explain: *ēγ andom hān zahay zivēδ ud phryzyd* (Andreas-Henning, i, p. 21) 'then finally that offspring lives and rules'. Henning translated 'so lebt dann jenes Kind *wohl und *gedeiht', and Scheftelowitz (*Oriens Christianus* 1927) has 'so lebte endlich dieser Sprössling [gottergeben] und er enthielt sich [der Begierde]'. To *andom* cf. *ændæmæ* 'nach aussen', Skt. *antamā-* 'letzter', Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda*, i, 43.

The present *phryz-* (*pahrēz-*) is probably from **pati-razya-* (cf. Skt. *irajya-* to *raj-*) with the *-ya-* and umlaut, as in *Pahl. mēn-* 'think', Skt. *manyate* (although as between *ṣ* and *ṣ* not much trust can be put in *Pahl. MSS.*), Turfan Mid. Iran. *prmyñ- fra-mēn-* (so with Henning, *ZII* 9, 205, rather than to *NPers. faram*, as proposed in *BSOS* vii, 297).

To translate *pahrist*, *pahrēz-* by 'direct' is to reject the somewhat desperate interpretation proposed by Andreas, apud Henning, *ZII* 9, 215 (*pahrē* oblique case to *pahr*, with *-č*). This was due to an attempt to discover a meaning 'protect' in the word, and to associate it also with another word *NPers. parhēxtan*.

Turfan Mid. Iran. (S) has *phryzyd* 'flows forth' (Henning, *ZII* 9, 177) from **pati-raik-*. In one passage (Andreas-Henning, ii, 13) occurs: *piδ < ud m > ay nē xvarām az < zan > dūr pahrēzēm* 'we shall not eat flesh nor drink wine, and we keep far from women'. Here *pahrēz-* is 'abstain'. It is clearly necessary to recognize a second *pahrēz-* from **pati-raik-*, and so explain also *Pahl. pahrēxtan*, *phryč-* (= *pahrēc-*), *NPers. parhēxtan*, *parhēz-*, as Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, Glossar 168, in the sense of Avestan *pati-raik-* 'to leave', and hence 'to abstain from'. The two words (*pati-razya-* and *pati-raik-*) may have analogically affected each other in the southern dialect.

Gōpat būm

The problem of the name of the region over which Gōpatśāh¹ ruled is still of interest.² It is therefore worth while to set out the evidence more fully than has been hitherto attempted.

1. *GrBd*, chapter 29 contains the names of four groups of immortals :—

- (a) the lords (*rat*) of the kišvars.
- (b) the lords (*rat*) of the inaccessible regions,
- (c) the assistants of Sōšyans,
- (d) Sām³ and Dahāk.

The situation of the respective inaccessible regions is then given in terms of actual geography in accessible regions, as in Pārs, Āturpātakān, and Kāvulastān.

2. The region of Gōpatśāh is identified in three distinct texts :—

- (a) *Dāt. Dēn. pūrs.* 89, *ham* < *v* > *īmand ī ērānv* < *ē* > *ž pat bār ī āp ī dāitē* (see *BSOS* vi. 952).

¹ A different reading may here be proposed for *GrBd* 197^b. TD 2 has . . . *kangdiz ī bāmik* 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫 *ayrēraθ*, *IndBd* (ed. Justi) 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫, K 20. 122 v 19 has perhaps 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫. P omits. It is probably better to read *pūs* < *ī* > *ayrēraθ* than *būm* with *IndBd*. [Corr. Examination with magnifying glass makes 𐭪𐭫 almost certain in K 20]

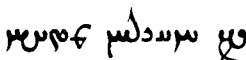

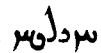
I take the opportunity to correct the reading of *GrBd* 231^b (*BSOS* vi, 951).

The Paris MS. has 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫. Hence read *andar gar ī patiševār-gar griftūr kart*.


² Since my own attempt to solve the problem in *BSOS* vi. 945. Herzfeld, *AMI* vi, 58 ff., has re-examined the matter. In neither discussion was all the evidence cited. Benveniste has touched upon the problem in *BSOS* vii (1934), 271 ff.



³ Sām is immortal, but asleep (*GrBd* 198^b). A difficulty has arisen over the description of his resting-place. *Mēnōk ī Xrat* 61²² (ed. Anklesaria) states that Pi-īn is full of wormwood: *ut-aš zar-gōnīh frahist *dramnak* 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫. Pāz. *dramna*, Skt. *damanakāh*). This is the lord of non-medicinal plants: *GrBd* 121¹² **dramnak* (TD 2 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫, P 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫, K 20, 116 v 12 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫. Pāz. *darmānah*) *ī daštīk abišakān urvarān rat*. It is the NPer. *dramna*, a word I found used in Yazd indefinitely for 'fuel'. These passages provide the explanation of *GrBd* 198²⁻¹³ (of Pi-īn) *ōδ *dramnak* (TD 2, P 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫 DH 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫, K 20, 123 v 7 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫) *pat būlāδ bulanltar rōδēt* 'there wormwood grows higher in height', and *GrBd* 198³ (of Sām) *inīyān ī *dramnak* (TD 2 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫, P 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫, DH 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫, K 20, 123 r 15 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫) **dramnak ut-aš rafr hačapar nišast ēstēt* 'he lies in the midst of the wormwood, and over him snow has settled'. Other translations are given by West, *SBE* v, 119, and Herzfeld, *AMI* ii, 60.

* The reading of the Iranian equivalent of this Aramaic word has not yet been satisfactorily settled. [See the supplementary note]

(b) *DKM* 805⁶  with variant  *ērān* in the Copenhagen MS. This is: *Gōpat andar anērān dēhān*. There is no need to change the text. The addition of *dēhān* almost demands the phrase *anērān dēhān*, cf. *Av. anairyanyəm . . . dahyunəm* (*Nīrang*. 140 v 5). Chorasmia had become *anērān* as part of *Turkastān*. The form  given by Herzfeld. *AMI* vi, 67, is not attested.

(c) *GrBd* 198¹⁴ *pat rās ī turkastān av čēnastān* followed by :

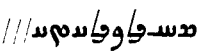
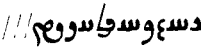
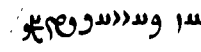
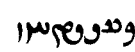

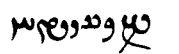
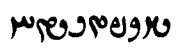
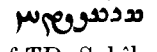
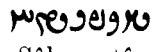
- P *pat kust ī apāxtar dūr var yamkart*
- TD 2 *pat kustak ī apāxtar dūr var ī yamkart*
- DH *dūr av*  *rōn yamkart*
- K 20, 123 v 10 *pat kust apāxtar yamkart*.

The evidence of P now suffices to mark the reading of DH as a scribal error, whereby *av *apāxtar rōn* has probably come in through the miswriting of  (= *var*) as  (= *av*), since *apāxtar rōn* is a common phrase, *GrBd* 104¹³, 105¹¹, cf. also *GrBd* 72¹⁵, 105¹⁰ *nēmroč rōn*, *Mĕn. Xrat* 61¹³ *ōsastar rōn*, *Pahl. Riv. Dd.* p. 159, last line, *xvarāsān rōn*. The reading adopted in *BSOS* vi, 950, therefore falls away.

The region intended might easily be in the neighbourhood of Samarkand.

3. Since one of the other regions, Pišīn-say, has a name of actual geography known even to the present day, it is possible that the name of the land of *Gōpat* may also belong to actual geography.

The name of the region itself is given as follows in the *Bundahišn MSS* :—

K 20	Quoted by West, <i>SBE</i> v, 117.	
122 v 15		<i>Sāvkaratān</i>
122 v 20		<i>Saukāvasta</i>
123 v 8-9		<i>Sāvkarastān</i>
<i>GrBd</i> 197 ⁵	<i>GrBd</i> 198 ¹⁴	
TD 2		
DH		
P		
West's copy of TD	<i>Sakīkstān</i>	<i>Sōkapastān</i>
quoted <i>SBE</i> v, 117,		
note 5		

The genesis of these variants can probably be recognized :

𐭪 for 𐭩 as in *GrBd* 51⁴, TD 2 𐭪𐭫𐭮, DH 𐭪𐭫𐭮.

𐭪 for 𐭫 as in *GrBd* 130¹¹ 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮, P 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮.

𐭪 for 𐭫, cf. *GrBd* 87¹⁵ 𐭪𐭫𐭮 'Samarkand'.

In TD 2 initial 𐭪 has been omitted. Too much confidence cannot be placed in DH, cf. 100⁸ DH 𐭪𐭫𐭮, TD 2 𐭪𐭫𐭮 *arēč*, 56³ DH 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮, TD 2 𐭪𐭫𐭮 *pātēž*.

The combined evidence of K 20 and TD 2 with P in *GrBd* 198¹⁴ make certain an early reading 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮, and this at one time probably stood in all the passages.¹

The end of the word is clearly *-stān*. There remain the first three signs to explain :—

(a) 𐭪𐭫 is probably an example of the (late, see below) device, not as it would seem a device of all scribes, to indicate *ō* (as it was interpreted by the Pāzandist in K 20 here, cf. also *DkM* 429¹³ 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮, to be read probably *filisōfāy* 'philosopher', with 𐭪 for 𐭫 before 𐭫, as in the Arm. *p'ilisop'ay*, *HAG* 317) or *ū* (as indicated by 𐭪𐭫 for Av. *ahū*) by the use of 𐭪. I had inclined in *BSOS* vi, 950, to suppose that 𐭪 might be entirely identical with 𐭪 (hence not distinguishing the quantity of the vowel). This, however, is unsatisfactory. The device can best be explained as an orthograph introduced at a time when 𐭪 was pronounced *ū* (or *ō*) for older *ūy* (or *ōy*). In this I agree with Junker's view (*Ein Bruchstück der Āfrīnaghān ī Gāhānbār*, p. 16), who points out the device 𐭪 = *ā*² and 𐭪 = *ī*³ in this text. Unfortunately in this fragment 𐭪 does not occur. From the variations in the MSS it seems that the scribe felt at liberty to introduce 𐭪 at will; cf. further *GrBd* 80¹³, TD 2, P 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 *matō(k) fraḏāt*, K 20, 99 v 19 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 𐭪𐭫𐭮 with

¹ The MS. evidence of P makes an original reading 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 impossible, hence the reading *suβdastān* adopted in *BSOS* vi, 950, must be rejected.

² Cf. K 20, 106 r 11 and v 7 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 *syāmak*, *GrBd* 106², 107² 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮.

³ Cf. the various spellings of *dāitē* (Av. *dāityā*) with *yā* > *ē*: K 20, 113 r 19 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 *d'tyk*, *Vid.* 19², *GrBd* 86³ 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮, *GrBd* 87⁹ 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮.

the replacement of 𐬑 by the phonetically equivalent 𐬒. It is impossible to accept the explanation of Nyberg, *Journ. Asiat.* 1929, i, 281: “-k s’emploie très souvent comme un signe purement graphique après un 𐬑, évidemment pour marquer qu’il s’agit d’un $w = \bar{o}$ ou \bar{u} et non d’un n ou d’un r ,” or of Herzfeld, *AMI* vi, 61: “Er ist die falsche ausdehnung des für sprachechte wörter im mp. geltenden gesetzes, dass sie nicht auf vocal auslauten können, sondern dann das -k suffix annehmen, auf nicht sprachechte wörter.” The further suggestion that the scribe intended to mark a distinction between *kōmīš* (spelt *kvkmyš*) and *gāvmēš* (for *gāv* there were, however, other spellings with 𐬑 or 𐬒 in use) is far from convincing. A spelling such as *GrBd* 87¹ (TD 2, P; no variant quoted for DH) 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 *asōrastān* (cf. Arm. *asorestan*), is quite intelligible and reasonably expressed, if 𐬑 had, as explained above, employment as a phonetical equivalent of \bar{o} .

It may therefore be concluded that here 𐬑𐬎 could mean either *sū-* or *sō-*.

(b) The third sign 𐬒 (a sign very apt to be confused with 𐬎 or 𐬑) is accompanied in the reading of DH 198¹⁴ 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 by a 𐬎 which suggests an interpretation. It would seem that this scribe expected a 𐬎 in the word. If 𐬒 were wrongly introduced in the early text of the *Bd.*, from which both *IndBd* and *GrBd* were derived, in place of 𐬎, the original reading would be *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 **sūdastān*. The introduction of 𐬑 could be later than the change of 𐬎 to 𐬒. A difficulty arises in the form 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 = Pāz. *sūdī*, in *Bahman Yašt* 2⁴⁹ (see *BSOS* vi, 945 ff.). It would be possible to explain the form in this same way *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 leading to 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎, but another possibility lies in supposing 𐬒 to mean *-uv-*, the stage through the word probably passed (*suγd* > *suvd* > *sūd*).

I incline, then, to accept an original **sūdastān*.

4. This form *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 I think also to recognize in *GrBd* 87⁷⁻⁸: *dāitē rōt hac ērānvēž bē āyēt pat* 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 (TD2, P, no variant is recorded for DH; K 20, 113 r 20 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎////, West, *SBE* v, 79, note 1, cites K 20 *gopestān*) *bē šavēt* ‘the Dāityā river comes from Ērānvēž and passes through *Sūdastān’. The conjecture of Justi 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 *gurfastān* ‘Georgia’ (palæographically easy for *IndBd*,

but irreconcilable with *GrBd*), which seemed certain to Herzfeld, *AMI* ii, 54, does unnecessary violence to the geographical position of the Dāityā river, and was suggested by Justi because he considered the original situation of Ērānvēž to lie in the west, a view now no longer tenable (cf. Benveniste, *BSOS* vii, 265 ff.).

K 20 *gopastān* is clearly a mechanical¹ transcription of a form **𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥*. Here is precisely the fault suggested above—*𐭥* for *𐭥*. If, then, we may venture to read *𐭥* for *𐭥*,² the result is **𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥* **sūdastān*, which fits the context excellently.

5. *A priori* objections to *sūdastān* beside *sūd* (see the forms quoted *BSOS* vi. 948 f.) are clearly invalidated by the recognition of NPers. *čīn*, Pers.-Arab. *šīn*, beside Pahl. *čēnastān*, Sogd. *čynstn*, Arm. *čēnastan* or of *zābul* and *zābulistān*. It is even possible that Av. *suγdō.šayanəm* implies the early existence of a word **suγdastāna-*. It is interesting also to notice *āryastana-* (on the *Gošynga* hill, see *Asia Major*, ii, 261), Oss. *Iryston*, beside NPers. *Īrān*.

6. For these reasons the attempt to find a word **andarkangistan* (see Herzfeld, *AMI* vi, 60 ff.), quite apart from the seriously different forms required to give such a reading, seems to fall of itself. It is clearly not intended by the writers of our extant texts.

7. A note may be added on the name Av. *kanha-*, Pahl., NPers. *kang* (transcription), in Av. *antarə.kanha-* (cf. *GrBd* 77⁶, P *𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥* *kōf ī andar *kangdiz*). The Av. *kanha-* may represent an original Iran. **kanga-*, or **kanha-* with *ng* or *nh*, which in other dialects are kept distinct. Two possible connections may be noted: (1) an Iran. **kanha-* is attested in Saka *kāhyāna-* ‘of brass’, cf. Skt. *kāmsa-* ‘bell metal, white copper’, *kāṃsya-* ‘of bell metal’. It would be possible to think of a name derived from a brazen fortress, such as the *Diz ī rōyīn*, famous in later Eastern Iranian legends; (2) the Sogdian (Buddh.) *k'γkyh* **kāzak-* or **kāyak-* conjecturally rendered ‘palate’ in Reichelt, *Handschriftenreste*, i, 35, line 24. With this could be compared NPers. *kāx* ‘upper storey’. The words may be reconciled by assuming a meaning ‘upper part’. A verb *kanh-* is attested by the Avestan *aštrā kahvīn* ‘the whips crack’. It is, however, impossible to be sure that the original was not from **kanga-*.

¹ Cf. the transcription K 20, 123 r 17 *𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥* mechanically from *𐭪𐭥𐭥* *harzak* ‘free’. It is not necessary to suppose that an allusion to *Gōpat* was intended.

² Cf. the converse *𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥* *agōβāk* (*Zātspram* 31, 1; I am able to quote this through the courtesy of Mr. Anklesaria).

Ardistānī

In Isfahān I had been working (in 1932) on the dialect of Gaz for a considerable time with Mohammad-e Kāšef-e Gazī, when at last he was able to fulfil my request to him to bring a man of Ardistān to see me. This was Abbās Āghā Bešārat, a carpet-weaver (*qālī-bāfī*), who during the summer was acting as *bāybān* (gardener) in Isfahān. I found his pronunciation different from that to which I had become accustomed in Mohammad. It was difficult to distinguish *s* and *š* in every case. Final *-r* and *r* before a consonant had almost ceased to be heard. I recorded a trace of it in some cases only. A final *-n* alternated at times with a nasalization of the vowel. The *x* in *xt* was slightly pronounced. In regard to vowels, *e* and *a* were recorded in the one word, similarly *ō* and *ū*. The *e* was more open than the sound I had known in Isfahānī. The *ō* was very close, tending to *ū*. Abbās came only once. He was taken ill with fever and I did not see him for some time. At the time of his second visit I was unable to work with him. The amount of material is therefore scanty, but interesting as the first specimen of the dialect.

In the notation I use for simplicity: *a* = *æ*, *ā* = *ā̇*, *o* = *ȯ*, *o* = close *o*.

Morphology

Nouns. Oblique case -ī.

pīš itā sāhabī 'in the presence of a master', *ūn sāhabī*
ka 'that master made', *ita yātī* 'in a place'. Genitive relation:
āvāz pīeret 'voice of your father' (beside *āvāze pīeram* 'voice of my father'),
sedā ū xé 'noise of that ass', *dīm éstō* 'upon the camel',
dīm éstōda 'from upon the camel', *dombāl ū sedā* 'after the noise',
dīm sendelī 'on the chair'.

The intrusive *izāfat* construction occurs: *vārtī māden* 'the time of dying',
éstōrī bicāre 'unfortunate camel', *béfekrī mārām* 'at thought of my mother',
befarmānī xudā 'by commandment of God'.

The word *māmā* was given for 'mother' and *bābā* for 'father' when I questioned Abbās, but in the text occur *pīeram* 'of my father' and *māram* 'of my mother'.

Pronouns. Personal.

<i>mā, mō</i>	Plur. <i>mā</i>
<i>tō</i>	<i>šumū, šumān</i>
<i>ī</i>	<i>īšū, īšūn</i>

Suffixed to nouns: *-am, -ad, -ed, -et, -eš*.

Enclitic with Transitive Preterite: *-am, -ed, -eš, -ž-, -emūn, -amūn, -edūn, -adūn, -ešūn, -ešūn, -ašūn.*

Demonstrative: *nī* 'this', plur. *nīā.*

ū 'that', plur. *ūnā, ūhā.*

nēm (before *b-, p-*) 'he'.

Verbs.

Preverbs.

dar-, der- *dābō* 'he was', *dérikūn* 'I shall fall', *dériekun, dariekun* 'I am falling'.

ī *dériekun* 'I fall', *-oš īka* 'he was making', *-eštīnika* 'they were making', *-ešūn īgīret* 'they took'.

e *pīam éxonun* 'I wish to call out', *-oš . . . edā* 'he gave'.

he *hénāgnūn* 'I sit', *hénāgnó* 'he sat'.

t *tamare* 'he breaks', *tóre* 'he brings', *túre* 'he comes'.

ve-t *vétēsūn* 'I remain', *veitōsūn* 'I sleep'.

vī *bīviešt* 'he passed', *vīozun* 'I find'.

ve, vei *vīmīōst* 'I found', *-ešūn vīyōst* 'they found', *veidārze* 'I sew', *vésdašt* 'he sewed', *vésenes* 'he recognized', *vékerun, veíssūn* 'I stood', *věšō* 'he stood', *vévezun* '*I dig'.

er, eir, re *érašnōn, eirašnón* 'I hear', *emrešnī* 'I heard'.

bī frequently in the Preterite.

be *-š bīgīret* 'he took', *bīsvīt* 'he sifted', *-eš bepaxt* 'he cooked', *bésbest* 'he bound'.

Conjugation.

Present.	Indicative.	Conjunctive.
<i>ekérūn</i>		<i>békerūn, bečarón, bečarō</i>
<i>ekerī</i>		<i>békerī</i>
<i>ekeré</i>		<i>békere</i>
<i>ekerám</i>		<i>békeram</i>
<i>ekeréŋ</i>		<i>bekerē</i>
<i>ekeré</i>		<i>bekeren</i>

Preterite.	Intransitive.	Transitive.
<i>mā béšun</i>		<i>-am béka</i>
<i>tō béšō</i>		<i>-ad</i>
<i>ī bešō</i>		<i>-eš</i>
<i>mā béšō</i>		<i>-amūn</i>
<i>šumūn béšoen</i>		<i>-adūn</i>
<i>īšūn béšō</i>		<i>-ašūn</i>

Perfect.	Pluperfect.
<i>kárdem, -am</i>	<i>bém-kardebō</i>
<i>kárded</i>	<i>béd-</i>
<i>kardéš</i>	<i>béš-</i>
<i>kárdamūn, kárdemūn</i>	<i>bémūn-</i>
<i>kárdedūn</i>	<i>bédūn-</i>
<i>kárdešūn</i>	<i>bešūn-</i>

Infinitive.

māden 'to die', *ka^rden* 'to do', *nāvā* 'not to speak'.

List of Verbs.

<i>amar</i>	'break', <i>tamare</i> 'he breaks', <i>béšman, beíman</i> 'he broke'.
<i>ur</i>	<i>etúre, ī túre</i> 'comes', <i>torún</i> 'I come'.
<i>ōr</i>	'bring', <i>tōrán, tōrén</i> .
<i>-e</i>	'is'.
<i>emō</i>	'came'.

	Perfect	Plur. <i>bímōm</i>
	<i>bímōn</i>	
	<i>tō bímīe</i>	<i>šumūn bímīen</i>
	<i>ī bímīe</i>	<i>bímō, bímānd</i>
	Pret. 3 sing. <i>-emō</i> , 3 pl. <i>-emōnd, emō</i>	
<i>ešn</i>	'hear', <i>eirašnōn, érašnōn</i> 'I hear', <i>emrešnī</i> 'I heard', <i>éšrešnī</i> 'he heard', <i>édarešnī</i> 'you did not hear', <i>mā emnerešnī</i> 'I did not hear'.	
<i>iss</i>	'stand', <i>īsse, véšō</i> 'he stopped', <i>veissō</i> 'stopped', <i>vetēšūn</i> 'I stop'.	
<i>band</i>	'bind', <i>vande</i> 'he binds', <i>bešbest</i> 'he bound', <i>-ešūn bébest</i> 'they bound'.	
<i>band</i>	<i>-es . . . bas</i> 'he threw'.	
<i>bāf</i>	'weave', <i>bāfun</i> 'I weave', <i>bémbāft</i> 'I wove'.	
<i>ber</i>	'bear', <i>bébere</i> 'he bears'.	
<i>bū</i>	<i>bébū</i> 'he will be', <i>-ebō</i> 'became', <i>dābō</i> 'was', <i>bībīebōn</i> 'they became'.	
<i>čar</i>	'graze', Pres. 3 pl. <i>čarén, čaran(d)</i> , Conj. 1 sg. <i>bečarón, bečarō</i> , Caus. <i>čonūn</i> 'I make graze', <i>béšūnčonō</i> 'they made graze'.	
<i>čen</i>	<i>čenū</i> 'I gather', <i>bémče</i> 'I gathered'.	
<i>darz</i>	<i>veidárze</i> 'he sews', <i>véšdašt, véšdarzō</i> 'he sewed'.	
<i>dā</i>	<i>edā</i> 'he gave'.	
<i>dār</i>	<i>dārán</i> 3 pl.; <i>dārán čaran(d)</i> 'they are grazing'.	

- dī* (cf. *ven*) *bémđī* ' I saw ', -š *bídī*, *bísdī* ' he saw ', *bísündī* ' they saw '.
- gīr* *gīrun* ' I take ', *gíren*, *gíran* 3 pl., Pret. *ǰǰgīret*, -š *bígīret* ' he took ', -ešūn *ǰgīret*.
- (*h*)*ōs* *veitōsūn* ' I sleep ', Pret. *hātān*.
- jen* *bár eǰené* ' I knock the door ', Pret. *báreš béǰe* 3 sg., *bémǰe* 1 sg.
- kaf* *dérīekun*, *darīekun* ' I fall ', Conj. *dérīkūn*, Pret. *kat* ' he fell '.
kéton ' we have fallen '.
- kan* *kane* ' he digs ', Pret. *béžkand*.
- kar* *ekerun* ' I do ', Conj. *békerūn*, Imperf. -ešūn *īka* 3 pl., Plupf. *bémkardebō* 1 sg., *ka'dén* ' to do '.
- vékerun*. Pret. *ambéka* ' I did '.
- kār* *kārun* ' I plant ', *bémkāšt*.
- kīš* *kīšūn* ' I draw ', *bémkešō*, *bīmkīšt*, *kīšām* ' I drew ', -eš *kīšō*.
- kō* *báreš bokō* ' he knocked the door ', *résebokón* ' mīzanam '.
- kōl* *beékōle*. Conj. ' be lame '.
- kōš* *kōšun* ' I kill ', *bémkōšt*.
- xon* *éxonun*. Conj. 1 sg. ' I call '.
- xor* *xorám* ' we eat ', *piēmun bóxorám* ' we will eat ', Pret. *bésūnxōr*.
- xos* *xosū* ' I threw ', *xōsén xōse* ' they will throw ', *boxōs béšxot*,
-es . . . *xos*.
- mer* *piēm bámerū* ' I shall die ', *béma* ' he died ', *māden* ' to die '.
- nagn* *hénagnūn* ' I sit ', *hénāg* Imperat. 2 sg., Pret. *henagnō* ' he sat '.
- nō* -ešūn *nō* ' they put '.
- pes. peš* *pésū péšū* ' I cook ', -eš *bépašt* ' he cooked '.
- pī-* ' wish, must ', Pres. *piēm*, *piām*, *piéd*, *piēs*, *piēmūn*, *piédūn*,
piēsūn, *piāsūn*, Pret. *piās*.
- res* *résun* ' I spin ', *bemréšt*.
- reš* *bérešon* ' they arrived '.
- rīz* *rīze* ' he pours ', Pret. *bīrīǰyā*, *bīdrīxt*.
- sāz* *sāze* ' prepares ', Pret. *béssāzā*, *beisāxt*, -es . . . *bésāzā*.
- senas* *sénasū* ' I recognize ', *ī vésenes*.
- še* -še, *šám* ' mīravīm ', *béše* ' mīravand ', *mā šūn* ' I go ', *béšun*
Conj. 1 sg., *béšem* Conj. 1 pl., *bešé* ' go ', Imperat. 2 sg.,
Pret. *šó* ' raft ', *béšō* ' he went ', *nášō* ' he did not go ', *mā*
béšō ' raftīm ', *mā bešun* ' raftam ', *šumān bešāend* ' raftīd '.
- šeke* *šékéne* ' he breaks '.
- ūn* *bīšūn*, *bīšūd* ' āvurd '.
- vā* *vā*, *vōteš*, *vūteš*, *bešvōt*, *bīšvōt* ' he said ', *mā bīmvōt* ' I said '.

- eš *bévūt* 'he said', -*divūt* 'you said', *návā* 'not to say',
navām.
ven *venún* 'I see', *véne* 'he sees'.
vez 'jump', Conj. *évezun* 'I jump', *éveze* 'he jumps', Pret. *beréšt*.
vez 'sift', *vézun* 'I sift', *bísvūt* 'he sifted', *vévezun* '*I dig',
bā *γelve vévezun*.
viéšt *bīviéšt* 'he passed'.
vun *vúne* 'he cuts', *béšvont*.
vunə *téyam vúne* 'I can', *teyése vūs ke* '*he could'.
yoz *viozun* 'I find', Pret. *vīmōst*, -*ešūn vīyōst*.
zon *zan vaččeš bežzonun*, *bézonun* 'the woman bore a child'.
zūn *zunún*, *zunū* 'I know', Pret. *zūndás*, *ūtāi zūndás*.

Uncertain: *eštó nī γósse bedeleš*, *eštāmō* (*eštāmū*).

<i>ādám</i>	<i>ossorun</i> 'bone'
<i>ādemī</i>	<i>bā</i> 'with'
<i>āesse āesse</i> 'slowly'	<i>bābā</i>
<i>āftā</i>	<i>bafr</i> 'snow'
<i>ántoda</i> 'there'	<i>befr</i>
<i>am</i> , Pers. <i>ham</i>	<i>bah bah</i>
<i>ān vart</i>	<i>bāi</i> 'arm'
'ar'ar	<i>bāl čes</i>
<i>ārū</i> 'to-day'	<i>banó -š ka</i> 'began'
<i>ās</i> 'soup'	<i>bar</i> 'door'
<i>āsm</i> 'horse'	<i>bāzam</i> , Pers. <i>bāz ham</i>
<i>áteš</i>	<i>bīčāre</i>
<i>āteš</i>	<i>bónjt</i> 'finger'
<i>āvāz</i>	<i>būr</i> 'load'
<i>āxúr</i>	<i>čāγ ō gúnde</i> 'fat'
<i>az</i> 'from'	<i>čand vaxti</i>
<i>azbáske</i>	<i>čarradār</i>
<i>engúst</i>	<i>čes</i> 'eye'
<i>éštō</i> 'camel'	<i>čiarī</i>
<i>eštōrī</i>	<i>dād</i> 'cry'
<i>ūtā</i> 'one'	<i>dāγ ō marg'ī re</i> 'curses on the ass'
<i>ō</i> 'water'	<i>dandún</i>
<i>ō, vo</i> 'and'	<i>dáss ō pā</i> 'hand and foot'
<i>ōmū</i> 'date fruit'	<i>del</i>
<i>ōr</i> 'cloud'	<i>des</i> 'hand'
<i>ōrī</i> 'brow'	<i>dō</i>

<i>dobāré</i>	<i>ke</i>
<i>dombāl</i>	<i>kī</i>
<i>dōsmūn</i>	<i>kīd̄</i> ' where '
<i>falakzade</i>	<i>kīes bēsāzā</i> ' he built a house '
<i>fardā</i>	<i>kō</i> ' outside '
<i>befarmūnī xudā</i>	<i>lāyér</i>
<i>fekr</i>	<i>latte</i> ' field '
<i>gā</i> ' ox '	<i>lōi</i> ' lip '
<i>g'ardan</i>	<i>mī</i> ' moon '
<i>gardéne</i>	<i>maγz e sa^r</i> ' brain '
<i>garaz, gevez</i> ' mountain goat '	<i>mām</i> ' I also '
<i>gī kéton</i> ' we are caught '	<i>māmā</i> ' mother '
<i>gorg'</i>	<i>mār-</i>
<i>gōš</i> ' ear '	<i>māram</i> ' of my mother '
<i>gūš</i>	<i>marārūt</i>
<i>gūliūcī</i> , see <i>nā</i>	<i>mártebe</i>
<i>gūye</i> (Pers. <i>gīva</i>)	<i>meimū</i> ' monkey '
<i>γā</i> ' word '	<i>mēs</i> ' sheep '
<i>γāme</i>	<i>mōč</i>
<i>γanāt</i> , Pers. <i>qanāt</i>	<i>mōl gārdan</i>
<i>γenāt</i>	<i>mōšt</i>
<i>γelve</i> — ? —	<i>mūr</i> ' snake '
<i>hāl</i>	<i>mū</i> ' hair '
<i>hālā</i>	<i>nā gūliūcī</i> ' throat '
<i>ham</i>	<i>nadūnī</i> ' ignorance '
<i>hard^o -š</i> ' both '	<i>nāzūnī</i>
<i>hárdošūn</i>	<i>nālešeka</i> ' he complained '
<i>heivān</i> ' animal '	<i>nī</i> ' this '
<i>heiyōheyā</i> ' cry '	<i>nīā</i> ' these '
<i>hēze</i> ' yesterday '	<i>pā</i>
<i>hīcī</i> ' nothing '	<i>pācé ra</i> ' a little way '
<i>hošk</i>	<i>pālū</i> ' side '
<i>hūd</i> ' small '	<i>pāreš ku</i> ' he tore '
<i>jevā</i> ' answer '	<i>pīcī</i>
<i>jīgār</i>	<i>pīeret</i> ' your father '
<i>kā, kār-</i>	<i>pīs</i>
<i>kalle</i>	<i>pōs</i>
<i>kar</i>	<i>pōšūnt</i> ' forehead '
<i>k'at</i> ' shoulder '	<i>pušnē</i> ' heel '
<i>k'et</i>	<i>ra</i> ' way '

<i>réšebokón</i> 'mizanam'	<i>tūle</i> 'stall'
<i>rō</i> 'day'	<i>vačče</i> 'child'
<i>rōé</i> , Pers. <i>rūdu</i>	<i>vārē</i> 'dam', Pers. <i>vāray</i>
<i>sa</i> 'head'	<i>varre</i> 'lamb'
<i>saram</i> 'my head'	<i>vārūn</i> 'rain'
<i>sāhab</i> 'master'	<i>vāter</i> 'better'
<i>sandōxōne</i> — ? —	<i>vaxt, vaxtī ke</i>
<i>sang</i>	<i>vél-ešūn ka</i> 'he let them loose'
<i>sārepāī</i>	<i>vōzmāle</i>
<i>sārevū</i>	<i>vū(v)</i> 'wind'
<i>saxt</i>	<i>xe</i> 'ass'
<i>sebé</i> 'white'	<i>xer-</i>
<i>sedā -š ka</i> 'he cried out'	<i>regīrī</i> 'folly'
<i>sendelī</i> 'chair'	<i>xéilī</i>
<i>serōgōidī</i>	<i>xergūš</i>
<i>setārehā</i>	<i>xers</i>
<i>siné</i> 'chest'	<i>xō</i>
<i>sīyāh</i>	<i>xoš</i>
<i>sçrx</i>	<i>xōb</i>
<i>sötūn</i> 'pillar'	<i>xōn</i> 'blood'
<i>sütūn</i>	<i>xūā</i> 'sister'
<i>sōz</i> 'green'	<i>yāt-</i> 'place'
<i>sōzī</i>	<i>yālī</i>
<i>šel</i> 'lame'	<i>ye rō</i> 'one day'
<i>šōi</i> 'night'	<i>zambōz</i> 'wasp'
<i>šūné</i> 'shoulder'	<i>zambō</i>
<i>ta</i>	<i>zan</i>
<i>zemī es ta béka</i> 'he moistened the ground'	<i>zānū</i>
<i>tā</i>	<i>zé</i>
<i>tall-</i>	<i>ze</i> 'under'
<i>talle</i> 'is bitter'	<i>zebun kéčō</i> (— ? —)
<i>téyam</i>	<i>zéme</i> 'ground'
<i>teyésse</i>	<i>zémī</i>
<i>telāfī</i>	<i>zemī</i>
<i>tofūl</i>	<i>zōbū'</i>
<i>toroš</i>	<i>zūmū'</i> 'son-in-law'

yé rō ita xe bā itā éštō piš itā sāhabī dābō
kārešūmīka azbaske kārešūn bekārlebō lāyér bibīebōn
ūn sāhabī nā hā'došūn bebiābūn vélešūnka

nā ham bésōn ye yātesūn rīyōst
tā čand vāxtī ūnādar ōv ō sōzī bésūnxōr hāl emō
yē rō xe banōš ka `ar`ar békere
éstōrī bīčārē haryādrke sedās ka sedās bexad nāka itāi zūnās
tōrān ūhā gīren dō mārtebe tōrēn ō būr būramūn ekeren
vedēr talleamūne xōsēn xe az xegirī gūšoš nāka
bīšrōt ke āvāze pīeram befékram emō pīam éxonun
ān vact befarmūnī xudā čarvadār ita yātī bīvīest
sārevū sedā ū ré éšrešnī ve dombāl ū sedā bésō
xeīlī ra nāsō ita pīčīs bīdī
bīšdī ita xe ō ita éstō ham čāy ō gunde
dārān čāran(d)
gardun hardōš bīgīret bīšūd ō zé būrēs kišō
éstō ūtes be del āesse āesse zé būrda dōšmānoš bexér edā ke az
nādūnī (nāzūnī) az yā ke élarésnī dobārē gī kéton
éstō nū γosse bedéleš éstāmō āesse āesse vīteš
dāy ō márg' ī xe vāxteš bebū telāfīs vēkerūn
pācé rá ke bésō xe benōš ka beékyle
bīšūndī xe šél ebō
būr xéresūn īgīret
dīm būr éstōrī bīčāresūn nó
éstō āesse āesse bōxōš vīteš bah bah xōb -amūn béka
bāzam ke pācé ra bésō xe véissō bīmānd, dāss ō pā xeresūn
bébest xéresūn am dīm éstō nó
teγesse vīs ke būr bébere
éstōr e fulazade xō xōš nālēs eka ō šō tā bérešon be itā
gardéne
ántoda pīasūn serōgōdī bésun
éstō pīās ézeze xe dādoš īka ke hālā dérikūn ki éstō jevāšeš
bévūt ke tō fékrad itōre ke hejyoheyādivūt ke āvāz pīeret
befékred emō mām hālā pīem ézezūn befékri mārām emō
éstō bévešt ō xérés dīm zéme xōš (variant : bas)
xe ke dīm éstōda dīm zéme (variant : zemī) mō ošsγxūnes
hūd ebō ve béma

The Yazdī and Persian versions of this tale are given by Browne, *JRAS* 1897, 103 ff., and the Yazdī version in revised form by Ivanow, *JRAS* 1932, 403 f.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

The preceding pages were completed in June, 1934. It is now (January, 1935) possible to propose a new reading for the Iranian equivalent of the Aramaic 𐩣𐩪𐩥𐩢𐩪𐩥 in *Frah. Pahl.* 19, 10. Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v. **niyastan*, suggested **ni-ah* (with the emendation of the Pahlavi spelling then necessary) to the base Skt. *as-*, Av. *ah-* "to throw", in place of the earlier reading **nīsāy-*: **nīsūt*.

There is an Iranian base *šan* (distinct from Iran. *χšan-* "strike" in Old Pers. *aχšata-*). It is attested (infrequently) in Iranian as follows:—

Munjī *fīršōn-*: *fīršōy-* (< **frašān-*: **frašata-*) "shake (of trees)", Zarubin, *Iran.* i, p. 143.

Māzandarānī *šan-* (see *GIP* i, b 364) دَشَنَدِي *da-šandī* translated by NPers. *mī-rīχtī*.

NPers. *afšān-*: *afšānd* "scatter".

Pahlavi *aβšān-*: *aβšat* "scatter".

Avestan *fšānaya-* (< **pi-šānaya-*, cf. *fštāna-* to NPers., Pahl. *pistān*) "wrench". *AIW* proposed to compare Germanic *spannan*.

Sogd. *šn'* "trembled" *VJ* 999.

Khotanese Saka *šānīndi* "shake (of leaves)", cf. Konow, *NTS* vii, 30, who, however, thinks of a causative to a base *zar-*.

To this group may be related the 𐩣𐩪𐩥𐩢𐩪 Pres. 𐩣𐩪𐩥𐩢𐩪 **šātītan*, **šātēt*, Pāzand *šābīdan*, *šābēt*, which is given in the *Frah. Pahl.* as the interpretation of 𐩣𐩪𐩥𐩢𐩪.

This *šātēt* may be explained as a present based on the participle *šat*, as *āmōχtēt* on *āmōχt*. The meaning "throw", pass. "be thrown, lie down", as Latin *iacēre* beside *iacere*, would suit the Aramaic word and the contexts.

The infinitive is given with 𐩣𐩪 in the *Frah. Pahl.*, and was evidently so understood in the interpretation **šātītan*. But in *GrBd* 8² 𐩣𐩪𐩥𐩢𐩪𐩥 has 𐩣𐩪 (probably *-st*) for the participle. This may be to indicate a preterite **šatast* to the present *šātēt* (on the *-ast*, later *ist*,¹ see the latest discussion by Henning, *ZII* 9, 221), as *dānast*

¹ *-ist* from *-ast* is probably to be recognized frequently. This explains best Turfan Mid. Iran. 'vbyst *oβist "fell" < *ava-pasta-*, but also the *-ist-* of NPers. *gulistān* (attested in some Pahl. spellings with *-yst'n*), beside Armen. *burastan*. It may be seen also in 'vyšt'd **ava-stāta* (rather than *abi-štāta*, as Henning, *ZII* 9, 195, with *abi-*). Georgian *ostat-i* "expert" may presuppose an Armenian **ostat*, Pahl. 'vst't, NPers. *ustād*, cf. Old Pers. *a v a s t a y m*.

“knew” to the pres. *dānēt* “he knows”. The other possibility of a form **šast* as from a base **šand-* beside *šan-* is less likely.

Outside Iranian, it is possible that Indo-Aryan has preserved traces of the same base as **kšan-*, naturally not distinguishable in form from *kšan-* “to strike”. Professor R. L. Turner has drawn my attention to Kashmīrī *chānun* “to sift, shake down” (*ch* < *kš*), with cognates in other Indo-Aryan languages.

ADDENDUM

The publication of Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, iii, now permits a more satisfactory classification of the participles in *rāst*.

Iranian Words in the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan—II

By T. BURROW

āvana

AVANA has been referred to Skt. *āpaṇa*, but there is nothing to suggest that it means “market” or “bazaar”. On the contrary, it is clear from the documents that it means “village”, “parish”, or “local township”, i.e. the small country towns or villages administratively dependent on Caḍota, the capital of the province. Further, -*v*- (= *w*) almost always occurs, not -*r*- which we would have expected out of an original -*p*-. It is possible, of course, that *āpaṇa* might have been used in an extended sense “market-town”, but it can be explained perhaps easier out of Iranian. O.P. *āvahana*, Arm. lw. *avan*, both meaning “village”. In view of the number of Iranian loan-words that do appear, this is probably to be preferred as doing less violence to the meaning. The Arm. *avan* is found compounded with proper names just as *āvana* in the Khar. documents, e.g. *Vaṭarš-avan* (Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, p. 79). In the Kharoṣṭhi texts *āvana* practically never appears by itself, but always as part of a proper name, e.g. *Yaśe āvana*, *Peta-āvana*. In some cases the village is named after an individual, e.g. *Tomgraka maharayaśa āvanammi* 549, *Catiśa deviyae āvana* “The village of Queen Catiśa” (334, and frequently), in other cases it is given a general epithet such as *Navaśa āvana* (366) “New Town”. *nagara* is used as a synonym for *āvana* in 25. *Peta nagarammi*.

Aṃtaḡi

Epithet of *aśpa* “horse” (213, 223), *uṭa* “camel” (64, 135), and *stora* (= large beast of burden, horse, or camel) 743, in connection with journeys across the kingdom (64) and embassies to Khotan (135, 223).

The -*ḡ*- cannot represent the -*k*- of the suffix -*aka*, because that always appears in the Nom. Acc. as -*aḡa* or -*ae*, never as *aḡi*. Therefore the word must be analysed into an original base **antaka*- or **antāka*- + the suffix -*i* which is common in making adjectival derivatives.

A form **antāka*- might be explained from Iranian and give a suitable meaning, i.e. **hantāka*- from \sqrt{tak} - “to run”, corresponding

to the N.Pers. verb *andāxtan* “to impel, throw”. The meaning would be an animal capable of travelling swiftly or making long journeys at a stretch, which would suit the context admirably.

ujhmayūga

An adjective applied to *manuṣya* 283 (so read instead of *masuṣya*) and *janma* 373. It is obviously an epithet of commendation 283. *yatha ujhmayūga manuṣya priyayitavya* (Text *priya śitavya*) “They are to be treated kindly like *ujhmayūga* people”.

The *-jh-* (= *-z-*) suggests an Iranian origin. In an Iranian word like *jheniḡa* *z-* is always represented by *jh-*. In Skt. words where it developed internally out of *-s-*, it is expressed by either *jh* or *ṣ*, e.g. *dajha* or *daṣa* “slave”, but *ṣ* vastly predominates and in many words is exclusively used. Probably the sign transliterated *jh* was invented and added to the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet to represent Iranian *z* when the presence of Sakas, etc., in North India rendered it necessary to express that sound which was foreign to the Indian alphabets; whereas *ṣ* represents a modification of internal *s* invented somewhere to meet the Prakrit development of *-s-* to *-z-*. Presumably the two forms originated independently. In the alphabet of Niya both signs are used and tend to be confused.

Dr. H. W. Bailey points out the *uzmāyišn* “experience”, *uzmūtak* “skilled”, also “proved”, “tried”. There is also N.Pers. *āzmāyam*, *āzmūdan* “to try, test”. The latter meaning is perhaps to be chosen for *ujhmayūga*, i.e. “tried, trustworthy men”. Or, of course, it may mean “skilled” (in some kind of work or profession).

kurora

A word used in connection with *bhuma* “land” 678, *bhuma kurora tre milimī pramana* “Land *kurora* 3 *mīlima* in extent (i.e. needing 3 *mī* of seed)” 574. *yatha purviḡa kurora huati* “Formerly (this land) was *kurora*”. There is a N.Pers. word *kurār* or *kurārā* meaning “a plot of ground with a raised border prepared for sowing” (Steingass), which may be connected. The construction *bhuma kurora* is to be compared with *bhuma c̄hetra* “a field of land”.

khakhorna

An epithet applied three times to *stri* “woman”. It appears from the contexts that to be a *khakhorna* was a grave offence, punishable with death.

If we could read *khakhorda* we would get a suitable meaning "witch". No example is given of the akṣara *-rd-* in the account of the alphabet (*Khar. Inscr.*, p. 315). It would naturally be quite uncommon, and possibly is intended here and has been confused in the transliteration with *-rn-*. Unfortunately none of the relevant documents are illustrated, so it is impossible to test the transliteration by examining the originals. But note that in 318 (note 10) the editors are in doubt between the reading *-rd-* and *-rn-*, though not in this word.

If *khakhorda* is read it can be connected with Av. *kax^oarəda-* "magician" (fem. *kax^oarəiδī-*), Arm. lw. *kaxard*. In Skt. we have *kākhorda* (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* ed. Idzumi. pp. 3 and 97, used side by side with *vetālu*) *kakkhorda* (*Bower MS.*, see Index) *Kharkoda* "a kind of magic" *Rājataranḡinī*, v, 238; *Khārkoṭa*, *Caraka S.*, vi, 23. The variety of forms in Skt. as well as the lateness of their appearance, suggests borrowing on the part of Skt. from Iranian.

The change *-va-* to *-o-* is regular in this language, e.g. *ṣoṭhamḡa* beside *ṣvaṭhamḡa* (an official). *Aṃḡoka* beside *Aṃḡvaka* (royal name).

Returning to the texts themselves the meaning "witch" is obviously suitable. 248 (fragmentary) . . . *ṣiṭha nigrāha siyati, imṭhuami ahuno khakhorna strijana ṣiṭha nigrāha kartavya* "[Even as formerly] there has been punishment and restraining [of witches] so now punishment and restraining of witches is to be made". 63 *Lṗipeya vimṇaveti yatha atra khakhorni stri 3 nikhaliṭamṭi taha sudha eḡasa stri maritāmṭi avasiṭhi striya va mutāmṭi eḡa prace tu Ap[ḡe]yade anati ḡiḡesi, Lṗipeyaṣa stri potena stavidavya hoati* "L. says that there they brought out three witches they only (*sudha*) killed his woman: the other women they let go (*mutāmṭi* = *mukta-*). Concerning this you received an order from Apḡeya, saying that Lṗipeya's woman was to be compensated for". The *anati* referred to is 58, where it says that if it can be shown that Lṗipeya's woman was not a witch, compensation should be made to Lṗipeya.

ḡuṣura

The title *ḡuṣura*, which is of frequent occurrence and obviously represents one of the highest classes of officials, was compared by Professor F. W. Thomas (*Festschrift H. Jacobi*, p. 51, and *Acta. Or.*, xiii, p. 66) with *kujula* (*kuyūla*, *κοζουλο*), which occurs on the coins of the Kuṣans.

Leaving aside this problem for a moment, I propose to equate it with N.Pers. *vazīr*. The original form is most probably explained as

= Av. *vīčira* "giving a decision"; Phl. *vicīr* "a decision". Arm. lw. *včir*. The change of initial *vi-* to *gu-*, which is common in N.Pers., was shared by the language of some of the Iranians who appear in North India. This is clear from the well-known royal name *Gudaphara* (*Gondophernes*). Consequently it is just what we would expect to find, an original **vicira-* borrowed into a North-West Indian Prakrit becoming **gučira*. For the rest, internal *-c-* regularly appears in this dialect as *-ś-* (= *-ž-*), e.g. *prašura* = Skt. *pracura* "abundant". The second vowel might easily be assimilated to *-u-*, and this would certainly point to a short *-i-* rather than a long one as in N.Pers. and probably Phl.

In support of this identification it must be remembered that the native language of Shan-Shan was devoid of the sound *g* along with other voiced stops (*d, j, b*). Consequently since the native language is excluded as a source, the probability of an Iranian origin is greatly increased. Further, if *gušura* is to be connected with *kujula* (see above) it must for the same reason be the original form. It is obviously out of the question that with *g* non-existing in the native language, they would have substituted it for an original *k*. Actually there is a very common tendency the other way, to unvoice consonants.

It is not at all certain that *kujula* belongs here at all. What the original language of the Kušanas was before they became Irānized and Indianized nobody knows, but it may possibly have been of such a nature that this was as near as they could get to pronouncing *gušura*. On the other hand, the title *kara*, which they had, would seem to show that they could pronounce *r*. *Kara* has further been identified with the *kāla* of the documents (F. W. Thomas, loc. cit.). That is another problem, why in one case *r* should be represented by *l*, in the other case *l* by *r*.

trušga

Better perhaps than the complicated hypothesis in *BSOS.*, vii, 511, would be to read *trušga* < **uška-* with the omission of the initial *h-* which is liable to occur in many Iranian dialects and also in this Prakrit. The akṣaras *tra* and *tu* are very similar and not infrequently confused in the transliteration. Instances are: *jaṃṇāvēna* 418. The same word is transcribed *jaṃṇātrena* in 555 and *caṃṇātrena* in 621. *tanutri* 39, 551, which should be *tanuči* fem. of *tanuvača-ae* "own", and *citranae* 703, which if read *civanae* gives sense (= *živamnae* "to live" with unvoicing which is common). *avaša śarira huḍiyami*

osuga avajidavo ci'anae, ko jivitasya padhuvaḡa amaramnae "By all means in the maintenance (*huḡi-* = *bhṛti-*) of your body zeal is to be employed, so that you may live, and as far as there is a security for life (*padhuvaḡa* = **paḡihuvaḡa* from *pratibhū-*), not die".

The initial *vu-* instead of *u-* is due to a tendency of the native language to pronounce initial *u-* as *wu-* (similarly *i-* becomes *yi-*). For example the Skt. *ullasa* appears as *vulasi*. The noun *vuryaḡa* is also written *uryaḡa* (of uncertain meaning, it indicates some kind of profession or office). While *u-* is practically non-existent in native names *vu* (*vu*) is common, which is no doubt to be explained by the fact that initial *u-* generally became *vu-*. Compare, inside Iranian Pst. *wuč* and Minjani *wušk* (Morgenstierne, *Et. Voc. of Pst.*, p. 85).

dhane

A small weight 702. The explanation given in the *Index V.* (= Skt. *dhānya*) is impossible phonetically. It is no doubt Iranian. N.Pers. *dāng* "fourth part of a dram" (Steingass) original *dānaka*. Horn (*Neu-Pers. Etym.*, s.v. quoted O.P. *δανάκη* (quoted in *Et. Magn.*) Arabic lw. *dānaq*. Phl. *dānak* (*dāng*) as in N.Pers. The meaning is exactly the same, because it appears from the text (702) that the *dhane* is a subdivision of the drachma. *Dh-* as frequently in the documents is incorrectly written for *d-*.

It appears that in Iranian words original *-aka* is represented by *-e* in this language. There are three examples: *dhane* = **dānaka*, *ajhate* = *āzātaka* "free" and *saste* = *sastaka* "day".

pačēvara

This word is not, as taken in the *Index Verb.*, an adverb (from *paścāt* "after" and *vara*; it is usually printed *pače vara*, as two words), but a noun which pretty certainly means "food, provisions". This is most clearly demonstrated by 505. *Tsuḡenaḡma satu milima 2 khi 10 4 1, maḡa khi 4 1, kavaṣi 1; pačēvara piḡḡa milima 3 chataḡa 1 tena Tsuḡenaḡma ḡiḡa* "Tsuḡenaḡma—meal 2 *mi.*, 15 *khi*, *maḡa khi* 5, one tunic (*kavacikā*): the sum of provisions 3 *mi.*, 1 garment (= *chādaka-* or *chadaka-*)—that Tsuḡenaḡma received". Here clearly *pačēvara* is the general term "food" summing up the amount of the individual articles of food previously mentioned (15 + 5 = 20), while *chataḡa* likewise stands in apposition to the particular article of clothing *kavaṣi*. Cf. also 19 *coḡaḡa pačēvara parikraya dadavo* "Clothing, food, and wages must be given". 236 *tade ahu maharaya cojḡbo*

Ṣamaṣeṇaṣa ardha nadha aṇṇa praṣarida oḍida, ardha bhuya anidavo ; yo ardha oḍidaḡa Larsuaṣa pačēvara hoti “ From that I the great king have left half of the packed corn as a personal grant to the *cojho* Ṣamaṣeṇa, but the other half is to be brought here. The half that is left is provisions for Larsu ” (Larsu was the son of Ṣamaṣeṇa).

The word is perhaps to be connected with Sogdian *ps̄βr*, which has the same meaning. The etymology of both is unclear. The Sogdian word can be read **pašāβar* or **fašaβar* or **fšāβar*.

piro

Probably = “ bridge ”, as is best demonstrated by a survey of the passages. In 639 it appears clearly that it is something connected with roads which can be seized to prevent people passing. *ogu Ajhuraka viṇṇaveti yatha atra ogu Ajhurakaṣa kilmemci Caḍotiye imade gachanṭi, atra tusya paṃtha ṣayatu cira divasaṇṇi atra vithaṅṅeṣi, yati svachanṭaḡa gachanṭi pirovaṣa avindama gava pruchanṭi, na eta purva dhaṇa yati asmāti jamnana paṃtha ṣayidavya yaṃ kala ima anati lekha atra eṣati, paṃtha varidavya piro ṣayidavya siyati, taṃ kalaṇṇi varidavya ari piro ṣayidavya, yati na imade anati lekha agachisyati, taṃ kalaṇṇi viṣcasta paṃtha Caḍotiyana oḍidavya gava pirovi avindama na oḍidovya* “ The *ogu* Ajhuraka says that there Caḍotons who belong to the *kilme* (“ district ” or “ fief ”) of the *ogu* Ajhuraka go from here. There you seize the road and keep them back there for a long time. If they go of their own accord they demand a cow as compensation for the bridge. This is not the former law if *asmāti* (= N. Pers. *āzmūdah* ? cf. *ujhmayuḡa* above) people have their road seized. When a letter of command comes from here (saying that) the road is to be blocked and the bridge is to be seized, at that time it is to be blocked, and the bridge is to be seized. If a letter of command does not come from here, at that time the road is to be left (open) to the Caḍotans (so that there is) confidence, but they are not to be let off the cow which is the compensation for the bridge ”.

avindama usually means a penalty or legal compensation for some offence. Here it has a more general meaning of the compensation made by users of the bridge. It appears that when people travelled over the bridge for their own purposes (*svachanṭaḡa*) as opposed to those engaged on royal business, a heavy payment was demanded.

310. (it is feared that some men will escape from the country)—*praṭha ede mamnuṣa anada parimargidavya, piro Cima Kaṣikaṣa ca picavidovya* “ Immediately these men must be carefully sought, and

the bridge is to be put in the hands of Cima and Kaṣika". In 122 Parcona loses a large cow on the bridge (i.e. by its falling over) *Parcona pirocammi go mahanta 1 natha*. It might be thought from all these passages that the meaning "narrow pass" would be equally suitable, but that it definitely means bridge is made clear by 120, *ṣitga potḡe-yammi bhiti vara gaṃdavo hoati pirova ṣarva jaṃna kaṃakare aitaṃti* — — *prapaṃna bahu kha — ṣa utaḡa*. It is to be gone a second time to the *ṣitga potḡe*. All the workmen came to the bridge . . . the water was very dirty (read *kha[lu]ṣa = kaluṣa*). The mention of workmen shows that *piro* is a structure of some kind, and since their activities were spoiling clean water, this can only be a bridge over a river. *Potḡe* seems to mean reservoir.

As regards the etymology it may be connected with N.P. *pul*, Phl. *puhl*, Av. *pərətu*, and *pəšu* "bridge". The original form would be something like **prθwaka-* > **pirhvaka-* > **piroḡa* > *piro(va)*. For the disappearance of suffixal *-k-* cf. *agaṃduča*. For *o* < *va* cf. the variant forms *ṣoṭhamga* and *ṣvathamga*.

maravara

The title *maravara* was explained (*BSOS.*, VII, 510) as = Iranian **māraβara*. The meaning, however, must be something like accountant, because the *maravara* Kuvīṇeya (385) is also referred to as *gaṃṇavara* "treasurer" (310). Dr. Bailey points out *āhumārakār* and *hamārakār* "accountant" in Sassanian inscriptions (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, glossary), Arm. lw. *hamarakar* (Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, p. 178). *maravara* will, therefore, represent original **hmāraβara* with the initial *h-* omitted as in Av. $\sqrt{\text{mar}}$ (cf. Bartholomæ, *Alt. Ir. Wört.*, s.v.), cf. N.Pers. *mar. āmār*.

mīlima

mīlima = Gk. *μέλιμος* (Professor F. W. Thomas) must have been borrowed through some Iranian dialect which turned *d* (δ) into *l*. That occurs in Manichæan Sogdian, for instance, in modern dialects such as Pašto; also if the proper names *Spalahores*, *Spalagadama*, *Spalirises*, contain Iranian *spāda-* "army", it was characteristic of the Scythians of North-West India. The Skt. *līpi* where Aśoka (Shahb.) has *dīpi* like O.Pers. is probably due to confusion with the initial *likh-*. There are possibly other traces of the change *d* > *l* in the language of these documents, though *divira* "scribe, secretary", is a clear instance to the contrary. The words which are perhaps to be explained in this way are:—

(1) *lastuġa*

The *lastuġa* is some article made of cloth. 566 *citra paṭa mae lastuġa* "A l° made of many-coloured cloth". It is frequently sent as a present. It was not of great value (184 *lahu manasiġara matra*). It is possibly connected with N.Pers. *dastār* "towel, handkerchief, napkin, sash, turban", being derived from *dast* "hand" with a different suffix. The meaning would suit admirably.

(2) *laṭhana*

The word only appears in 392, where it is used in a parallel context to *kabhoḍḥaṃmi kaboḍha* (cf. *BSOS.*, vii. 513. and F. W. Thomas, *Act. Or.*, p. 70), which denotes some particular kind of land, so *laṭhana* probably denotes another kind of land. A connection may be suggested with N.Pers. *dašt* "plain, desert".

A connection is also possible with Phl. N.Pers. *daštān* "menstruating", Arm. lw. *daštan* "menstruation". The document is unfortunately one of the obscurest. It is dealing with conducting camels somewhere and says *veyu itu rajade laṭhanami pracukamaṃ nagara leṣitama* "We conducted them to the plain from this kingdom . . ." or "during their period of menstruation we conducted them . . ." (*pracukamaṃ nagara(m)* is unintelligible to me). The first alternative is supported by the fact that further down there is an exactly similar phrase *kabhoḍḥaṃmi pracukamaṃ nagara anidavo*, where *k°* must be locative of the place gone to on account of the meaning of the word (see above).

(3) *laṣi*

i.e. *laṣni*. It means "gift" as is shown by 678 *eśvarya bhaveyati . . . bamdhova thavaṃnae. vikrinanae amñeṣa laṣi deyaṃnae* "There shall be ownership . . . to mortgage (?), to sell, and to give to others as a gift". In this formula, which occurs repeatedly, *prahuḍa* = Skt. *prābhṛta* usually occurs in place of *laṣi* here. *laṣa* also occurs (222), the *-i* of *laṣi* is probably adjectival, "to give (something) as a gift", as in *namaṃni(ya) (-aġa) deyaṃnae (= ?)*.

Compare N.Pers. *dāsan* "gift". Turfan Texts *d'syn*.

rasaṃna

Only 345. *rasaṃna* 2. Perhaps Iranian = N.Pers. *rasan* "rope". If it had been = Skt. *raśanā*, the *ś* ought to have been preserved in this dialect.

rodana

Some commodity that is frequently sent as part of the tax in kind (295, 385, etc.). It is often mentioned in connection with *curoṃa*, which is equally obscure (272, 357, 450). Possibly = Iranian **raudana* "madder", N.Pers. *rōyan*, *rōyang*, North Balōči *rōḍin*. Cf. Morgenstierne in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. 61, p. 36.

vara, varaya

In 291 means "part". Referring to 370 *milima* of corn, instructions are given—*eka varaya abhyadara ku'aniyaṃmi aniṣyaṃti . . . dui vara Piṣaliyaṃmi nihaṃñitarya* "One part (= third) they will bring inside the Capital . . . the (other) two parts are to be stored at Piṣali". Perhaps out of Iranian *βahra-(ka)* = N.Pers. *bahr bahrah* "part".

Elsewhere *vara, varaya* (371) means "time", Skt. *vāra*. In 198 *kopi varaḡa syati* the words should be separated, *ko pivaraḡa syati* "Whichever is fat".

ṣana

Only 318. *ṣaṃna paṭa* "cloth" made of *ṣaṃna*. Apparently "hemp". Skt. *śaṇa, śāṇa*. But the confusion of the two sibilants is surprising in this dialect. Iranian influence may be thought of. Cf. N.Pers. *šan* "hemp". Iranian *ṣ* appears as *ṣ* in this language, *ṣada* "pleased", *laṣa* "gift", just as in Khotanese Saka. The explanation of the relation between Iranian *ṣ*- and Indian *ś* in this word is still unsettled.

spara, śpura

Usually with *sarva*, but also alone, e.g. *śpura* at 158. 725, *śpara* at 42 means "complete", *sarva śpura* "all complete" usually referring to the sending of the tax (*palṣi*).

śpara might possibly have been explained out of Skt. *sphāra* "swollen, expanded, fat", but that would leave *śpura* unexplained. Nor is there any example of the Skt. word being used in this general sense. The word can be more satisfactorily explained out of Iranian. Arm. lw. *spar* "completion", *sparspur* "completely", N.Pers. *siparī* "completed", "exhausted". Phl. *spurr. uspur. uspurīk*, out of **usparəna*. Khotanese Saka *uspurra*. Cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, p. 239; Horn, *Neu-Persische Etym.*, p. 157. Forms both with *-u* and *-a* are found, and here we get both used indiscriminately. The omission of the initial vowel is interesting at so early a date. The modified *p*, i.e. *ś*, occurs also in the Iranian *śpaṣa* "watch". It may

represent *f.* being a similar development to the N.Pers. forms *sifēd* *Isfahān*, etc. There is, however, no need to assume that the development belonged to the Iranian dialect from which the words were taken, because the same change is observable in the Prakrit itself, e.g. *paros̄para* “one another”.

harga

harga means “tax” 206. *masu yaṃ ca amūta hargu na īsa prahideṣi* “The wine and what other tax there was, you have not sent here”. 696 *avi ca amahu ima avānade rayaka hargu devaputraṣa padamulade prasavitaḡa* “Also from this village the royal dues have been granted to us from the feet of his majesty”. The usual word for tax is, of course *palpi*, *harga* only occurs rarely. Exactly how the two terms differed is naturally not clear. In 141 *palpi harga* might be *tatpuruṣa* (“tax payments”) or more likely *dvandva*, indicating two kinds of tax.

Dr. Bailey points out, Arm. lw. *hark* “tax, tribute”, Turfan Texts 𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎠 = **hrāy* “tribute”. Aramaic 𐤍𐤒𐤍 = **ḫarāg-ā* “tax”. From Aramaic is borrowed Arabic *xarāḡ*- and that is finally borrowed back into New Persian. The original of all these forms will be found in the Av. verb *hark-harčaya-* “emittere” *harka-* “Abfall” (Bartholomæ, *A. Ir. W.*, s.v.).

hastama (astama)

This word means “quarrel”, as is shown by its appearing in the same formulas as *vivada*. Compare, for instance, 569, *īsa eda hastama cojhbo Somjaka carapuruṣa Lpipta ṣaca pruchitaṃti* “Here the *cojhbo* Somjaka, and the detective Lpipta inquired into this dispute”, with 570, *eta vivata oguana Dhapaya Śamaṣena, kori Toḡaja, cojhbo Biṃmaṣenaṣa ca pruchitaṃti* “This dispute the *ogu*’s Dhapaya and Śamaṣena, the *kori* Toḡaja, and the *cojhbo* Biṃmaṣena inquired into”.

The word is to be connected with N.Pers. *sitamba* “quarrelsome”. Arm. lw. *stambak* “quarrelsome, troublesome”, *apstamb* “rebellious”, Phl. *stambakīh* = “Hartnäckigkeit”, Av. *stamba-* “quarrel” (*Saka stāma* “trouble”?). The initial *ha-* will be the prefix *ham-*, *ha-* “with, together”. The assimilation of a voiced stop to a preceding nasal is characteristic of this dialect. Cf. *gaṃṇa* = *gañja-*, *chiṃṇati* = *chindati*. Similarly in the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.P. *udumaru* = *udumbara*, etc.

A different group from this is formed by N.Pers. *sitam* “injustice, oppression”, Phl. *staxmak staxmakīh*. Since there is no doubt that the meaning is “quarrel” and not “injustice, oppression” (see above), the word is obviously to be connected with the first group.

PROPER NAMES

Khvarnarse is wrongly explained *BSOS.*, vii. It is *xvar* "sun" + the common name *narseh*. For compounds of this kind compare *Mihrnarseh*, *Adharnarseh*, etc. (Justi. *Altiranisches Namenbuch*, p. 504).

Tamaspa appears to have had a long \bar{a} , i.e. *tamaspā*, because it makes its genitive *tamaspāsa*. Non-Indian names ending in a vowel add *-asa*, etc., straight on to that vowel, and this applies to \bar{a} . But if the Nom. is in short *-a* it is inflected like an ordinary *-a*-base in the Prakrit. An example of final long \bar{a} is *Camcā*, gen. *Cācāsa*. Here the length of the vowel is marked, but from the way of making the genitive, a long \bar{a} in the Nom. can be deduced in cases where it is not marked. This being the case, *Tamaspa* probably represents **Tahmaspāh*, originally *Tarmaspāda-*, with *-h-* out of *-d-*, as in N.Pers. *sipāh*.

Phuṃaṣeva (°*jheva*) is obviously not a native name on account of its initial *Ph* (*f*). The latter part of the name seems to contain Iranian **zaiba-* "beautiful", N.Pers. *zēb*, *zēbā*. The *Phuṃa* (i.e. *furma-*) is not clear (N.Pers. *fūr* "russet" ?).

— *Jhaḡimoya* (also *Jhaḡamoya*, *Saḡamo*, *Saḡamoya*, *Saḡamovi*, *Saḡimoya*), with its initial *jh* (= *z*), points to Iranian. With the same final element is formed *Bujhamoyika* (also *Bujhmoyika*, *Busimoyika*, *Busmoyika*, and probably *Pusmavika*). The first seems to contain what appears in N.Pers. as *zāy* "crow", the second *buz* "goat". The second element is more difficult. One might think of the n.pr. *Mauēs*. *Moḡa*, which appears in North-West India, or again of N.Pers. *mūy* "hair" (out of **mauda-*).

Ajhuraka (also *asuraḡa*) may be from *a-* "not" and *zūrah-* (N.Pers. *zūr*) "lie, deceit, falsehood".

IDIOMS

A number of turns of phrase show Iranian influence. Most interesting is *śavatha khayamṇae* 577 "to take an oath", literally "to eat an oath". Compare N.Pers. *sōyand xwardan*. The Iranian word originally meant sulphur, and the practice of eating sulphur was a kind of ordeal. Later the original meaning was forgotten and the general meaning "oath" only was preserved. That development must have already taken place by the time of these documents (third century A.D.) to account for the translation *śavatha khayamṇae*, and probably a good deal earlier because there is reason for believing that

the Iranian influence on the Prakrit was exercised in India itself, under the Iranian and Kuṣana rulers. In modern I.A. *khā-* has developed the general meaning of "experience" as N.Pers. *xvardan* (cf. Professor Turner's *Nep. Dict.*). But in these documents the extended use is not found except in this phrase.

bhāgena means "on behalf of", "instead of", a meaning which it does not have in Sanskrit or Prakrit. For example 518 *Nina vastava Opimta aṃñeṣa bhāgena sṣaṣavaṃna kareṃti* "Opimta a native of Nina they make a watchman instead of other people". A similar idiom from *bahr* "part" is found in N.Pers., *az bahr-i* "on behalf of".

sar "head" is used in Persian in the sense of "end". Similarly in 187 we find the phrase *taṣa śiro kartavya* "an end is to be made to that".

"One another" is *eka bitī*, literally "the first the second". This idiom, foreign to Sanskrit, is widespread in Iranian. N.Pers. *yak digar*, Khotanese Saka *śśaujātā*.

nī, out of *nija-* "own", is used very frequently as a possessive suffix with proper names, e.g. 580 *Yipiya nī bhuma prace* "Concerning the land belonging to Yipiya". In Khotanese *hīvī* "own" is frequently appended to the genitive singular, where one would not write "own" in a translation.

parivalitavo (*paripalitavo*) seems to have the sense of N.Pers. *parvarīdan*, i.e. "to nourish, feed", rather than generally "look after" as is seen from 283 *khajabhojena laṃcaḡa paripalitavya* "They are to be properly nourished, fed with food hard and soft". Similarly 358 *ede uṭa atra laṃcaḡa paripalitavya, pivarae hotu* "These camels must be properly nourished (well fed), let them be fat". It is clear in both cases that the activity denoted by *paripal-* is closely connected with giving food. There is a similar development of meaning in modern I.A. Cf. Professor Turner's *Nep. Dict.*, s.v. *pālnu*.

Modern Maltese Literature

By C. L. DESSOULAVY

THE present is perhaps a good time to recall some of the vicissitudes of the Maltese tongue. Close on a century ago G. P. Badger wrote: "As a dialect of Arabic, the present Maltese spoken at Gozo and the casals of Malta is nearly as good as that of any other Arabic country, and it is sad to observe how little it is appreciated by the people. With a little cultivation the Maltese might possess a written language which would yield to none in the beauty of its phrases and the extent of its vocabulary." Of the few then existing schools he remarks: "All instruction being communicated in the Italian the Maltese child cannot begin his studies on a par with the children of other countries, because he must first learn a language entirely different from his own as a means of acquiring the knowledge he seeks after". He adds: "The mother tongue is so implanted into their natures that centuries must elapse, or some great change take place in the common order of things before any attempt to eradicate the language of the people can be successful" (*Description of Malta*). Badger, and also Miège, the historian of the Island, two men who differed widely but who knew and loved Malta, agreed in recommending that the Arabic script should be adopted and that literary Arabic should be frankly made the base of all school-instruction. How advantageous their proposal would have been can better be appreciated now when we find the great majority of Maltese emigrants settled in Arabic-speaking North Africa. The reason why the proposal was doomed to fail was that it went against an inveterate prejudice of the Islanders. A tiny minority aside, all Maltese love their language, yet they have a horror of being thought "Asiatics" or "Africans".

Before the coming of the Knights, wealthier Maltese often went for their schooling to Italy. The language of the Knights was originally French, and all the "Inns" even to the present day are "Auberges". Yet in the course of time Italian influence grew in the Order, and also among the native upper classes, so that at the time of Napoleon's coming practically everything printed was in Italian. Sporadic attempts were made to educate the poor, but, save in the case of the really gifted pupils, nothing much came of the efforts to teach them a new language.

The influence of Italian on Maltese was very great. Words, needed and unneeded, crept into Maltese much as French words crept into English after the Conquest. There are many synonyms in Maltese lending themselves to a usage beloved of old in England of setting native and foreign "doublets" side by side. The Malta Education Board might well give a trial to the method underlying such phrases as "assemble and meet together", "acknowledge and confess". In some respects Italian influence was disastrous, for instance the foreign lawyers' ludicrous misspelling of the family names of the Islanders, many of which have been altered out of all shape. A few may, however, still be recognized in spite of their spelling. Gauci is Ghawdxi, i.e. a native of Ghawdex the island called Gaulos by the Greeks and Gozo by the Italians; Busuttli is (a-)bû-sittin (chief of sixty, a military title).

It is easy with some loan-words to trace the time of their entry into Maltese. In Arabic a Latin C, or Greek K, regularly becomes Q. This is still the case with older Maltese words of this sort. But with Maltese words adopted later, the C is rendered by K. Kanna (barrel of a gun) is written as in Greek. Kanâl (canary-bird) reminds one of the Algerian kânâlia (same), though the Canary Islands, in the Arabic atlas used in the Egyptian schools, is spelt Qanâria.

When the authorities finally resigned themselves to the recognition of Maltese and it began to be used in the schools the problem presented itself of choosing the best spelling-system from the various competing ones.

The Għaqda tal-Kittieba tal-Malti (Union of Writers of Maltese) came into existence on 14th November, 1920. In 1922 it put forth its system in print, and then amplified this in its *Tagħrif fuq il-Kitba Maltija* (Instruction on Maltese spelling), 1926, pp. xxiv, 133), in many ways a most useful book. In March, 1925, began the publication of the official organ of the Għaqda, *Il-Malti*, Qari li toħroġ il Għaqda tal-Kittieba tal-Malti kull tliet xahar (Maltese reader issued by the Għaqda every three months). It has been regularly published ever since and serves as a useful medium for the exchange of observations, as a model of Maltese as it should be written, and, incidentally, of charity and consideration. It is, needless to say, written wholly in Maltese and the spelling is that of the Għaqda, yet, such are the practical difficulties which face reformers everywhere, some of the members of the Għaqda and most zealous contributors to *Il-Malti* have not seldom, when working under other auspices, proved

unfaithful to the Għaqda spelling. Thus the original Vice-President of the Għaqda, Mgr. P. Galea, in the Church-periodical called *Leħen is-sewwa*, (*Voice of Truth*), retains even now the Kaf-C(h) spelling. We owe him, nevertheless, a debt, for it is in his "Empire Press" that all the best Maltese work is seeing the light. Another prominent member, Ant. Cremona, in his *Manual of Maltese Orthography and Grammar* (1929, pp. 71) intended for the use of the police and other Government servants, also followed the same Kaf-C(h) method. A similar act of seeming backsliding was the republication in 1931 of an old work of his by the aged and most estimable Mr. Vassallo (*It-tieni Muftieħ tal-Chitba Maltija*: Second [edition of the] *Key to Maltese spelling*, pp. 40). On the other hand some of the oldest writers of Maltese, like Comm. A. M. Galea, though personally most sympathetic to the Għaqda, have stood aloof, protesting that at their time of life they cannot be expected to spell otherwise than of old.

It is this feeling, that it is unreasonable to expect grown-up people to adopt *en masse* a system of spelling strange to them, that has prompted the authorities to take the wise step of starting from the very bottom, that is, in the Infant-schools, and so training up together both the children and the teachers. This is obviously the aim of E. B. Vella in his *Ġabra ta' Ward, l-ewwel Ktieb* (*A posy of roses*, Book one. Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. 86). It is a reading-book meant for the bottom class, in big type and with coloured illustrations. It contains moral tales, easy phrases showing the use of words, a few proverbs, and some easy verses.

Ħamiema bajda Jisimha Ġidi
Tiġi fil-ġhodu Tiekol minn idi.

(A white dove named Ġidi Comes in the morning to eat from my hand). The Maltese, I am assured, is beyond reproach, but the author is not by any means a diehard purist. He uses *stess* in passages where I should have rather expected *ruħ*, or, *nifs*, with a personal suffix. The school is *l-iskola* (not : *dar it- taġħlim*). The headmaster is *s-surmast*; the word *mġħallem* exists of course in Maltese, but now seems to have taken the sense of master-craftsman. George V is *Ġorġ Ħamsa*. *Aġħtih hajja twila biex idum isaltan fuqna* (give him long life that he may continue to reign over us).

E. B. Vella is also the author of a number of nice, readable books on various villages with which he has been associated. One is *Ħaz-Zabbar bil-ġrajja tieġħu* (1926, pp. 98), another : *Storja ta'-Zejjtun u*

Marsaxlokk (1927, pp. 147). It may be noticed how **H**al and tal in the above titles have become **H**az and taz under the influence of the following initial. About the word Marsaxlokk. In the Dictionary of A. E. Caruana we find the name spelt Marsaxloq, which is more correct. Dozy gives Arabic forms ending in both Q and K. Pedro de Alcalá has xaloque, and one reads of a Spanish word jaloque (east wind).

Vella also wrote *Storja ta' Hal Tarxien u Raħal Ġdid* (1932. pp. 304. With illustrations). Also *Storja tal-Mosta bil-knisja taġħha* (1930, pp. 232). It is interesting to learn that it is now generally taken that the name Mosta stands for Mawsata, or, Mawsta, a name which certainly suits its situation. Mosta, now noted for the vast domed church erected there last century, was in older days often the booty of sea-robbers (ħallelin tal-baħar) and was the scene of the events, historical or not, described in the old poem *Il-Ġħarusa tal-Mosta (the Bride of Mosta)*. The poem is in Preca's Malta Cananea, and an article on it by Ant. Cremona will be found in the *Journal of the Malta University Literary Society*, March, 1934, and separately. There is a Sicilian tale with a similar theme in which the heroine bears the name Scibilia. I venture to surmise that that name is a mere misunderstanding of the Maltese word occurring in verse 1 line 2 and again in verse 4.

Għaliha l-Ġħarusa tal-Mosta

X'sebħilha nħar ta tnejn. . .

Another remark. I note that the "coasts of southern Europe" becomes the "xtut ta' l-Ewropa t'isfel" (i.e. lower Europe). Modern cartographers seem to have led the Maltese like the Germans to look upon the north as the upper and the south as the lower.

Of all the natives of Malta I suppose none is better known to the outside world than Sir Themistocles Zammit, the Director of the Museum. Among his countless merits his devotion to his native tongue deserves to be set on record. Besides his regular contributions to *Il-Malti* we have to thank him for his *Il-Gzejjer ta' Malta u l-grajja taġħhom miġburin fil-qasir għat-taġħlim ta' min ma jaqraħ ħlief bil-Malti (The Maltese Islands and their history abbreviated for the instruction of him who can read only Maltese)*, 1st ed. 1925, 2nd ed. 1934, pp. 167). It covers much the same ground as his larger English work *Malta, the Islands and their history* (2nd. ed. 1929, pp. viii + 504). It may be said that in practice the word grajja is the Maltese doublet of the alien storja. I note that Zammit calls the Mediterranean the

Baħar tan-nofs in preference to the Baħar il-wistani which I once met in an old reading-book. He calls the Stone Age the Zmien il-ħaħar, whilst Vella calls the Neolithic Age the zmien il-għdid tal-ħaħar.

Among the small periodical publications of the Island is *The Teacher*, printed in English with occasional Italian articles. In connection with this and other periodicals, one may express regret that writers, editors, and compositors should be responsible for so many faults of construction and spelling where the text is meant to be English. At any rate, in 1934, *The Teacher* published an article by Ant. Cremona "The Letters W and J in Maltese" (pp. 12, since published apart). At the last international Congress of Orientalists, Professor F. Taeschner proposed to suppress the use of the letter J in transcriptions. It is, however, widely used instead of Y in Germany, and also in Malta, where its use in this capacity is recommended by the Għaqda. It is often required in the 3rd pers. sing. pres. of verbs, e.g. jaħbes (he captures). Missier (father, presumably the Arabic muṣawwir) makes the plur. missirijiet. A foreign word like "company" is written kumpanija, the Maltese doublet being xirka. Storja (history) takes the broken plural stejjer, but soru (a nun) makes the plural sorijiet, and patri (a monk) the plural patrijiet. J is always a consonant. Sejf (a sword) takes plural sjuf on the same measure as tarf, truf (ends). Falzon, in his Dictionary, wrote dūa (remedy) fia (in her) torbīa (upbringing) mīa (a hundred) jekol (he eats). These words are spelt by the Għaqda duwa, fija, torbija, mija, jiekol, thus obviating the need of any accent.

Another highly instructive article also published in *The Teacher* (1932-3) was Mr. Vassallo's "Catechism of the Maltese Orthography." He illustrates the few cases in which two vowels may follow each other, as in sema ikħal (a blue sky), where the first vowel of the adjective is stressed and therefore cannot be replaced by J; also the use of servile vowels. Ħafna għruq (a handful of roots), but sitt eghruq (six roots); also combinations of pronominal suffixes. e.g. sammagħhuli (he made him listen to me), sometimes leading to modification of the verb itself. e.g. seraqlu (he stole from him) serqilna (he stole from us), but seraqhomlna (he stole them from us). The prepositions ta', ma'. fi, bi, annex the following article, e.g. fil-bidu (in the beginning), bil-Malti (in Maltese), mal-Knisja (with the Church). The hidden T-marbuta, not seen in the word kelma, comes out in kelmtek (thy word) Vassallo has an interesting note on the mysterious letter l that enters into certain numerals like tmaxilef (twelve thousand). The l

here is really a relic of the Arabic *r* in *ghaxar* (ten), so that *tnaxilelf* is really a reduction of **tnejnghaxarelf*. Another even more attractive proposal he throws out is in connection with the vocative formula *L'aħwa* (O brothers). He opines that the *L* is not the article nor the declaratory lam occasionally heard in Arabic, but simply stands for *ya* (O). He points out that the Maltese words *lsir* (slave), *l'im* (orphan), *il-lum* (to-day) stand for the Arabic *yasir*, *yatim*, *il-yum*. He might have added *Lhud* (Jews), *lemin* (right hand) which are obviously Arabic *yahud*, and *yamin*, and possible also Maltese *lenbi* (basin of fountain, etc.), plur. *njebi*, should the words stand for Arabic *yanbugh*, plur. *yanabigh*. Mr. Vassallo's suggestion is highly ingenious and plausible and would be worth considering by experts in phonetics. When and where and why did Spanish, for instance, choose the double *ll* to comprise a *y* sound? One would also welcome parallel instances from other Arabic dialects. In a number of Maltese words the article has coalesced with a following noun: *labra* (needle) *langas* (pear) *lizar* (a sheet), *lifgha* (a viper), and several of these same words are also found similarly spelt in Maghrebinic Arabic. The Maltese *liedna* (ivy) corresponds to the borrowed Arabic *yedra*, also Spanish, from the Lat. *hedera*, which in old French gave *ierre*, and, having assimilated the article, gives in modern French *lierre*. The letter *L* has often intruded itself, even at the end of words. The Maltese *dawl* (light) is quite plainly Arabic *daw*, and the *l* at the end cannot well be other than the article of a following noun, as in *daw l-qamar*, *daw l-fanar*.

We should have mentioned, that, apart from *Il-Malti*, there are several other periodical publications entirely in Maltese and following the *Għaqda's* spelling. *Il-Qari Malti*, published at Port Said, has, I think, ceased to exist. But in Malta itself *Lehen il-Malti* has been published as a monthly since 1931. The Malta Department of Agriculture (*tal-biedja*) has brought out a monthly review wholly in Maltese called *Melita Agricola* under the editorship of Dr. J. Micallef. During the first year of its life it followed the *Kaf: C(h)* system, but has conformed to the *Għaqda* system since the beginning of 1934.

Professor Saydon's translations: *Il-Kotba mqaddsa bil-Malti* (*the Holy Books in Maltese*) have already been alluded to in previous issues of the *Bulletin*. His books of Samuel came out at the end of 1933. In the awkward matter of the spelling of Biblical proper names, he has retained the received Maltese spelling in the case of the more often used names, but has transliterated from the Hebrew the less known ones. Thus the heading of 2 Sam. v is "David f'Ġerusalem sultan

ta' Israel kollu.' His diction is well-chosen : U ħa s-sultan l-ghaxar nisa li kien ħalla biex iħarsu d-dar, għalaqhom f'dar tal-ghassa u kien jatihom jieklu, imma qatt ma daħal lejhom (And the king took the ten women he had left to guard the house and put them in ward and fed them but went not unto them). I note that he writes : Atina sultan biex jaħkimna (Give us a King to judge us). Seemingly the first word may be written as here, or, spelt aħtina as Vella seems to prefer.

A good deal of Maltese literature seems to be in verse. And no wonder. Maltese is an imaginative language, and its words, like the Saxon English words, call up visible images, which makes the language very suitable for poetic use.

In 1932 Ant. Cremona published a reprint of some occasional verse under the title of *Weraq mar-Riħ* (*Wind-driven-leaves*). He and others often publish verses in *Il-Malti* and elsewhere. The most reputed poet of the Island is, however, Mgr. Psaila of the Public Library. All his writings come out under the name of Dun Karm. I may mention that, in Malta, nearly everybody seems to have a pet name, or a nickname, and that nobody thinks twice of using such names even more or less publicly. Most of Dun Karm's verses centre round one or other of the yearly commemorations, that of St. Paul's shipwreck, or that of the Victory of 1565. A verse from his *Tifkira* (1927) may give some idea of the swing of the Maltese verse :—

U int ja xemx, fil-mixja ta'kull sena
 Li tkejjel biha l-ġrajja tal-bnedmin,
 Xandar lill-ġnus taz-zewġ qasmiet tad- dinja
 Li qatt rebħa ma rajt isbaħ minn din.

Which might be roughly rendered : And thou, O sun, in thy yearly run, measure of things men have done, proclaim to the people of the world's two halves that never didst thou see a victory finer than this one.

In an advertisement inside one of his books I find Comm. Alfonsus M. Galea described as "Sur Fons", a typical abbreviation, of which, as just stated, the Maltese are so fond. I have left him to the last because his spelling is not that of the Għaqda. As already recorded in the *Bulletin* he has translated a considerable portion of Holy Writ. His latest works have been a translation of Fouard's *Life of Christ the Son of God* (*Ħajja ta Cristu l-iben t'Alla* (Sliema, 1933, pp. 280), and a number of booklets, intended for children, on the teaching of Christ and the Apostles, being extracts from the New Testament

(Rabta l-ġdida). It is rather delightful to find a dghajsa on the Lake of Tiberias in the time of Jesus ; Cast your net “ mal-lemin tad-dghajsa ” (on the right side of the boat). I have no doubt that what is in Comm. Galea’s mind is, that, though his spelling is not now that of the Government or of the schools, yet the stuff matters more than the spelling, and, that, his spelling being more familiar than the newer one to the kindly persons who might accept to give semi-public readings from his books to the unlettered poor, his purpose will have been achieved. After all, Maltese still remains more a spoken than a written tongue.

Some Aspects of the Conflicts of Religion in China during the Six Dynasties and T'ang Periods

By E. EDWARDS

IN the whole history of religious controversy in China there never was a period when the Chinese phrase *I kuo san kung ; wu shui shih ts'ung*¹: "One state, three leaders ; whom should I follow ?" was more applicable than that which succeeded the introduction of Buddhism in the first century of our era. To understand the conditions of the period in question it is necessary to review briefly the situation before Buddhism arrived. Europeans have long been familiar with the early religion of China as described in the classics ; but accepted interpretations are being revised in the light of modern archæological and ethnological research.

The cleavage between upper classes and peasants, which is an early feature of the Chinese social system, is suggestive of the victory of a superior culture over primitive communities. "Had there been no sages of old," Han Yü wrote in the T'ang period, "the race of men would have been exterminated long ago. Why? Man has no feathers, fur, scales or shell to withstand heat and cold ; no claws or teeth to serve him in a struggle for food. Therefore there were rulers to issue orders and ministers to carry them into effect upon the people ; and it was the business of the people to produce food and clothes, to make articles of daily use, and to exchange their commodities for the benefit of their superiors."² Prior to the appearance, in the first half of the second millennium B.C., of this new culture in the valley of the Yellow River, the religion of the primitive peoples inhabiting China was animistic—a wide-spread belief in magic and supernatural beings. When the newcomers arrived they kept their rites and ceremonies to themselves, while the peasants, in spite of efforts at control by their new masters, contrived to maintain most of the customs and religious ideas which their ancestors had absorbed from their superstitious neighbours to the south.³ The distinction

¹ 一國三公。吾誰適從。

² Han Yü, *Yüan tao* (韓愈, 原道): *On the true doctrine*.

³ On the introduction of the Bronze Age culture see C. W. Bishop, "The Worship of Earth in Ancient China," *Journal NCBRAS.*, vol. xlv. p. 24 ff. See also Waley, *The Way and its Power*, pp. 133-5.

between official and popular worship thus begun in the Bronze Age did not, however, remain always so clear. Ancestor worship, practised by the ruling class from the beginning, was adopted by the people as a whole ; while in course of time many popular beliefs affected the ideas and practices of the aristocracy. Confucius, on the occasion when the people of his village conducted the great ceremony of driving out evil spirits, donned his ceremonial robes and stood on the eastern steps,¹ thus indicating his approval of a custom more closely connected with ancient popular animism than with the early religion of the upper classes.

In addition to practising the cult of ancestors, the new inhabitants of the Yellow River Basin worshipped Heaven,² and the more personal *Shang Ti*.³ who may have been but another manifestation of Heaven, or, as Mr. Waley suggests, a deified first ancestor inhabiting Heaven along with the other ancestors.⁴ Details of both these forms of worship were naturally handed down in, and became part of, the records of the Chinese, but the peasant cult, animistic and orgiastic, contaminated by the ideas of barbarous tribes, could never have been considered by a cultured people to be suitable for inclusion in the annals of their race.⁵ Nevertheless many of these ideas were able to survive, and still survive, owing to the fact that they were adopted by degenerate Taoism and so were passed down as part of the most intimate heritage of the uneducated classes of the Chinese people. These facts help to explain why even during the feudal period, when China was no longer a united state, there was so little antagonism between the religions of the two social groups ; each class retained its own beliefs and practices, modified by those of the other ; and the relation existing between governing and governed tended to minimize friction. Even the growth of Taoist philosophy, since it in no way interfered with the official cult, seems to have been taken as a matter of course. Lao Tzū troubled contemporary princes less than Confucius did ; his theories had little or no relation to practical methods of government, and were therefore less objectionable

¹ *Analeets*, bk. x, ch. x, v. 2. Three such ceremonies were held annually, the one here referred to being the most important of them.

² 天.

³ 上帝.

⁴ Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 28, and Waley, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 21.

⁵ Karlgren, in his *Shih King Researches*, finds that the rhymes in songs of the states, sung by peasants at their festivals, all conform to well defined rules, showing that the songs must therefore have been edited (e.g. by Confucius) before being included in the archives.

to the official classes. No record remains of any expression of dislike for Taoism by Confucius, and criticism is noticeably absent from the earlier works of the Confucian school. This is the less remarkable because in the period of the restoration of the Confucian classics after the burning of the books in 213 B.C. many good Confucian scholars were also partial, though not professed, Taoists, probably owing to the fact that the Taoist books survived the conflagration. Even Mencius, a whole-hearted Confucianist, makes no mention of Lao Tzū or of Taoism, although he outlived by thirty years the most celebrated enemy of early Confucianism, Chuang Tzū, whose gibes are frequent and pointed.¹ Han Yü complains² that in his day Confucian scholars, having grown accustomed to hearing Taoists and Buddhists reiterating, "Confucius was a disciple of our Master," had fallen so low that they themselves would say, in writing as well as in speech, "Our Master also respected Lao Tzū and Buddha." But if the creed of the Confucian literati was coloured by Taoism, the Taoists were less complaisant. Their antagonism was directed against the ritual and formalism of the Confucian doctrine because these were destructive of the natural and the spontaneous, the efficacy of which was a fundamental principle of Taoism.

Such controversy as existed at this period was confined to the ruling classes; its intellectual significance was greater than its religious zeal; and it did not affect the common people at all. However, the attitude of the upper classes towards their inferiors was perhaps less callous than appears. If they felt no responsibility for their spiritual welfare it was no doubt because the people still kept their own religious ideas and practices, and because nothing in the nature of propaganda had as yet been contemplated by either Taoists or Confucianists.

A new turn was given to affairs late in the third century before our era. Conservative Confucian opposition to the schemes of Shih Huang

¹ Said Confucius to Lao Tzū, "I have made myself thoroughly acquainted with the *Odes*, the *Annals*, the *Rites* and *Music*, the *Book of Changes*, and the *History*. I have discoursed on the way of the ancient sovereigns to seventy-two unruly princes, but none of them has listened to me or profited by my advice." "How fortunate," replied Lao Tzū, "that they did not listen. If they had done so they would have become worse. Your six treatises are rubbish, and the deeds which they record happened in circumstances which no longer exist, and would be quite inappropriate to the conditions of the present day." (Chuang Tzū, chap. xiv. Cf. Wieger, *History of Religious Beliefs* . . . , p. 195 ff.) On Ssü-ma Ch'ien's legendary account of Lao Tzū see Waley, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-8.

² Han Yu, *op. cit.*

Ti of Ch'in resulted in the burning of the books and the persecuting of the scholars. This event helped to make the *literati* jealous of their rights and so contributed to making Confucianism a closed caste. The Taoists, on the other hand, came triumphantly through this period with their books intact and their influence growing. When the Han dynasty replaced the Ch'in they were equally fortunate. Many of the emperors of the Former Han, and in particular Wu Ti (140-87 B.C.), were the dupes of Taoists; magical practices and personal deities replaced the abstractions of early Taoism; and the temporal power of the Taoists became a menace to the Confucian administration. The rivalry which religious zeal and intellectual differences had not been able to rouse leapt to life full-grown at the first threat to political supremacy. Perhaps the oddest feature of this remarkable era was the change, already referred to, which was taking place in the Confucianists themselves. Some of the works produced by Confucian scholars under the Han dynasty are clearly influenced by Taoist speculations.¹ This state of affairs continued until a movement was begun in the second half of the second century A.D. to purify Confucianism. Taoism then emerged as an independent creed, and the Confucian scholars became virtually a closed caste.²

Besides the organizing of Taoism as a rival sect there was another factor which contributed to the isolation of Confucianism. This was the development of a definitely hostile creed, Buddhism, in the first centuries of our era. That religion had been brought to China, not to be taught to the Chinese people but only to satisfy the curiosity of the emperor. But changing conditions favoured its rapid growth. The element of fatalism was spreading; criticism was being directed at the old faiths; Confucianism was divided into a number of schools; above all, the kingdom was ravaged by civil wars, and the introduction of a faith that offered a hope of a happier future could not fail to arouse wonder and interest. Beginning with a small but zealous circle, the wave of Buddhism flowed over China in a wider and wider sweep, until, at the beginning of the fifth century, history tells us, nine families out of every ten throughout the empire were Buddhist, and in the sixth century the Confucian schools were closed because they

¹ e.g. Tung Chung-shu (董仲舒) of the Former Han period; author of *Ch'un ch'iu fan lu* (春秋繁露).

² A valuable repository of the beliefs of the Later Han period is the *Lun hêng* (論衡) of Wang Ch'ung (王充), written before Buddhism had had time to influence Chinese thought. Cf. Forke, *Lun hêng*.

had ceased to serve any useful purpose. This remarkable development naturally had not been foreseen by Taoists or Confucianists, and the strained relations existing between them were not affected until, in the middle of the third century, they awoke to the fact that the new foreign faith was a factor to be reckoned with.

The principal landmarks of the third and fourth centuries were the introduction of mystic Taoism,¹ a popular version of which followed,² and in A.D. 335, under the Chin dynasty (265-419), the first edict of tolerance granted to Buddhism in China, a clear indication of the existence of hatred and persecution. The most effective reason for the inundation of China by Buddhism in the fourth and fifth centuries was not the diminution of the influence of the Confucian administration through civil strife and Tartar invasions, nor yet the controversy between China's indigenous faiths; it was the fact that the new faith was a glowing, vitalizing force, and carried, in *mahayana* Buddhism, a message for every individual and for every class. It held elements which reduced, though they could not entirely remove, the fear which was the basis of popular animism; and it endeavoured to adapt itself to, and turn to its own use, many features of that belief.

Thus for the first time, the common people were drawn into the circle of religious controversy. The Taoists found themselves obliged to struggle to maintain the influence over the minds of the people which they had been at pains to increase by the introduction of the popular form of mystic Taoism; even the conservative Confucian scholars could not afford to overlook the advantages of advertisement, and broke through the dignified aloofness of centuries to imitate their rivals. Controversial literature was no new phenomenon; collections of stories and anecdotes current among the people had been made from the Han period onwards; but from the Chin dynasty³ date the earliest collections⁴ of the tales which served the rival religious leaders

¹ Founded by Ko Hsuan (葛玄), T. Hsiao-hsien (孝先) between A.D. 238 and 250. Cf. Wieger, *History of Religious Beliefs* . . . L. 61.

² Introduced by Ko Hung (葛洪), T. Chih-ch'uan (稚川), grand-nephew of the above. Lived about A.D. 326. Author of the treatise *Pao Po-tz'ü* (抱朴子). Wieger, op. cit., L. 52.

³ A.D. 317-419.

⁴ e.g. (1) *Sou shên chi* (搜神記), by Kan Pao (干寶), about A.D. 320. With a supplement dating from the Ch'ien Sung period.

(2) *Shih i chi* (拾遺記), by Wang Chia (王嘉), about A.D. 380. Re-edited at a later date.

(3) *Po wu chih* (博物志), by Chang Hua (張華), dd. A.D. 300. With a Sung period supplement.

as propaganda in their struggle to win the favour of the masses. These collections are very numerous; many such tales are included, though not always with correct attributions, in anthologies such as the *T'ang tai ts'ung shu*¹ and the *Han Wei ts'ung shu*²: but the finest repertory of these tales is the *T'ai Ping kuang chi*,³ a vast collection, in 500 chapters, completed in A.D. 981, under the direction of Li Fang⁴ of the Sung dynasty, which includes all earlier collections of the same type, arranged according to subjects. Many of the tales in this collection have no obvious connection with any of the rival doctrines, but are genuine folk-tales derived from old popular superstitions. Among the remainder Taoist and Buddhist stories preponderate, but there are enough Confucian tales to indicate their origin and design. Taoist and Buddhist tales have a definite purpose, the winning of new converts; many of the tales of the Confucian scholars, on the other hand, seem to have been inspired by the negative purpose of counter-acting the influence of their rivals. For this reason their stories are often mere imitations, and lack the zeal and sincerity which mark many Buddhist tales. After the establishment of the T'ang dynasty, the *literati* began slowly to free themselves from the bonds of superstition, and an interesting change came over the tales they produced; their miraculous adventures were related as dreams; it is as if, unable any longer to believe in many of the old superstitions, and yet unwilling to relinquish the field to their adversaries, they devised this new method of defence. They criticized their rivals frequently, sometimes openly, sometimes by implication.⁵ Taoists and Buddhists

¹ 唐代叢書: *Collected Reprints of the T'ang Dynasty.*

² 漢魏叢書: *Collected Reprints of the Han and Wei Dynasties.*

³ 太平廣記.

⁴ 李昉.

⁵ e.g. the *Huan i chih* (幻異志), a small collection of tales and anecdotes by Sun Wei (孫頴), of the T'ang dynasty, says that Buddhist writings mention a Great Wheel Spell, used in the cure of diseases, and declares that instead of relieving the patient's sufferings, it caused him to behave wildly, so that he would scramble about on the rafters or eat crockery. Another example, also from the *Huan i chih*: "In a pagoda in a valley stood a statue of a Bôdhisatva which emitted light. Two sacred lamps were frequently seen at various points on the hills nearby. Crowds of pilgrims flocked to the spot, and one of them, bolder than the rest, ventured one night to follow the moving lights. Suddenly he was confronted and carried off by a tiger, whose glaring eyes were the sacred lamps." The same work contains denunciations of Taoism. A certain Taoist, versed in magic, is accused of leading astray young men of noble family by calling up fairies and allowing glimpses of them to be seen by the by-standers. The resentment caused by this resulted in the death of the Taoist.

still continued to use the direct method of approach and to play upon the superstitious minds of the ignorant.

A good deal of the bitterness of Confucian invective sprang from jealousy: during the T'ang period the Taoists enjoyed imperial favour for long periods and became exceedingly powerful. Buddhism was still active, and, over the whole period from the Chin dynasty onwards, numbers of books appeared which recounted the wonders of the Buddhist religion, setting before their readers the prospect of escape from the world, and emphasizing all the hitherto unheard-of blessings which attend belief in Buddhist teachings. Whole books narrate the benefits conferred on those who devote themselves to the *sutras*, and the sufferings which befall those who eat meat and fish or infringe other prohibitions. Very many of the Buddhist tales are definitely instructive, and contain the essentials of Buddhist teaching, particularly in relation to the taking of life and the theory of reward and retribution.

Of the philosophical aspect of Taoism, on the other hand, the tales contain no trace. Their themes are exorcism and magic¹; there seems to be a complete absence of religious ideals and no attempt at religious instruction. Taoist devotees, both laymen and priests, more often spent their days in a vain search for the elixir of life than in doing good²; Taoist miracles are displays of power more often than deeds of mercy. The influence of Taoism is clearly the result of superstitious fear; Buddhism works on the hope of salvation inherent in man; and Confucianism is coloured by both but lacks the force of either. It is easy to understand, therefore, why the Chinese people, unable to distinguish between these three "religions", accepted all in varying degrees.

The Chinese are not inherently a "religious" people: they adopt towards the spirits or gods the attitude which they suppose will be best calculated to ensure benefit or avert catastrophe. The souls of dead men can take up their abode in material objects³; belief in

¹ This feature is common in Confucian tales also. Belief in witchcraft, though on the decline in the T'ang period, was still widespread. Cf. Han Yu (dd. A.D. 824), *On a Bone from Buddha's Body*: "When the princes of old went to pay a visit of condolence, they would send on ahead a magician with a peach-wand to expel evil influences. Yet Your Majesty is about to welcome this foul remnant of an old decayed bone, and to take part personally in the ceremonies with no magician and no peach-rod."

² It is a comment on the nature of the times that in these popular tales philanthropic persons are often said to be immortals temporarily banished from "heaven".

³ In a little hut on the banks of the Wei in Lo-yang lived an old hermit. He would sit in his corner and meditate on the problems of existence, reflecting that only in solitude can man follow the true path. Sitting thus one bitterly cold night, with

transmigration is present¹ though less often mentioned; the two ideas are often confused. There is a suggestion in *Miao nü chuan*, repeated elsewhere, that the "King of Heaven" is not omniscient; he is said to be "seeking for" his daughter, being evidently unaware of her whereabouts. In the *I ch'i chih*,² *Records of Strange Diseases* by Tuan Ch'êng-shih,³ "God"⁴ is completely outwitted by a Buddhist priest. Furthermore, material objects are themselves inhabited by spirits, or have souls of their own.⁵ Some idea of the confusion of ideas which must have existed in the minds of the uneducated people may be gained from the following brief summary: The world is governed by a Supreme Being, usually called Ti,⁴ Sovereign Ruler. References to this being are fairly frequent but little is told of his life and habits. His inferior dwelling-place is part of the desert near the K'un-lun Mountains, a region occupied by the host of spirits.³ The spirit-world is all around and to it go the souls of the dead. Many become officials there, holding positions similar to those they occupied on earth, and having definite duties in relation to the world of the living, whither they go by night to carry out their functions.⁶ In this connection the

the wind whistling through the door, he was surprised by a visitor, a stately, polished gentleman of the old school, who introduced himself as Mr. Liu (Willow). The two fell to talking of books, and the recluse, himself a great lover of the *Book of Changes*, was surprised to find that his guest had never heard of it, though he seemed to be well acquainted with the other classics as well as with Buddhist writings. When the visitor had gone the recluse made inquiries, but failed to identify his caller. A few days later, however, a great gale uprooted an old willow-tree that stood beside the river, exposing to view a number of books which had lain hidden in its trunk. Wet and decayed though they were, the recluse was able to examine them; the *Book of Changes* was not among them. (From *Ling kuai lu* (靈怪錄), a small collection of marvels by Niu Chiao (牛嶠), about A.D. 879. *The Story of Hsieh Hung-chi*.)

¹ e.g. *Miao nü chuan* (妙女傳), by Ku Fei-hsiung (顧非熊), early ninth century. A slave-girl fell sick and dreamed that she was carried on a cloud to heaven. There she was told that she was the daughter of the King of Heaven, T'o-t'ou-lai-t'o, and that having been banished for divulging the secrets of heaven, she had already accomplished two incarnations on earth and must now be freed of all impurities and prepared for her return to her native heaven. . . .

² 異疾志.

³ Cf. Tuan Ch'êng-shih (段成式), *No kao chi* (諾臯記), p. 1a.

⁴ 帝.

⁵ Mention of quicksilver is frequent in this connection. Cf. Niu Chiao, op. cit. *Lu Shêng*. No doubt the nature of the material gave rise in this case to the idea that it was "alive".

⁶ Cf. *Hsü yü kuai lu* (續幽怪錄), p. 3a, *The Marriage Inn*: "We officials of the under-world manage the affairs of mortals, so why should we not walk among you? Of those who walk the streets, half are mortals and half are ghosts. You do not notice the ghosts, that is all."

God of Thunder (Punisher of Crimes) is especially feared.¹ Mortals who visit the under-world are impressed by its likeness to earth. Its palaces may be inhabited by dragons, but they are ordinary palaces and not the fabulous palaces of fairy-land. The spirits live as men live, even to the extent of having wives.

The Chinese generally regard the soul as two-fold. According to Confucian theory the superior soul is dissipated after death; Buddhists believe that it is reincarnated; and Taoists hold that it goes to live in the under-world, with a possibility of being reincarnated, perhaps to requite an injury or to repay a debt contracted during life.²

The wandering souls of suicides, and others who have died before the escort comes to conduct them to the under-world, rub shoulders with vampires³ and with Buddhist *asuras* and *yakchas*; but the most evilly disposed spirits are comparatively powerless against the devout, immunity being in direct ratio to faith—in Buddhism, say the Buddhists; in Taoism, say the Taoists; in Confucianism, say the Confucianists.

“One country, three leaders; whom should I follow?” The problem defied solution. No universal religion was possible without the co-operation of the leaders themselves, and from that direction no help could be expected. It is true that each creed adopted certain elements of its competitors, but even while such modifications were in progress polemic literature and propagandist tales continued to accumulate and so increased instead of diminishing the confusion. Buddhism came near to becoming a national religion towards the end of the Six Dynasties period, when wars and the disorganization of economic life drove men from their earlier fatalism to seek for a doctrine of redemption, a movement which reduced in China the importance attached to Nirvana, and developed in its place the hope of rebirth in the Western Paradise.

¹ A curious Buddhist turn is given to this superstition in the *Lei min chuan* (雷民傳), *Chronicles of the People of Lei-chou* (lit. Thunder People), by Shên Chi-chi (沈既濟). Apparently thunder was so frequently heard in the district that the town was called Thunder-town (Lei-chou). Shên states that its rumblings were heard whenever certain foods such as pork or minced fish were prepared as offerings.

² Cf. Wu Jung (吳融), *Yuan chai chi* (冤債記), p. 4a. A priest who neglected his duties as guardian of a family graveyard was reincarnated as a crop of mushrooms. The debt discharged, mushrooms ceased to grow on the priest's grave.

³ Vampires are said to be embodiments of the inferior soul, which, having contrived to preserve itself over-long after the death of the body, goes about (in a variety of forms) as a ferocious demon devouring men.

The movement of Buddhism in the direction of supremacy was fostered by the introduction of foreign elements into the population under the Tartar dynasties. But Taoists viewed with alarm, the lessening of their influence; the growth of Buddhism stimulated Taoism to become a religious system on the model of the intruder; again and again it borrowed new elements from Buddhism until it developed into a religion as wide-spread and as strong as its rival. Lao Tzū being elevated to the rank of a divinity in imitation of Buddha.

In the ranks of the Confucianists many scholars followed the tide and turned to Buddhism; magical ideas were absorbed from Taoism; ceremonial superseded conviction. But though the old Confucianism was thus transformed, its followers continued to take part in the struggle from their strongly entrenched position in the government.

Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection

By LIONEL GILES

(PLATE VII)

I. FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES A.D.

OF the 7,000 manuscripts (including fragments) which were taken by Sir Aurel Stein, almost at random, from the great hoard in Tunhuang, some 380 bear dates, ranging from A.D. 406 to 995. Six are of the fifth century, and forty-four of the sixth. A few of the undated MSS. may be even earlier than 406, while it is highly probable that others are later than 995, seeing that the date 1035 is found in the similar collection at Paris. But in any case the period covered does not greatly exceed 600 years.

Most of these dates record not merely the year but the month and the day, and in the earliest instance of all, even the hour. Many of them occur in notes or colophons which set forth, often at some length, the pious intention of monks or laymen who have caused copies to be made of certain sūtras, and who wish to apply the "merit" thus gained to the benefit and relief of dead relatives in their future incarnations. Such colophons are of no little interest to students of Buddhism, but few have as yet been translated.

Among the rolls of the fifth and sixth centuries the scarcity of secular documents is noticeable. Of the Buddhist sūtras, the Parinirvāṇa is on the whole the favourite, especially towards the end of the period, while the proportion of commentaries is remarkably large; in later times these very seldom occur with colophons or dates. Most of the rolls lack some of the earlier sheets, which, of course, would be most exposed to wear and tear.¹

A marked change in the general style of handwriting becomes apparent in the latter part of the sixth century, corresponding no doubt to some increase of flexibility in the brush-pen. In the more archaic manuscripts the characters are less elegantly shaped than they began to be about the beginning of the Sui dynasty, and look as if they had been made with a somewhat stubby instrument. The paper and ink are of wonderfully good quality from the very first, though

¹ An asterisk at the beginning of a transliterated title indicates that the first part of the text under consideration is missing, while one at the end of the title means that the last portion is incomplete. "N." stands for Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue, and "K." for the Kyōto edition of the Chinese Buddhist Tripiṭaka.

considerable improvement is shown in the texture of the paper as time goes on, and also in the use of the beautiful yellow dye which is characteristic of the Sui and early T'ang period. In this connection I would call attention to a recently published book entitled *Paper: An Historical Account* (Shakespeare Head Press, Oxford), in which the author, Mr. R. H. Clapperton, gives a most interesting analysis of some of the Stein papers, based on photomicrographs.

A.D. 406 (W. LIANG).

S. 797. *Recto*: A Vinaya text, *Pratimokṣa of the Sarvāstivādin, which does not exactly agree with any in the present Canon.

There is an interesting colophon (see Plate VII): 建初元年歲在乙巳十二月五日戌時比丘德祐於敦煌城南受具戒和上僧法性戒師寶慧教師惠穎時同戒場者道輔惠御等十二人到夏安居寫到戒諷之趣成具字而已手拙用愧見者但念其義莫笑其字也故記之 "At the *hsü* hour of the 5th day of the 12th moon of the *i-ssü* year, the first of the regnal period Chien-ch'ü [i.e. between 7 and 9 p.m. on 10th January, 406], the bhikshu Tê-yu, who received the full disciplinary vows from the monk (*upādhyāya*) Fa-hsing, the master of discipline Pao-hui, and the master of doctrine Hui-ying, south of the city of Tunhuang, and subsequently went into retreat during the summer with his companions in the ceremony, Tao-fu, Hui-yü, and others, twelve in all, has written out the commandments for recitation as far as 'the completion of destiny', merely copying the characters. The clumsiness of his hand causes him shame, and he adds this note in the hope that readers may only meditate on the sense and forbear to laugh at the handwriting."

In 406 Tunhuang formed part of the short-lived Western Liang State under Li Kao, of which until the previous year it had been the capital. The colophon proper is preceded by a 受戒文 or formula to be recited at the ceremony of "receiving the commandments", and followed by directions as to the division of the text for purposes of recitation. The exact meaning of 戒諷之趣成 is not clear to me.

Verso: A text, also imperfect at the beginning, which consists of discourses by Buddha showing how such and such precepts of the Vinaya came to be made. It resembles 四分律藏 *Ssü fên lü tsang* (N. 1117), which was translated in 405. A note at the end shows that the copy was made by the same scribe, Tê-yu.

The roll is 23 feet long by 25 cm. wide, and consists of twenty-one unequal sheets of paper in a good state of preservation, of which Mr. Clapperton says: "It is of a soiled brownish buff colour, short and hard in the tear, and with a tendency to split. The thickness is .008-.009 inch. The surface and sizing are good . . . The paper was made on a laid mould with the laid lines about ten to the inch, and is very strong and tough in one direction. Composition: Paper mulberry." The ink is fresh and black, and the handwriting, though not elegant, is perfectly clear and legible.

416 (W. LIANG).

S. 113. *Recto*: A slightly mutilated fragment of an official census of 敦煌郡 敦煌縣 西宕鄉 高昌里 Kao-ch'ang Li in Hsi-tang Hsiang, Tun-huang Hsien, Tun-huang Chün. There are entries for ten separate families, and each entry is dated in the 1st moon of the 12th year of Chien-ch'ü (February-March, 416). The writing is clear and distinct. This MS. was published with translation and notes in *T'oung Pao*, vol. xvi, pp. 468-488.

Verso: Part of a commentary on 妙法蓮華經 **Miao fa lien hua ching** (Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra), p'in 1 and 2. That it is later in date than the Census is proved by the fact that four sheets of the latter, all of which are incomplete, have been used to make a continuous roll for the commentary. The handwriting is smaller and somewhat more cursive. Dimensions of the roll, 2 ft. 11 in. by 24 cm.

420 (N. LIANG).

S. 6251. A fragmentary list of articles which were apparently enclosed in a tomb, bearing the date 玄始九年十一月一日 "1st day of the 11th moon of the 9th year of Hsüan-shih" [21st December, 420]. The regnal period is that of Chü-ch'ü Mèng-hsün, second ruler of the Northern Liang dynasty. These fragments of paper, which are in a crumbling condition, were found on and below the body. The largest piece is 11 × 5½ in.

455 (N. WEI).

S. 2925. *Recto*: 摩訶般若波羅密品第四 **Mo ho pan jo po lo mi*, or Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, p'in 4. One would expect this to be Kumārajīva's translation (N. 3), which was completed ca. A.D. 400, but it does not agree with the text in our present Tripiṭaka. At the end are the characters 趙清信經 "Sūtra [owned by]

Chao Ch'ing-hsin" (the upāsaka Chao). This is a fine MS. of archaic type which may confidently be assigned to the early fifth century.

Verso: 佛說辯意長者子所問經 **Fo shuo pien i chang chē tzŭ so wên ching* (N. 769), in a much inferior hand. About a third of the sūtra has been torn away at the beginning.

Colophon: 太安元年在庚寅正月十九日寫訖伊吾南祠比丘申宗手拙人已難得昏墨 "Copying completed on the 19th day of the 1st moon of Kêng-yin, the 1st year of T'ai-an [21st February, 455], by the bhikshu Shên-tsung of the Southern Shrine at I-wu [Hami], a clumsy man with the pen. It was hard to obtain paper and ink." [This may be an excuse for writing on the back of the roll.]

The first thing to notice about this colophon is that the cyclical date Kêng-yin does not fall within the T'ai-an period, but might represent 450 or 510. The next is that 庚 is written minus its final stroke, presumably for reasons of taboo, though the character does not form part of the personal name of any Toba emperor. The sūtra is stated by Nanjio (p. 426) and Takakusu (No. 544) to have been translated by 法場 Fa-ch'ang in the period 500-515. The text, however, agrees with K. xv. i. bbb, where it is said to have been translated by 法場 Fa-i, also of the Later Wei. Neither of these men appears in Hackmann's index to the *Kao sêng chuan*. The *K'ai yüan lu*, ch. 6, f. 188 v°, says that the sūtra was translated by Fa-ch'ang, but points out that a sūtra of this name was already in circulation under the Eastern Chin dynasty. Unless 場 in the Kyōto text is a misprint, it may be that the real translator was one Fa-i who lived in the fifth century but was afterwards confused with Fa-ch'ang. The roll is about 10 feet long, and composed of the usual dull buff paper.

479 (N. WEI).

S. 996. 雜阿毗曇心經 **Tsa a p'i t'an hsin ching*, ch. 6, corresponding to N. 1287, K. xxv. 4. g (which has 論 instead of 經), ch. 3. This is a commentary on the Abhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra, in very good handwriting. At the end is a note: 用帋十五張一校 "15 sheets of paper used. Revised throughout." Of these sheets only the last five now remain, making the roll rather more than 7 feet long. There is also a lengthy and difficult colophon, in which it is said that the text was delivered orally by the mahāsattva Fa-shêng (法盛大士之所說). In our Tripitaka the author is given as 法救 Fa-chiu (Dharmatrata). The present copy was made to the

order of 馮晉國 Fêng Chin-kuo, Governor of Lo-chou [Loyang] and Prince of Ch'ang-li [in Ho-pei] (洛州刺史昌梨王), who was also General Superintendent of Military Affairs (都督諸軍事) under the Northern Wei. The colophon contains a prayer for the Emperor and Empress, and concludes with a eulogy of the work in verse (讚) and the date: 太代太和三年歲次己未十月己巳廿八日丙申於洛州所書寫成訖 "Copying completed at Lo-chou on the 28th day, *ping-shên*, of the 10th moon, *chi-ssü*, of the 3rd year, *chi-wei*, of T'ai-ho in the Great Tai dynasty" [27th November, 479]. Tai was the name of the district in Shansi held by the Toba Tartars, who founded the Northern Wei dynasty. It is interesting to find it used as a dynastic title instead of 魏 Wei.

500 (N. WEI).

S. 2106. 維摩義記 **Wei mo i chi*, a commentary on the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra, Kumārajīva's translation, from chapter 3 to the end (chapter 14). Written in a slightly cursive hand on thin but compact paper, stained yellow. This is the first appearance of an extraneous dye, an important landmark in the development of paper for writing purposes. The roll is about 26 feet long, and at the very end the original whitish colour is visible.

Colophon: 景明原年二月廿二日比丘曇興於定州豐樂寺寫訖 "Copying completed by the bhikshu T'an-hsing at the Fêng-lo Monastery in Ting-chou on the 22nd day of the 2nd moon of the 1st year of Ching-ming" [6th April, 500].

Ting-chou is in the province of Hopei. Note 原年 instead of the usual 元年. In 496, only four years before the date of this MS., the Wei emperor had changed the family name Toba into the Chinese form 元 Yüan; but there is no reason to suppose that the word therefore became taboo; indeed, it appears in our very next colophon. The title at the end is followed by a fairly long note on the sūtra.

Professor Yabuki compared this text with numerous other commentaries on the Vimalakīrti, but none was found to agree with it. It stands next in date to the oldest commentary by Sêng-chao of the Later Ch'in (384-417).

504 (N. WEI).

S. 2660. 勝鬘義記 **Shêng man i chi*, in 1 chüan. This is the oldest extant commentary on the Śrīmālā-devī-siṃhanāda-sūtra (N. 59), which was first translated by Guṇabhadra between 435 and

443. At the end of the text are the words 慧掌蘊 "Collected by Hui-chang".

Colophon: 正始元年二月十四日寫訖用帛十一張寶獻共玄濟上人校了 "Copying completed on the 14th of the 2nd moon of the 1st year of Chêng-shih [15th March, 504]. Eleven sheets of paper used. [One only is missing.] Revised jointly by the *shang-jên* (monks) Pao-hsien and Hsüan-chi."

The handwriting is good but rather small. The paper, originally whitish and of the same kind as S. 2106, above, has been stained a deep yellow, except at the end. The roll is nearly 17½ feet long.

506 (LIANG).

S. 81. 大般涅槃經 **Ta pan nieh p'an ching*, ch. 11, p'in 6 and 7. This is N. 113: Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra, translated by Dharmaraksha in 423.

Colophon (see Plate VII): 天監五年七月廿五日佛弟子譙良顥奉爲亡父於荊州竹林寺敬造大般涅槃經一部願七世含識速登法王无畏之地比丘僧倫龔弘亮二人爲營 "On the 25th day of the 7th moon of the 5th year of T'ien-chien [29th August, 506] the Buddhist disciple Ch'iao Liang-yung reverently caused a section of the *Ta pan nieh p'an ching* to be copied at the Chu-lin (Bamboo Grove) Monastery in Ching-chou [Hupeh] on behalf of his deceased father, praying that all sentient beings of seven previous incarnations might speedily ascend to the Dharmarāja's realm of fearlessness (*abhaya*). Prepared for him by the bhikshu Sêng-lun and Kung Hung-liang."

佛弟子, like 清信弟子, "disciple of pure faith," indicates a lay member of the Buddhist Church. 造 in these colophons never means "copied", but always "had a copy made" by a scribe, for payment. The actual copyists in this case are named at the end; one of them was a layman. 七世 is a phrase constantly occurring in combination with 父母: "parents of seven previous incarnations." It is not to be translated "seven generations" or "seventh generation" as is done by Dr. Stefan Balázs in "Die Inschriften der Sammlung Baron Eduard von der Heydt" (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Jahrg. xx), pp. 11 and 13.

This is a fine manuscript, about 22¾ feet in length. The paper is one of those examined by Mr. Clapperton, and I will quote his description of it: "A very thin and tough 'bank-like' paper of a pale buff colour with a good smooth surface on both sides. Thickness

.002--0025 inch, crisp and transparent, with very close laid lines, about 24 or 26 to the inch, very regular and smooth. These lines seem to have been made by fine grasses or very fine strips of bamboo. The chain lines are about half an inch apart and very fine and straight . . . Composition: Ramie."

508 (N. WEI).

S. 2733. No title remains to this MS., but it is a commentary on the 妙法蓮華經 *Miao fa lien hua ching* or Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra (N. 134), p'in 6-11, 13. The beginning is mutilated, and there are holes along the bottom of the roll, which is 14¼ feet long. The paper is thin and dyed yellow, and the handwriting is unusually good for a commentary, though rather small.

The colophon is in two different hands. The older portion reads: 比丘惠業許 "Property (?) of the bhikshu Hui-yeh"; and in another column: 釋道周所集 "Compiled by Shih Tao-chou." Above and below these words, so as to form part of the same column, was written later: 正始五年五月十日 . . . 在中京廣德寺寫訖 "Copying completed at the Kuang-tê Monastery in the Middle Capital [Loyang] on the 10th day of the 5th moon of the 5th year of Chêng-shih" [23rd June, 508]. Loyang is called 中京 in two other Stein MSS., one dated 762, and also 東京 and 東都 "eastern Capital" (once each).

511 (N. WEI).

S. 1427. 成實論 **Ch'êng shih lun*, or Satyasiddhi-śāstra (N. 1274), ch. 14, p'in 136-140. The text agrees with K. xxiv. 9. except that these chapters are now contained in ch. 10 and 11. It is a well-written manuscript on a roll of rather stiff light yellow paper about 28 feet long.

Colophon: 經生曹法壽所寫用昏廿五張永平四年歲次辛卯七月廿五日燉煌鎮官經生曹法壽所寫論成訖典經師令狐崇哲校經道人惠顯 "Written out by the copyist Ts'ao Fa-shou. 25 sheets of paper used. On the 25th day of the 7th moon of *hsin-mao*, the 4th year of Yung-p'ing [3rd September, 511], the śāstra copied by Ts'ao Fa-shou, official scribe in Tun-huang Chên, was completed. Teacher of scriptural texts, Ling-hu Ch'ung-chê. Reviser of scriptures and Tao-jên, Hui-hsien."

Ling-hu Ch'ung-chê is also described as 典經師 in the colophons of the next four rolls. Exactly what this title implies is not easy to

determine, especially as he was a layman, not a monk. 道人, too, seems to be more than a general name for a Buddhist.

512 (N. WEI).

S. 1547. The title is given at the end as 誠實論卷經第十四 **Ch'êng shih lun [chüan] ching*, ch. 14, but it is really part of the same text as the preceding roll, corresponding to ch. 11 (last part) and ch. 12 (first part), and containing p'in 147-154. The handwriting is similar but somewhat neater, and the paper is whiter and less crisp. The roll is 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet long.

Colophon: 用紙廿八張延昌元年歲次壬辰八月五日燉煌鎮官經生劉廣周所寫論成訖典經師令狐崇哲校經道人洪儁 “28 sheets of paper used. [Only thirteen of these remain.] On the 5th day of the 8th moon of the *jên-ch'ên* year, the 1st of Yen-ch'ang [1st September, 512], the *śāstra* copied by Liu Kuang-chou, official scribe in Tun-huang Chên, was completed. Teacher of scriptural texts, Ling-hu Ch'ung-chê. Reviser of scriptures and Tao-jên, Hung-chün.”

513 (N. WEI).

S. 341. Chüan 7 of an unidentified *sūtra*, containing the end of p'in 11 and the whole of p'in 12, which is entitled 災變品. The title at the end is torn off. This is another neat MS. on crisp buff-coloured paper forming a roll 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long, 26 cm. wide.

Colophon: 延昌二年歲次癸巳六月口口日燉煌鎮經生錢顯昌所寫經成訖用帀廿典經師令狐崇哲校經道人 “On the [] day of the 6th moon of the *kuei-ssü* year, the 2nd of Yen-ch'ang [July-August, 513], the *sūtra* copied by Ch'ien Hsien-ch'ang, scribe in Tun-huang Chên, was completed. 20 [sheets of] paper used. [Only 11 of these remain.] Teacher of scriptural texts, Ling-hu Ch'ung-chê. Reviser of scriptures and Tao-jên.”

A number in double figures is missing before 日. In this and the next two colophons, no name is given for the reviser. There is a seal-impression over the colophon which so far I have been unable to decipher.

513 (N. WEI).

S. 2067. 華嚴經 **Hua yen ching* (*Avatamsaka-sūtra*), ch. 16, corresponding to the second half of ch. 15 and the beginning of ch. 16

in the modern recension. This is a good bold MS. on light buff-coloured paper. The roll is about 27 feet long.

Colophon: 延昌二年歲次水巳七月十九日燉煌鎮經生令狐禮(?)太寫此經成訖用帡廿四張校經道人典經師令狐崇哲 "On the 19th day of the 7th moon of *shui-ssü*, the 2nd year of Yen-ch'ang [4th September, 513], Ling-hu [Li?]-t'ai, scribe in Tun-huang Chên, finished copying out this sūtra. 24 sheets of paper used. [22 of these remain.] Reviser of scriptures and Tao-jên. Teacher of scriptural texts, Ling-hu Ch'ung-chê."

水巳 is a curious variant of 癸巳; 水 "water" being the element that corresponds to the ninth and tenth celestial stems, 壬 and 癸. Over the colophon is an impression of the same seal as in S. 341, but upside down.

514 (N. WEI).

S. 6727. 大方等陁羅尼經 **Ta fang têng t'ò lo ni ching*. Though bearing the same title as N. 421, the present sūtra does not agree with it in any particular. There is a note at the end in a different hand: 一校 [= 校] 竟 "One revision completed"; after which comes the colophon proper, in the same hand as the text of the sūtra: 延昌三年歲次甲午四月十二日燉煌鎮經生張阿勝所寫成竟用帡廿一張校經道人典經師令狐崇哲 "On the 12th day of the 4th moon of *chia-wu*, the 3rd year of Yen-ch'ang [21st May, 514], the copy made by Chang A-shêng, scribe in Tun-huang Chên, was completed. 21 sheets of paper used. [Only eleven and a fragment remain.] Reviser of scriptures and Tao-jên. Teacher of scriptural texts, Ling-hu Ch'ung-chê."

The roll is of crisp lemon-yellow paper, and about 14½ feet long.

515 (N. WEI).

S. 524. This is a very important roll, for it contains hitherto unknown sūtra-commentaries on both sides. *Recto*, is a *commentary on 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經 *Shêng man shih t'ü hou i shêng ta fang pien fang kuang ching* (N. 59), in a rather small neat hand on thin yellow paper. The roll is 40 feet long. It is not the same text as *Shêng man i chí* (S. 2660, above).

Colophon: 一校竟就有照法師疏延昌四年五月廿三日於京承明寺寫勝鬘疏一部高昌客道人得受所供養許 "One revision completed. Commentary by Chao, Master of the Law [of Huang-yu?]. A copy of the

Shêng man su was made in the Ch'êng-ming Monastery at the capital [Loyang] on the 23rd day of the 5th moon of the 4th year of Yen-ch'ang [20th June, 515], and offered as an act of worship by the Tao-jên Tê-shou, a visitor from Kao-ch'ang."

孰有 is written in large characters, and appears again after the first 疏, but has been blotted out. Its meaning is obscure. For 許 as a final particle, cf. *supra*, year 508, S. 2733.

Verso: 无量壽觀經義記 *Wu liang shou kuan ching i chi*,* a commentary on the Amitâyurbuddha-dhyâna-sûtra (N. 198) in 1 chüan, apparently incomplete. The handwriting is larger than on the other side of the roll, and the text covers only about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet of its length. Its date may be late sixth or early seventh century.

521 (N. WEI).

S. 1524. 大方等陁羅尼經 **Ta fang têng t'o lo ni ching* (Mahâvaipulya-dhâraṇi-sûtra), ch. 1. Though containing several variants, this text agrees roughly with N. 421, K. xi. 7. 1, ch. 1 and the beginning of 2. A short piece at the end, concluding with a gâthâ, is not found in the present Canon.

Colophon: 正光二年十月上旬寫訖 "Copying completed in the first decade of the 10th moon of the 2nd year of Ch'êng-kuang" [15th-24th November, 521]. This is a good clear MS. on whitish paper (showing wire line). The roll is 30 feet long.

521 (N. WEI).

S. 4823. 十地論初歡喜地 **Shih ti lun ch'u huan hsi ti*, ch. 1 (last portion only). It agrees with N. 1194, K. xxi. 9. a.

Colophon: 正光二年經生李道徹寫用昏廿七張 "Copied by the scribe Po Tao-ch'ê in the 2nd year of Ch'êng-kuang [521]. 27 sheets of paper used." [Only $3\frac{1}{2}$ of these remain.]

This is a good MS. on a roll of thin, fibrous, whitish-yellow paper, about $4\frac{1}{4}$ feet long, 27 cm. wide. Though of the same date, this paper is of entirely different quality from S. 1524.

522 (N. WEI).

S. 2724. **Hua yen ching*, ch. 3 (beginning mutilated). It corresponds to N. 87, K. vii. 3, ch. 4, p'in 2 (3).

There is an elaborate colophon, of which I can only offer a tentative translation: 夫妙旨無言故假教以通理圓體非形必藉〈〉以表真是以亡兄沙門維那慧

超 悟 射 命 難 恃 識 三 聖 易 依 故 資 竭 賄 唯 福 是
 務 圖 金 客 於 靈 刹 寫 冲 典 於 竹 素 而 終 功 未 就 儵
 遽 異 世 弟 比 丘 法 定 仰 瞻 遺 跡 感 慕 遂 甚 故 瑩 飭
 圖 利 廣 寫 衆 經 華 嚴 涅 槃 法 華 維 摩 金 剛 般 若 金
 光 明 勝 鬘 奠 福 鍾 亡 兄 騰 神 梵 鄉 遊 形 淨 國 體 悟
 无 生 早 苦 海 普 及 含 靈 齊 成 正 覺 “The wonderful
 decree [of Buddha] is not to be expressed in words, hence we
 must receive empirical teaching in order to reach the underlying
 principle. The perfect body has no form, so we must avail ourselves
 of [] in order to manifest the truth. That is why my late brother,
 the śramaṇa and karmadāna Hui-ch'ao, realizing that this fleeting
 existence is not to be depended upon, and knowing that the Three
 Holy Ones may readily be trusted, [gave up] his property and sacrificed
 all his wealth, regarding the merit [of good deeds] as alone of
 importance; he painted the figure of the Golden Guest on the walls
 of the monastery, and copied the scriptures on bamboo and paper;
 but before he had completed his task he passed suddenly into another
 life. And now his younger brother the bhikshu Fa-ting, beholding
 with reverence the work he left behind, and feeling a great longing to
 carry it to completion, has therefore painted the temple with lustrous
 decoration, and has made extensive copies from a number of sūtras—
 the Hua yen, Nieh p'an, Fa hua. Wei mo, Chin kang pan jo, Chin
 kuang ming, and Shêng man—and offers the resultant stock of
 happiness to his beloved brother, that his soul may mount to the realm
 of the absolute and his body travel to the Pure Land, that he may
 thoroughly comprehend the principle of No-birth and soon [be
 delivered from] the ocean of suffering; and that likewise all sentient
 beings may share in this merit and attain to perfect intelligence.”

The rhythm of the sentences shows that single words must have
 been omitted by mistake after 藉, 故, and 早. The last is probably
 離. “Karmadāna” is the second-in-command or sub-director of
 a monastery. The Three Holy Ones are usually understood to be
 Vairocana, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra. “The Golden Guest”
 is a name for Buddha, and the principle of No-birth is of course
 Nirvāṇa. Before the colophon is the note 用紙廿五 (marked for
 deletion by a dot at the side) 七 “27 sheets of paper used” [only
 ten remain]; and at the end is the date: 大魏正光三年
 歲次壬寅四月八日訖部 “Copy completed on the 8th day
 of the 4th moon of *jên-yin*, the 3rd year of Chêng-kuang of the Great
 Wei dynasty” [18th May, 522]. This is the first time that we find the

Wei dynasty mentioned by name. This is a good MS. on a roll of rather thin yellow paper, over 13 feet long.

531 (N. WEI).

S. 4528. No general title remains, and the headings of the p'in simply read 般若波羅密 *Pan jo po lo mi*. But it is really **Fo shuo jên wang pan jo po lo mi ching* (N. 17, K. v. 6. j), p'in 5 (end only) -8.

Colophon: 大代建明二年四月十五日佛弟子元榮既居末劫生死是累離鄉已久歸慕常心是以身及妻子奴婢六畜悉用爲比沙門天王布施三寶以銀錢千文贖錢一千文贖身及妻子一千文贖奴婢一千文贖六畜入法之錢即用造經願天王成佛弟子家眷奴婢六畜滋益長命及至菩提悉蒙還闕所願如是 “On the 15th of the 4th moon of the 2nd year of Chien-ming of the Great Tai [i.e. Wei] dynasty [16th May, 531], the Buddhist lay disciple Yüan Jung, since he lives in Mo-chieh in danger of his life, has long been parted from his home and has a constant longing to return, therefore in his own person and that of his wife and children, his male and female servants, and his domestic animals, makes on behalf of the Celestial King Vaiśravaṇa a donation to the Triratna of the sum of a thousand silver cash; and as ransom money, a thousand cash to ransom himself and his wife and children, a thousand cash to ransom his servants, and a thousand cash to ransom his animals. The money thus paid to the Church is to be used for copying sūtras, with the prayer that the Celestial King may become a Buddha, and that the disciple's family, servants, and live-stock may be richly endowed with the blessing of long life, may attain enlightenment, and may all be permitted to return to the capital. This is his prayer.”

For 大代, see S. 996 (A.D. 479). The period Chien-ming came to an end in the 2nd moon of its 2nd year, but evidently the news had not reached the writer two months later. Mo-chieh is probably not Magadha, which is generally written 摩竭提, but some remote kingdom of Central Asia. Vaiśravaṇa, guardian of the North, is frequently invoked for protection. Here Yüan Jung, who is “in danger of his life”, seeks his aid in a curiously roundabout fashion. He gives a total of 4,000 cash for copying sūtras, a quarter of the resultant “merit” to be so applied that Vaiśravaṇa may attain Buddhahood. The remainder is intended to “ransom” himself and

his household, and bring about their return to China. The inclusion of animals as on a virtual level with human beings is due to the Buddhist belief in universal reincarnation. 闕, originally a look-out tower, then the gate of a palace, seems to be used by synecdoche for the Imperial city, in this case Loyang.

Another good MS. The roll is made of yellow paper, and is nearly 15 feet long.

533 (N. WEI).

S. 2105. 妙法蓮華經 **Miao fa lien hua ching*, ch. 10 (from title at end), p'in 27 (from title at beginning). The modern text, however, comprises only 7 chüan, and this MS. corresponds to ch. 7, p'in 28 (complete).

The end of the colophon is unfortunately torn away. The first portion runs: 永興二年歲次癸丑三月辛丑朔廿五日乙丑開弟子陳晏堆南无一切三世常住三寶弟子自唯宿行不純等類有識稟受風末塵穢之形重昏口口 "On the *i-ch'ou* day, the 25th of the 3rd moon, the first day of which was *hsin-ch'ou*, in the *kuei-ch'ou* year, the 2nd of Yung-hsing [4th May, 533], the Śīla disciple Ch'ên Yen-tui pays homage to the Triratna ever abiding throughout the three periods! The disciple, having himself been guilty of insincere conduct in a former existence, and similar sentient beings endowed with vile bodies of wind-borne dust, doubly blind . . ."

The Yung-hsing period of 533 was extremely short, lasting less than a month in January and February; and there might seem to be some ground for preferring the earlier Yung-hsing (also of the Wei dynasty), which covered the years 409–414. But (1) the cyclical designation of 410 is *kêng-hsü*, not *kuei-ch'ou*; (2) both paper and handwriting point unmistakably to the later date; (3) Kumārajīva died in 415, and it is unlikely that his translation was available so early as 410. The "three periods" are past, present, and future. In T'ang times, 戒 was pronounced *kai*, as it is in the Cantonese dialect to-day. Hence we have 開 replacing it here as a homophone.

This is a fine MS. on yellow paper. The roll is about 5½ feet long, 26.5 cm. wide.

533 (N. WEI).

S. 4415. *Ta pan nieh p'an ching*, ch. 31. This agrees with N. 113, K. viii. 6, but the chüan ends about three pages sooner than in the modern text.

The sūtra is written in a fine bold hand, but the colophon which follows (see Plate VII) is rather crabbed: 大代大魏永熙二年七月十五日清信士使持節散騎常侍開府儀同三司都督嶺西諸軍事鬪騎大將軍瓜州刺史東陽王元太菓 [?] 敬造涅槃法華大雲隨愚觀佛三昧祖持金光明維摩藥師各一部合一百卷仰爲比沙門天王願弟子所患永除四體慙 [?] 寧所願如是 "On the 15th day of the 7th moon of the 2nd year of Yung-hsi of the Great Tai and Great Wei dynasty [20th August, 533], the layman of pure faith (upāsaka) Yuan T'ai-kuo, shih-ch'ih-chieh, san-ch'i-ch'ang-shih, k'ai-fu with the same insignia of rank as the three chief ministers. General Superintendent of Military Affairs in Ling-hsi. Commander-in-chief of the Cavalry on active service, Prefect of Kua-chou and Prince of Tung-yang, has reverently caused sections to be copied of the Nieh p'an, Fa hua, Ta yün, Sui yü, Kuan fo san mei, Tsu ch'ih, Chin kuang ming, Wei mo, and Yao shih, totalling one hundred rolls, in honour of the Celestial King Vaiśravaṇa, praying that this disciple [i.e. the donor] may gain permanent relief from his sickness and that his whole body may find repose. Such is his prayer."

Here the same dynasty is denominated both Tai and Wei: cf. *supra*, S. 996 (A.D. 479), in which MS. we also find the title "General Superintendent of Military Affairs". Ling-hsi may denote the country west of the Nan Shan; I have not met this term elsewhere. Kua-chou is the modern An-hsi, but the location of Tung-yang is doubtful. 大雲 must refer to a lost translation of the Mahāmegha-sūtra, for the three translations in the present Canon (N. 186-8) are all of later date than 533. 隨愚 and 祖持 are texts that I cannot identify in this abbreviated form, but *Yao shih* is doubtless the 12th sūtra of N. 167. 慙 is not a recognized character, but it may stand simply for 休. In a larger hand at the end are the words 一交 [for 校] 竟 "One revision completed."

This is a good bold MS. on thin buff paper, forming a roll 15½ feet long.

539 (W. WEI).

S. 2732. *Recto*: 維摩經義記 **Wei mo ching i chi*, ch. 4. This is the last chapter of a commentary on the Vimalakīrtti-sūtra which is not included in the present Canon or in the Kyōto Supplement. A. xxvii. 4 of the latter is a commentary of the same name in 8 chüan

by 慧遠 Hui-yüan of the Sui, that is, half a century later. Professor Pelliot thinks it possible that the name and attribution are false, and that there is only one genuine *Wei mo ching i chi*, in 4 chüan, by another Hui-yüan of the fourth century, of which our MS. has preserved the concluding portion.

The colophon consists of four notes in two distinct hands: (1) 大統五年四月十二日比丘惠龍寫記流通 "Copied for circulation by the bhikshu Hui-lung on the 12th day of the 4th moon of the 5th year of Ta-t'ung" [15th May, 539]. (2) 龍華二儒共校定也 " [Text] jointly revised and determined by two scholars of Lung-hua." (3) 更比字一校也 "Again revised word for word throughout." (4) 保定二年歲次壬午於尔綿公齋上榆樹下大聽 [mistake for 德] 僧雅講維摩經一遍私記 "Private notes taken during the *jên-wu* year, the 2nd of Pao-ting [562, N. Chou dynasty], when the *ta-té* (bhadanta) Sêng-ya lectured on the whole of the *Wei mo ching* in the Êrh-mien-kung Pavilion or under an elm tree."

These notes appear in the order 2, 3, 1, 4. (1) and (2) are in the same bold hand as the MS. itself, whereas (3) and (4) are written in much inferior style. Although different religions have never been so sharply opposed in China as in Europe, it is unlikely that 儒 in this place has its narrower meaning of "Confucianist". There are several towns called Lung-hua; but the name here probably refers to the "dragon-flower tree" (*nāga-puṣpa*) under which Maitreya is to hold his three assemblies.

Verso: 大乘百法明門論開宗義決 *Ta shêng po fa ming mén lun k'ai tsung i chüeh**, by the monk 曇曠 T'an-k'uang. This is a lost commentary on the Mahāyāna-śatadharmā-vidyādvāra-śāstra (N. 1213), of which several copies were found at Tunhuang. There is a short but very important preface, dated 巨唐大曆九年歲次寅三月廿三日 "the 23rd of the 3rd moon of the [*chia*]-*yin* year, the 9th of Ta-li in the Great T'ang dynasty" [8th May, 774]. Observe 巨, an unusual substitute for 大. In this preface T'an-k'uang tells how he composed the 金剛旨贊 *Chin kang chih tsan* in the Northern Regions (朔方); then the 起信銷文 *Ch'i hsün hsiao wên* at Liang-ch'êng; and finally the 入道次第開決 *Ju tao tz'ü ti k'ai chüeh* and the present *Po fa lun k'ai tsung i chi* at Tunhuang.

The handwriting is clear and good, hardly lapsing at all into the cursive. The date of copying is probably not much later than that of

the preface; but in any case it is remarkable that there should be so long a gap as 250 years or so between the MSS. *recto* and *verso*. The roll is of light buff-coloured paper, and nearly 44 feet long.

541 (W. WEI).

S. 2216. **Ta pan nieh p'an ching* (N. 113), ch. 21, agreeing with the modern recension, except that the *chüan* ends sooner.

Colophon: 大統七年六月廿八日聶僧奴敬寫供養 “Reverently copied and offered as an act of worship by Nieh Sêng-nu on the 28th of the 6th moon of the 7th year of Ta-t'ung” [5th August, 541].

This is a fine MS. on a roll 26 feet long. But the chief feature to be noted is the thin crisp paper, stained a beautiful golden-yellow, which is so characteristic of the next hundred years.

543 (W. WEI).

S. 736. 大比丘尼羯磨 **Ta pi ch'iu ni chieh mo*. Mahābhikshuṇī-karman, or rules of Buddhist discipline for nuns. This Vinaya text is in one *chüan* only, and not the same as N. 1116. The major portion of the roll, which is over 21 feet long, consists of a well-made light yellow paper, but towards the end six sheets of a thinner, crisper texture have been inserted. The handwriting throughout is very clear and neat.

Colophon: 大統九年七月六日己丑朔寫比丘尼賢玉所供養比丘尼賢玉起發寫羯磨經一卷願此功德普及一切十方世界六道衆生心開意解發大乘意宋此身命生生之處常爲十方六道衆生而爲導首如三世諸佛及諸菩薩度諸衆生等无有異有能讀誦奉行此律者亦復如是大聖玄心使宋此願必得成就果成佛道三惡衆(生)應時解脫 “Copying completed on the 6th day of the 7th moon, the first day of which was *chi-ch'ou*, of the 9th year of Ta-t'ung [21st August, 543], and offered as an act of worship by the bhikshuṇī Hsien-yü. With pious intent, the bhikshuṇī Hsien-yü has caused a copy to be made of the Chieh mo ching in one *chüan*, praying that the merit thereby gained may reach the worlds in all the ten directions of space, and all living beings in the six states of existence, opening their hearts and expanding their minds, that they may turn their thoughts to the Mahāyāna. She offers this her bodily life, that wheresoever she is born she may constantly act as leader and guide to all beings of the ten regions and the six states of existence, even as the Buddhas and the

乃以此能象密言亦保敬焉金光明部摩竭
 部方廣一部。願亡者託生佛國西秦慈顏
 羊乘陰亦與苦別生之度遇善知識茂善
 提心普及含生早成佛道
 和子汝次子吾也

大德無量壽
 終無此身一月有自能善善其身者則好後世可善為爾
 善則善矣身自善則善矣身自善則善矣身自善則善矣
 善則善矣身自善則善矣身自善則善矣身自善則善矣
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 善則善矣身自善則善矣身自善則善矣身自善則善矣

天監五年七月廿五日佛弟子甄
 良顯奉為 亡父於荊州竹林寺
 敬造大般若聚經一部願七世
 舍識速登法王九畏之地比丘
 僧倫觀和亮二人為營

高僧咸居已此功德於眾聖地善喜見矣和士德性純淨善教此
 時所表揚者並顯色德考二人到夏家春鵲到志觀各報果德字師
 已云拙用拙見善也志末義家嘆其也

FOUR COLOPHONS, DATED A.D. 406 (S. 797), 506 (S. 81), 533 (S. 4415), 568 (S. 616). From left to right.

[To face p. 824.

Bodhisattvas of the three periods (past, present, and future) work for the salvation of all beings, equally and without any distinction. And if any are able to read, recite and practice these precepts, may the same merit accrue to them likewise. May the Great Holy One (Buddha), possessor of the profound mind, grant that this prayer may be fulfilled, that the fruits of Buddhahood may be attained, and that all beings in the three unhappy states of existence may in due course obtain deliverance."

The chief difficulty in the above is the character 采, which is not recognized by the dictionary, and appears in contexts that seem to require two different meanings.

545 (W. WEI).

S. 4494. A collection of prayers, charms, and other religious documents. One of these, a list of days suitable for the remission of sin, is said to have been compiled in the 11th year of Hsüan-shih [422], but the cyclical date given, 己卯, does not agree.

Colophon: 大統十一年乙丑歲五月廿九日寫乞 [for 訖] 平南寺道養許 "Copying completed on the 29th of the 5th moon of the *i-ch'ou* year, the 11th of Ta-t'ung [24th June, 545]. Property of Tao-yang of the P'ing-nan monastery."

The roll, made of thin whitish buff paper, is about $7\frac{3}{4}$ feet long, and the handwriting is fairly good—much better than that usually found in similar compilations.

550 (W. WEI).

S. 6492. 大養章 **Ta i chang*, ch. 5. This treatise, literally "Chapters on the Great Meaning", consists of questions and answers on Buddhist doctrine. Chüan 5 contains eight chapters, the titles of which are enumerated at the end of the roll; each has a preface and is subdivided into several sections. The chapters are: (1) 斷結 (missing) "Cutting the knot", or severing the bonds of passion, etc.; (2) 四无量 (sections 4, end, to 6) "The four immeasurables", or Buddha-states of mind, i.e. boundless kindness, pity and joy, and limitless indifference (rising above these emotions); (3) 八解脫 Eight stages of mental concentration leading to deliverance; (4) 八勝處 Eight victorious stages or degrees in meditation for overcoming desire; (5) 禪支 "Aids to contemplation"; (6) 四不守 "The four methods of non-obstruction"; (7) 六通 The six supernatural powers acquired by a Buddha; (8) 十智 The ten forms of understanding.

At the end of the text is a note. 僧寶許 “Property of Sêng-pao”, and colophon: 大統十六年歲次庚午二月廿一日比丘僧寶城門寺寫 “Copied by the bhikshu Sêng-pao in the Ch'êng-men [City gate] monastery on the 21st day of the 2nd moon of k'êng-wu, the 16th year of Ta-t'ung” [24th March, 550]. 於 seems to be required before 城.

The handwriting is clear and neat. The paper is dyed a sulphur-yellow, and the roll is about 40½ feet long, 28 cm. wide.

550 (W. WEI).

S. 4366. **Ta pan nieh p'an ching*, ch. 12. At the end is a note, 比字一校竟 “Revised word for word throughout”, and a rather long colophon: 夫福不虛應求之必感果無自來宗因必尅是以佛弟子比丘尼道容往行不修生處女穢自不遵宗妙旨何以應其將來之果故減徹身口衣食之資敬寫涅槃經一部願轉讀之者興无上之心流通之者使衆或感悟又願現身住念無他苦疾七世父母先死後亡現在家眷四大勝常所求如意又稟性有識之徒率齊斯願 大統十六年四月廿九日 “Happiness is not fallacious in its response: pray for it, and the influence will be felt. Results do not come of themselves: concentrate on the causes, and successful attainment will follow. Thus, the Buddhist disciple and bhikshuṇī Tao-jung, because her conduct in a previous life was not correct, has been reborn in the vile estate which is that of a woman: and if she does not obey and honour the wonderful decree [of Buddha], how shall she find response in the effects which are to come? Therefore, having cut down her expenses in the articles of food and clothing, she has reverently caused a section of the Nieh p'an ching to be copied, praying that those who read it through may be exalted in mind to supreme [wisdom], and that those who promote its circulation may cause others to be influenced to their enlightenment. She also prays that in her present life she may abide in meditation, without further sickness or suffering; that her parents in seven other incarnations who have died in the past or will die in the future, and her family and kinsfolk now living, may enjoy surpassing bliss in the four realms [of earth, water, fire, and air], and that what they seek may fall out according to their desire: also, that all disciples [of Buddha] naturally endowed with perception may be embraced in the scope of this prayer. Dated the 29th day of the 4th moon of the 16th year of Ta-t'ung” [30th May, 550].

徒 is an unexpected variant of the usual 衆生. 率 (appearing in K'ang Hsi as 率) is an archaic form of 率. This is a fine MS. on a roll of remarkably good lemon-coloured paper, 22 feet long. The colophon is in a different hand.

561 (N. CHOU).

S. 2664. Part of a *commentary on a Vinaya text. without title.

Colophon: 保定元年歲次辛巳三月丁未朔八日玄覺抄記 "Notes extracted by Hsüan-chüeh on the 8th of the 3rd moon, the first day of which was *ting-wei*, of *hsin-ssü*, the 1st year of Pao-ting" [8th April, 561].

This is a fairly good MS. on unstained whitish paper, making a roll about 24 feet long by 27 cm. wide. A few columns of the same text have been written on the back.

561 (N. CHOU).

S. 2082. *Ta pan nich p'an ching*, ch. 18 (beginning mutilated).

Colophon: 保定元年九月十七日佛弟子張颺生爲家內大小一切衆生敬寫流通 "Reverently copied for circulation on the 17th of the 9th moon of the 1st year of Pao-ting [11th October, 561] by the Buddhist disciple Chang Pên-shêng on behalf of the members of his family, large and small, and all living beings."

This is a fine bold MS. on a roll about 29 feet long. The colophon has been added in an inferior hand. This is what Mr. Clapperton has to say about the paper: "Thin golden yellow paper . . . Thickness .002-.0025 inch. A really beautiful, thin paper, very well made. The fibres have been well beaten and the sheet is well closed. Very even laid and chain lines, all square and rigid-looking, no sagging; 16 to the inch and chain lines two inches apart. The paper is tough, transparent and strong, and very evenly made. As good a paper as could be made at the present time. Close, smooth surface, excellent handle and rattle. Very hard-sized: takes and holds ink as well as a good modern, tub-sized paper. Composition: Paper mulberry and Ramie."

564 (N. CHOU).

S. 1317. *Ta pan nich p'an ching*, ch. 1.

Colophon: 保定四年六月戊子朔廿五日壬子比丘道濟減割衣鉢之餘敬寫涅槃經壹部因此福上鍾七世父母六親眷屬永離苦原登涉妙境現身寧泰萬惡云 [for 雲] 消衆福竟 [for 競] 集捨此

穢形直生兜 [for 兜] 舉面奉慈顏 滄承法教獨悟无
 生入於清〔淨〕次又願國難早平 万民安樂風雨
 應時苗實滋茂法界含生同昇法堂一時成佛
 “On the *jên-tzū* day, the 25th of the 6th moon, the first day of which
 was *mou-tzū*, in the 4th year of Pao-ting [19th July, 564], the bhikshu
 Tao-chi reverently caused one section of the *Nieh p'an ching* to be
 copied out, by cutting down expenditure on clothes and sparing what
 he could out of alms received. The stock of happiness thus acquired he
 offers to his cherished parents in seven previous states of existence
 and those connected with him by relationship, that they may be
 removed for ever from the sources of suffering and ascend to the fruition
 of paradise. May his present life be tranquil and prosperous, all his
 woes be dispersed like clouds, and every kind of happiness alight upon
 him. And when he casts off this vile body, may he straightway be
 reborn in the Tushita heaven and behold the merciful countenance [of
 the Buddha], feast on the teaching of the Law, individually awaken
 to the truth of Nirvāṇa, and enter into the state of purity. Next, he
 prays that the troubles of the State may soon be allayed, that all the
 people may dwell in peace and joy, that wind and rain may come in
 their due season, that crops and fruit may be produced in rich
 abundance, and that the sentient beings of the universe, ascending
 together to the Temple of the Law, may all in due course attain
 Buddhahood.”

法堂 may indicate the realm of dharma, or Nirvāṇa. This is
 a fine MS. on a roll of yellow paper about 27½ feet long and nearly
 25.5 cm. wide.

565 (N. CHOU).

S. 1945. **Ta pan nieh p'an ching*, ch. 11, p'in 6, 7.

Colophon: 周保定五年乙酉朔比丘洪珍自慨摩
 心集於愚懷宿鄣隔於正軌仰惟大聖遂勸化道
 俗寫千五百佛名一百卷七佛八菩薩呪一百卷
 諸雜呪三千〔三〕頭寫涅槃經一部寫法華經一
 部寫方廣經二部仁王經一部并疏藥師經一部
 寫藥王藥上菩薩經一部戒一卷并律評議 [for 庶]
 茲福普爲盡法一切衆生〔用帛十八張〕登彌勒初
 會一時成佛 “On the 1st day of the *i-yu* year, the 5th of
 Pao-ting in the Chou dynasty [16th February, 565], the bhikshu
 Hung-chên, whose foolish heart is filled with deep sorrow and regret
 that in a previous existence he was obstructed [by his passions]

and hindered from entering the correct path, and looking up with adoration to the Great Holy One, has for the edification of monks and laymen caused copies to be made of the 1,500 Buddha's names in 100 rolls, of the charms of the seven Buddhas and the eight Bodhisattvas in 100 rolls, and of 3,000 miscellaneous charms, and has furthermore had copies made of a section of the Nieh p'an ching, a section of the Fa hua ching, two sections of the Fang kuang ching, one section of the Jên wang ching with commentary, one section of the Yao shih ching, one section of the Yao wang yao shang p'u sa ching, and a Vinaya text in one roll with commentary, to the end that this stock of merit may be used on behalf of all the sentient beings of the universe, that they may ascend to the first assembly of Maitreya and in due course attain Buddhahood."

軌 *hsien* has much the same sense as 軌. In the middle of the last column of this colophon is the note, "18 sheets of paper used"; of these, eleven now remain, forming a roll about $14\frac{3}{4}$ feet long, 26 cm. wide. This is another fine MS. on very thin dark yellow paper.

568 (N. CHOU).

S. 616. 金光明經 **Chin kuang ming ching* (Survarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra, ch. 4, p'in 14 (end only) -16, translated by Dharmaraksha (N. 127). This is the earliest specimen of a sūtra which was afterwards to become extremely popular at Tunhuang in 義淨 I-ching's translation.

Colophon (in a different hand from the text of the sūtra; see Plate VII): 爲亡比丘龍泉窟主永保敬寫金光明一部勝鬘一部方廣一部願亡者託生佛國面奉慈顏菴永三塗永與苦別生生之處遇善知識發菩提心普及含生早成佛道〈天〉和三年歲次戊子五月廿一日 "On behalf of the deceased bhikshu Yung-pao, Keeper of the Lung-ch'üan cave-temples, copies have been reverently made of sections of the Chin kuang ming, the Shêng man, and the Fang kuang sūtras, with a prayer that the deceased may be reborn in the land of Buddha and behold his merciful countenance, forever escaping from the three [unhappy] paths of existence, and ever divorced from suffering. Whatever rebirths he may undergo, may he meet with good friends and acquire true enlightenment. And may [this stock of merit] reach all living beings, so that they may speedily attain Buddhahood. Dated the 21st of the 5th moon of *mou-tz'ü*, the 3rd year of T'ien-ho " [1st July, 568].

We do not know the whereabouts of the Lung-ch'üan caves; but a district (鄉) of the same name is mentioned in S. 6014. The Fang kuang sūtra is the Avatamsaka. 大方廣佛華嚴經, usually called the Hua yen, as above, A.D. 522 (S. 2724). 葭永三塗 seems to be a mistake for 永離三塗.

This is another fine MS. in very black ink on yellow paper of good quality. The handwriting is less archaic in appearance than that of previous rolls, and marks the transition stage between the clumsier style of the Six Dynasties and the graceful strokes of the T'ang. The roll is just over 11 feet long.

569 (N. CHOU).

S. 2935. **Ta pi ch'iu ni chieh mo ching*, in 1 ch. The same text as S. 736 (A.D. 543).

Colophon: 天和四年歲次己丑六月八日寫竟永暈寺尼智瓊受持供養比丘慶仙抄訖 "Copying completed on the 8th of the 6th moon of *chi-ch'ou*, the 4th year of T'ien-ho [7th July, 569]. Received as her property and offered as an act of worship by Chih-pao, a nun in the Yung-yün Convent. Extracts completed by the bhikshu Ch'ing-hsien." This text, then, would seem to consist of extracts from a longer treatise. Whether Ch'ing-hsien was the actual copyist is doubtful. The handwriting is good. The roll, 29 feet long, is of crisp lemon-yellow paper.

583 (SUI KINGDOM).

S. 3935. 大方等大集經 **Ta fang têng ta chi ching* (Mahāvaiṣṭya-mahāsannipāta-sūtra), ch. 18, p'in 4, 5. The text corresponds to ch. 20 of N. 61. K. vi. 6.

Colophon: 開皇三年歲在癸卯五月廿八日武侯師 (? for 帥) 都督宋紹遭難在家爲亡考妣發願讀大集經涅槃經法華經仁王經金光明經勝鬘經藥師經各一部願亡者神遊淨土永離三塗八難恒聞佛法又願家眷大小福慶從心諸善日臻諸惡雲消王路開通賊寇退散疫氣不仔風雨順時受苦衆生速蒙解脫所願從心 "On the 28th of the 5th moon of the *kuei-mao* year, the 3rd of K'ai-huang [23rd June, 583], the *Wu-hou-shuai* and Military Superintendent Sung Shao, having met with domestic affliction, has made a vow on behalf of his deceased father and mother to read a section of each of the following sūtras: *Ta chi ching*, *Nieh p'an ching*, *Fa hua ching*, *Jên wang ching*, *Chin kuang ming ching*, *Shêng man ching*, and *Yao shih ching*. He prays that the spirits of

the deceased may travel to the Pure Land, eternally exempt from the three unhappy states of existence and the eight calamities, and constantly hear the Law of Buddha. He also prays that happiness may attend the members of his family, both great and small, to their hearts' content, that blessings of all kinds may daily descend upon them, and that all evils may be dispersed like clouds; that the King's highway may be free and open, and that robbers and thieves may be driven away; that pestilence may not prevail, and that wind and rain may come in their due season; and that all suffering beings may speedily obtain deliverance. May these prayers be granted!

There is a companion roll to this, S. 582, containing *Ta chi ching*, ch. 25, with an undated colophon in the same hand referring to this vow: 佛弟子宋紹讀七部以所願從心 "The Buddhist disciple, Sung Shao, has read seven sections in order that his prayer might be granted." The King of Sui had deposed the Chou emperor in 581 and taken the year-title of K'ai-huang, which he retained after he had become emperor of a united China in 589. 武侯帥 appears to have been a kind of military police officer. The "eight calamities" are states of existence in which one is shut off from the sight of Buddha or the hearing of his Law; they include the 五苦 and the 三塗. Here, however, in view of the fact that the three unhappy paths have already been mentioned, the eight calamities may be those of a more popular series: (1) Hunger; (2) Thirst; (3) Cold; (4) Heat; (5) Flood; (6) Fire; (7) the Knife, i.e. a private vendetta; (8) War. 干 is a rare character with the same meaning as 捍 "to ward off": but here it seems to be used for 干 in the sense of 犯.

A good MS. on whitish paper, making a roll about 29 feet long, 26 cm. wide. The colophon, however, is written in a very careless hand with much-diluted ink.

588 (SUI KINGDOM).

S. 4020. 思益經 **Ssü i ching* (N. 190), ch. 4, p'm 15-18.

Colophon: 大隋開皇八年歲次戊申四月八日秦王妃崔爲法界衆生敬造雜阿含等經五百卷流通供養員外散騎常侍吳國華監襄州政定沙門慧曠校 "On the 8th day of the 4th moon of *mou-shên*, the 8th year of K'ai-huang of the Great Sui dynasty [8th May, 588], the Lady Ts'ui, consort of the Prince of Ch'in, on behalf of all the living beings of the universe, reverently caused copies to be made of the Tsa a han and other sūtras, amounting to 500 rolls, for universal circulation, offering

them as an act of worship. Superintended by Wu Kuo-hua, *yüan-wai san-ch'i ch'ang-shih*. Revised by the monk Hui-k'uang of Chêng-ting in Hsiang-chou."

Note that the Sui kingdom had already assumed the style of an imperial dynasty, although the 陳 Ch'èn still ruled in the south. Hsiang-chou is 襄陽 Hsiang-yang in Hupeh, but the location of Chêng-ting is doubtful.

A fine MS., nearly 2½ feet long, on thin crisp golden-yellow paper.

588 (SUI KINGDOM).

S. 3518. **Nieh p'an ching*, ch. 4 (corresponding to ch. 4 and part of 5 in the modern recension).

Colophon (in the same hand, though smaller than the text of the sūtra): 開皇八年八月三日佛弟子輔國將軍中散都督趙昇深自慨歎前不值釋迦八相成道後未蒙彌勒三會於像法之內發菩提心敬造大般涅槃經一部及自己身家口大小上爲國主龍王普及含識衆生同登正覺 "On the 3rd of the 8th moon of the 8th year of K'ai-huang [29th August, 588] the Buddhist disciple Chao Shêng, *fu-kuo Chiang-chün* and *chung-san tu-tu*, deeply regretting that in a previous existence he did not meet Sakyamuni when he went through the eight phases of his life and attained Buddhahood; and as regards the future, not yet having received [instruction from] the three assemblies of Maitreya: has therefore, in the illusory conditions of this present state, assuming the mind of bodhi [i.e. the awakened or intelligent mind that believes in moral consequences], reverently caused a section of the Ta pan nieh p'an ching to be copied, so as beneficially to affect both himself and the members of his family, great and small; above him, the Dragon King, the ruler of the State, and universally, all living beings endowed with perception, that they may together rise to perfect enlightenment."

The eight phases of Buddha's life, as given in the *Ch'i hsin lun*, are: (1) Descent into and abode in the Tushita heaven; (2) Conception; (3) Abode in the womb; (4) Birth; (5) Leaving home; (6) Attaining enlightenment; (7) Turning the Wheel of the Law, or preaching; (8) Entrance into Nirvāna. "This present state" is the second of the "three periods" of Buddhism: the real, the formal, and the final; they last 500, 1,000, and 3,000 years respectively, after which Maitreya comes to restore all things. He will sit under a

“dragon-flower” tree and preach the Law to three successive assemblies.

A fine MS., about 27 feet long, on thin golden-yellow paper.

589 (SUI).

S. 2154. There are two separate texts in this roll. The first has no general heading, but I have been able to identify it as 三曼陀跋陀羅菩薩經 *Samantabhadra-bodhisattva-sūtra (N. 1104), p'in 2-5. The last p'in is wrongly numbered 6. Curiously enough, Nanjio also gives the sūtra six chapters, though K. xvii. 2. q only has five.

The second text is 佛說甚深大廻向經 *Fo shuo shên shên ta hui hsiang ching* (N. 471), complete.

Colophon: 大隋開皇九年四月八日皇后爲法界衆生敬造一切經流通供養 “On the 8th of the 4th moon of the 9th year of K'ai-huang of the Great Sui dynasty [27th May, 589] the Empress reverently caused copies of all the sūtras to be made and circulated as an act of worship, on behalf of the living beings of the universe.”

This roll, then, formed part of a complete manuscript copy of the Sūtra-piṭaka. It is beautifully written on thin golden-yellow paper, over 14½ feet long. The empress in question was the consort of Yang Chien.

593 (SUI).

S. 227, 5130, 457, 4967, 4954. 大智論 *Ta chih lun* (N. 1169), ch. 41, p'in 7, 8; ch. 42, p'in 9 (1); ch. 44, p'in 11, 12; ch. 47, p'in 17 (2); ch. 50, p'in 19, 20.

The above, together with several other MSS., form a series by the same copyist. S. 5130 (28 feet long, 26 cm. wide) is complete, the others are slightly imperfect at the beginning. The numbers of the p'in do not agree in every case with the modern recension. All five bear the same colophon, written in a careless hand: 開皇十三年歲次癸丑四月八日弟子李思賢敬寫供養 “Reverently copied and offered as an act of worship by the disciple Li Ssü-hsien on the 8th day of the 4th moon of the *kuei-ch'ou* year, the 13th of K'ai-huang” [13th May, 593].

All these are fine MSS. on thin golden-yellow paper. S. 227 is described by Mr. Clapperton as follows: “Thickness .0025-.00325 inch. Strong and tough with very long fibres, well brushed out and put together. Very clean and free from blemishes. Fairly well sized, 16 laid lines to the inch. The mould on which the sheet was made was

a good one, all lines being evenly spaced and parallel. The surface is covered with fine, long, silky fibrous hairs, but quite smooth to write on. The papers feel like a thin strong modern 'bank'. Very even texture in 'look-through'; free from pin-holes. Composition: Paper mulberry."

596 (SUI).

S. 635. 佛說佛名經 **Fo shuo fo ming ching*, ch. 5 (end only). This is an uncanonical version of the Buddhāma-sūtra.

Colophon: 開皇十六年五月八日比丘尼明暉供養
"Offered as an act of worship by the bhikṣhūṇi Ming-hui on the 8th of the 5th moon of the 16th year of K'ai-huang" [9th June, 596].

This is a good MS., in a hand which seems to belong to an earlier period, say, the first half of the sixth century. The colophon is in a decidedly later hand: and it will be noticed that the sūtra is not said to have been copied, but only *offered* in 596. Roll of bright yellow paper, about 2½ feet long.

597 (SUI).

S. 2527, 6650, 4520, 1529, 5762. **Hua yen ching*, ch. 9, p'in 14-17 [now in ch. 10 and 11]; ch. 30 [now ch. 35, p'in 32 (3) - ch. 36, p'in 32 (4)]; ch. 47 [now ch. 55-6]; ch. 49 [now ch. 59].

This is another fine series of rolls by the same copyist, and all bearing the same colophon (with a few slight variants).

S. 5762 contains the colophon only, which runs as follows:
開皇十七年四月一日清信優婆夷袁敬姿謹據
[for 減]身口之費敬造此經一部永劫供養願從今
已 [for 以]去灾鄣殄除 [S. 1529 減]福慶臻集 [S. 1529 奉]
國界永隆万民安泰 [S. 1529 樂]七世久遠一切先靈
並願離苦獲安遊神淨國 [S. 4520 刹]罪滅福生无
諸鄣累三界六道怨親平等普共舍生同昇佛地
"On the 1st of the 4th moon of the 17th year of K'ai-huang [22nd April, 597] the upāsikā of pure faith [i.e. a female lay member of the Church] Yüan Ching-tzū, having scrupulously cut down her personal expenses, has reverently caused a section of this sūtra to be copied as an ever-enduring act of worship, praying that from now onward calamitous obstructions may be swept away and blessings showered down; that the State may be ever prosperous and the people happy and contented: and she prays that the spirits of her ancestors of seven previous incarnations may all be released from suffering and obtain peace, travelling in spirit to the Pure Land; that their sins

may be wiped out and happiness accrue to them, free from all trammels [of passion]; and that all those in the three regions and six paths of existence, friends and enemies alike, including all living beings whatsoever, may together ascend to the land of Buddha."

鄣 "obstruction" is a term applied to all delusions that hinder enlightenment. "The three regions" (*trailokya*) are (1) the region of sensuous desire (*kāmadhātu*); (2) the region of form (*rūpadhātu*); (3) the region of formlessness or pure spirit (*arūpadhātu*). 一切先靈 is omitted in S. 6650, and the passage from 遊 to 福生 in S. 1529.

All these MSS. are on thin golden-yellow paper, and (with the exception of S. 5762) vary in length from about 21½ to nearly 30 feet.

598 (SUI).

S. 2791. **Ta pan nieh p'an ching*, ch. 38, p'in 12-13.

Colophon: 大隋開皇十八年四月八日清信女汜仲妃自知形同泡沫命等風光識解四非存心三寶遂減身口之分爲亡夫寫涅槃經一部以此善因願亡夫遊神淨土七世父母見[for現在家眷所生之處值佛聞法天窮有頂地極无边法界有形同登正覺 "On the 8th day of the 4th moon of the 18th year of K'ai-huang of the Great Sui dynasty [18th May, 598] the Princess [Imperial Concubine of the 2nd Grade] Fan, a female lay member of the Church, realizing that the body is like unto froth and bubble, and that human life is as insubstantial as wind or light; having understanding of the four negatives and cherishing Triratna in her heart, has accordingly diminished her outlay on food and clothes so as to have a copy made of a section of the *Nieh p'an ching* on behalf of her deceased husband. In consequence of this meritorious act, she prays that her late husband's spirit may travel to the Pure Land, and that her parents of seven previous incarnations, and her family in the present world, wherever they are born, may haply meet Buddha and hear his Law: and that in the topmost reaches of heaven or in the extremities of the boundless earth all things of the universe possessing form may together ascend to a state of pure enlightenment."

汜 or 汎 Fan, though a rare surname in China as a whole, was one of the commoner ones in the Tunhuang region. The writer was apparently the concubine of a local chieftain. I have not been able to discover what "the four negatives" denote.

This is a fine MS. on thin golden-yellow paper, about 18½ feet long. The colophon is written in a much more crabbed hand.

599 (SUI).

S. 2502. This is part of a commentary on *Jên wang hu kuo pan jo po lo mi ching* (N. 17). It is not N. 1566, but consists merely of an explanatory note on 一時 in the sūtra, followed by commentary on certain extracts. The beginning is imperfect, and there is no title at the end.

Colophon: 開皇十九年六月二日抄寫訖
 “ Copying of extracts completed on the 2nd day of the 6th moon of the 19th year of K'ai-huang ” [30th June, 599].

This is a fairly good MS. on rather coarse whitish paper. The last sheet is thinner than the rest. The roll is about $5\frac{1}{4}$ feet long and 28.5 cm. wide.

(To be continued.)

The "Idea" Approach to Swahili

By E. O. ASHTON

THE originating cause of this article lies in an attempt to overcome the difficulties encountered by students when learning Swahili, especially of those, who, having spent a few years in East Africa, are yet unable to attain a fair standard of proficiency.

The difficulties met with by one student, and the mistakes he falls into, appear to be common to many. This suggests that all view Swahili from the same standpoint, and this in turn leads one to think that the study of Swahili needs to be represented from an entirely new angle. This article, therefore, is an attempt to present that new view-point, in subject matter representative and suggestive rather than exhaustive.

But first it is necessary to see what is the impression left in the student's mind by the orthodox method of approach.

The Classes and Concords.—He thinks that the nouns are classified in a somewhat arbitrary way, easily distinguishable in some of the classes by a distinctive prefix, but that in other classes the words appear to be haphazardly arranged. As to the concords, they are something which have to be laboriously and painfully acquired and, what is worse still, that there are ten classes each with its own set of concords. He therefore sets to work to learn that the concord of such and such a class is so-and-so, and that if a word begins with *ki* it goes into the *ki* class, and that the plural of *ki* is *vi*. He is often quite vague in explaining what he understands by the term "concord". "A sort of prefix" generally sums up his ideas.

The Particle "-o".—His ideas on the particle *-o* which he terms "a relative" are confined to the translation of such words as "who", "whom", "which", and "when". Hence he fails to see its broader meaning as that of a particle of reference to something already mentioned or in mind, neither does he realize its wonderful flexibility to express sometimes an adverbial complement of the verb "to be", i.e. *tupo* "we are here", or at other times a pronominal complement "Ndicho". That is it. And yet again the object of the preposition *na* "Ni-na cho" "I am with it", i.e. "I have it".

To such an one, therefore, the particle *o* does not appear as representing certain *correlated* ideas, but as so many odds and ends, which,

in some way or other, have to be fitted into almost every sentence that is spoken or written. His idiom is consequently poor.

The Particle "a".—Because he learns that *-a* translates the preposition "of" its functional importance is lost sight of, and the student does not realize its possibilities to represent almost every preposition in English—possibilities dependent upon its function. And here again his ability to express himself idiomatically is curtailed.

The Particles "Ku", "Pa", "Mu".—In the same way his use of the adverbial particles of Time and Place is limited because he speaks of them as "Locatives". Even as "locatives" his use of these particles is restricted to "hapa" and "huku", the relatives "po" and "ko", and "hapana" as a general negative.

Furthermore, when he learns that "po" can refer to time as well as place, he looks upon it as "an exception".

The Tenses.—To every Swahili verb form he puts an English tense. The "me" infix is looked upon as the equivalent of an English present perfect, i.e. "have gone," rather than as expressing an idea of state entered upon. With an outlook on the "me" infix restricted to an English present perfect, is it surprising that he fails to realize that such expressions as "they are sleeping", "they are lost", also require to be translated by a "me" infix? And because he does not differentiate between particles indicating time, and others which represent an aspect of state or action, he is unable to appreciate the many and varied fine shades of meaning, which may be imparted to the verb stem by a logical combination of these idea particles.

Form and Function.—From these few examples, typical of many others, we gather that to many students the form of a word rather than its function is the all important point. This is because Swahili is viewed through the medium of English grammar. In English we are taught to draw a somewhat hard and fast line between adverbs, adjectives, nouns, and pronouns. The student tends to do the same in Swahili. But this clear-cut distinction does not exist in the Bantu mind. To the Bantu, function and implication are more important than the form of a word. The word "sana" expressing intensification may equally well be used with a noun—"Rafiki yako sana"—"your great friend" as with a verb—"Vuta sana"—"pull hard". The implication in both cases is one and the same, i.e. intensiveness.

Mistakes common to many students may be traced to their failure to distinguish between form and function, and to their reliance on what may be called "word equation".

How often the word "vile" when used adverbially in Swahili is translated by a pronoun, simply because its contextual situation is lost sight of, and only its resemblance to the pronominal form of Class VIII is taken in account. Or again, how frequently to the particle "-le" is assigned a *word* value of "this" or "those". But "-le" expresses a demonstrative *idea* rather than any one word, and according to context must be rendered as "the" or "that" or "those". But the student, because he is under the tyranny of word equation, often translates "*yule* mtu" as "*that* man", when the English demands "*the* man".

Recognition of the fact that form and function must be looked at through Swahili eyes cannot be too early or too often stressed. But the unfolding of the part they play is necessarily a gradual process.

Word order.—Closely bound up with form and function is the problem of word order in a sentence. This is not a matter of learning *rules* mechanically, such as "that if two adjectives are used with a noun the numeral comes last". Rather it is a matter of helping the student to recognize that word order is based upon clear-cut *principles*. Here again these principles need not be explained in detail in the early stages, but the fact of their existence must be stressed.

With the progressive unfolding of form and function and word order, the inter-relation of one with another becomes increasingly apparent, and the understanding of one supplies the key to an understanding of the other.

Reduplication.—Space does not permit of more than a passing reference to the relation between Alliteration and Vowel Harmony on the one hand and Reduplication on the other, as indicating one of the lines along which Bantu thought runs. But it does not need much imagination to connect reiterated action with reiteration of sound. And so it comes about that in all Bantu languages reduplication is employed in one form or another to express a repetitive or distributive idea, or continuity, embracing both a *subtractive* and *intensive* implication. This reiteration, which is generally spoken of as Reduplication, may take the simple forms of just doubling the stem of a word or a formative particle, or lengthening a vowel, or it may occur in the less apparent guise of a double prepositional verb form. Yet to some students Reduplication means but little more than using a few familiar phrases such as "vile-vile" and "pale-pale".

Summing up, we may say that by many students Swahili is viewed

as mental gymnastics in the translation of words, and that unless he has learnt the exact formula in Swahili for an English phrase he cannot express himself idiomatically.

THE IDEA APPROACH

Its Aim.—The aim of the “idea” approach is to show that throughout a Bantu Language there runs a wonderful pattern logically and precisely woven by means of “idea” particles, in correct contextual situation, based upon clear-cut underlying principles. The key to Bantu idiom is the recognition of the ideas expressed in these particles, and the understanding of the principles which govern the syntactical relation of words in a sentence. With this aim in view let us see what the “idea” approach holds for the student in his study of Swahili.

(i) The first point to be emphasized is that the Swahili language contains a number of particles each with its own inherent idea.

(ii) Secondly that the affixing of one particle to another modifies its meaning and so affects its function in the sentence.

(iii) Thirdly that these particles are of two kinds. (a) Roots and Stems; (b) Formatives.

(a) The Root or Stem is that particle to which a formative is affixed.

(b) The Formative contains an idea which it imparts to the root or stem to which it is affixed to specialize its meaning.

A Root or Stem is frequently used as a formative.

A. ROOTS AND STEMS

A detailed knowledge of root particles belongs to a later stage in the study of Swahili, and affords the research worker a wide and interesting field of investigation.

But the recognition of certain root or stem forms in the very early stages of learning is an essential to the right understanding of Swahili idiom. One or more of these particles enters into the very simplest sentence, hence their importance cannot be over emphasized. The majority of these basic particles are pronominal in character. Each one expresses a particular idea. The English represents an equivalent idea which is variously expressed according to context. See Table at p. 841.

Pronominal Roots and Stems

NEAR DEMONSTRATIVE	REMOTE DEMONSTRATIVE	POSSESSIVES	INTERROGATIVE	REFERENCE	PREPOSITIONAL IDEA
h- this, these.	-le that, those, the.	-angu my, mine. -ako your, yours. etc.	-pi ? which one ? or ones ?	-o -ote all. -enye having. -enyewe itself, themselves.	-a a colourless prepositional idea.

The Root "o"

INHERENT IDEA. REFERENCE TO SOMETHING ALREADY MENTIONED, OR IN MIND OF SPEAKER

	WITH THE PRONOMINAL CONCORD	WITH THE "NA" OF ASSOCIATION	WITH KWA	WITH KU, PA, MU
1 Demonstrative.	2 Complement of emphatic form of verb "to be".	3 Relative — (a) in verbs; (b) with amba.	4 (Other uses— (a) suchlike; (b) whatever.	Adverbial complement of verb "to be" in reference to place.
h- . . . o	ndi . . . o	amba-o	-ngine-o -o -ote	ko po mo
		na-o	kwa-o	

Before passing on to discuss formatives, a word or two more about roots and stems is necessary. So as to facilitate the acquisition of a wide vocabulary, it is advisable that reference should be made at an early stage in the study of Swahili, to nouns and verbs with a common root or stem. It is possible for a student to learn in a vocabulary that "Kizibo" = a cork, and later on to see in a dictionary that "Kuziba" = to stop up, and yet not to connect the two!

B. FORMATIVE PARTICLES

It has already been stated that the Formative particle imparts its meaning to the Root or Stem to specialize its meaning. Let us see how the formative does this because *an appreciation of the work done by the formative is fundamental to the understanding of the "Idea" approach to Swahili.*

Vi = a formative particle expressing manner.

Vi + interrogative stem -pi = vipi? = How for instance? in what way? Such as?

Vi + demonstrative prefix stem hi = hivi = this manner, expressed in English according to context. Like this, in this way, thus. To "hivi" may be added the -o idea of reference or something afore mentioned, making "hivyo", and the word then takes on the fuller meaning of "that manner referred to", "Like this, for instance."

Or again, a reduplication of the formative particle may be made to indicate intensiveness. Thus "Vivi hivi" = Just exactly like this.

Hence by a logical combination of particles every shade of meaning can be expressed, thus showing what a wonderfully flexible language Swahili is, and how simply and graphically thoughts may be expressed.

We will now set out in detail some of these idea particles, first showing a root with its formative affixes, and later some formatives affixed to roots.

The order in which these ideas are presented to the student does not come within the scope of this article. These notes deal only with the presentation of a few of the most important idea particles in Swahili.

The Root "-o"

The Root -o admirably illustrates how an idea expressed in *diverse* ways according to context in English is represented by *one* particle in Swahili. See Table. p. 841.

1-2. Examples of "o" as *Demonstrative* and as Complement of Emphatic form of Verb "to be".

Do you want <i>this one</i> (cup) ?	wataka hicho ?
<i>This is the one.</i>	Hicho ndicho.
Don't do it <i>like that</i> .	Sifanye hivyo.
Isn't <i>this how</i> it is ?	Sivyo ?
Yes, that is <i>how it should be</i> .	Ndivyo.
It was <i>then</i> that he became angry.	. . . ndipo alipoka- sirika.
Did I not tell you to put it <i>in this</i> (particular) cupboard ?	Sikukwambia ukii- weke humo (cups) kabatini ?

3. *As relative pronoun* (a) with verb, (b) with "amba".

(a) The children <i>whom</i> we loved.	Watoto tuliwapenda.
The children <i>who</i> loved us.	Watoto waliotupenda.
The house <i>that</i> Jack built.	Nyumba aliyojenga Jack.
The place <i>where</i> we stood.	Pale tuliposimama swiswi.
The place <i>where</i> we went.	Kule tulikokwenda swiswi.
<i>As you said.</i>	Kama ulivyosema.
Because he was <i>so good</i> .	Kwa vile alivyo mwema.
<i>Round about</i> 5 o'clock.	Mnamo saa kumi na moja.
(b) The hill on the top of <i>which</i> were 2 large rocks.	Kilima ambacho kileleni mwake palikuwa na majabali mawili makubwa.
A garden <i>in which</i> are all sorts of flowers.	Bustani ambayo ndani yake mna maua ya kila namna.

4. *With "na" of association.*

(a) He went <i>with it</i> (cup).	Alikwenda nacho.
All the cups he <i>had</i> (was <i>with</i>).	Vikombe vyote alivyo navyo.
(b) The dogs <i>also</i> were the original cause of the death of the sheep.	Mbwa nao pia ndio asili ya kifo cha kondoo.
(c) One day they saw a vessel approaching <i>and it</i> re- sembled the one they were in.	Siku moja waliona chombo kina- wajia nacho kilikuwa mfano wa kile walicho kuwamo.
Mambo and Serengi were amongst those who went to England <i>and they</i> explained to those in England, etc.	Mambo na Serengi walikuwa katika wale waliokwenda Ulaya. Nao waliwaeleza waliokuwa Ungereza . . .

5. *With kwa of instrumentality.*

He took his gun and beat him Alitwaa bunduki yake akampiga
with it. kwayo.

6. *As adverbial complement of verb "to be" in reference to place.*

They are *within* Wamo ndani.
They were *here* yesterday. Walikuwapo hapa jana.
They will be *at* the Shamba. Watakuwako shamba.

The Particle "-a"

Our next illustration is the particle "-a", a prepositional idea. The sentences containing the "-a" represent many English prepositions and illustrate the fallacy of assigning to it any one preposition in particular.

"-a" = a prepositional idea colourless in itself, and depending upon its formative particle and its function in the sentence to determine its meaning.

(A) With the Pronominal Concord appropriate to the class of noun with which it is associated it represents a genitive of relation to express :—

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (a) An adjectival idea | Kiti <i>cha</i> mti | A wooden chair. |
| | Maji <i>ya</i> kutosha | Sufficient water. |
| (b) A possessive idea | Kiti <i>cha</i> mtu | Somebody's chair. |
| (c) A usage idea | Bakuli <i>la</i> kutilia
mayai | A basin for putting eggs in. |
| (d) General relation | Kisa <i>cha</i> miji
miwili | A tale of two cities. |
| (e) Place but purely
idiomatic. | Kumpiga mtu
kofi <i>la</i> chavu. | To slap someone on the
cheek. |

(B) With indefinite particle "i" of time and place (i + a = ya). To express :—

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| (a) Indefiniteness in
time and place
(as contrasted
with ku, pa, mu) | Kando <i>ya</i> mlima
Mbele <i>ya</i> nyumba
yetu.
Mbele <i>ya</i> ngu | On the side of a mountain.
In front of our house.
In front of me. |
|---|---|---|

(C) With the "n" of association (n + a = na) it expresses :—

- | | | |
|------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (a) Agency | Alipigwa <i>na</i> asi-
kari. | He was struck by a soldier. |
|------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|

- (b) Various ideas of association, or disassociation, including verb forms :—
- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| a + na = ana. | Na mkeka <i>nao</i> | And the mat also, I want |
| ika + na = ikana. | nataka. | that too. |
| ama + na | | |
| = amana. | | |
| | Kuonana <i>na</i> mtu | To meet someone. |
| | Kufumukana | To become dispersed one
<i>from</i> the other. |
| | Kupatikana <i>na</i>
madhara | To be involved in disaster. |
| | Kushikamana | To hold together. |

(D) With the "ku" particle. Ku + a = Kwa. To express :—

- (a) By means of :—
- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Alikwenda <i>kwa</i> miguu | He went <i>on</i> foot. |
| Alikwenda <i>kwa</i> gari | He went <i>by</i> train. |
| Alikufa <i>kwa</i> njaa | He died <i>of</i> hunger. |
| Alikichonga <i>kwa</i> teso | He shaped it <i>with an</i>
adze. |
- (b) By reason of :—
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Alistaajabu <i>kwa</i> uzito
wake | He was astonished <i>at</i>
its size. |
| Alifanya <i>kwa</i> ujinga
wake. | He did it <i>through</i>
ignorance. |
| Kwa ajili yake. | <i>For</i> his sake ;
<i>On</i> his account. |
| Hata <i>kwa</i> hivyo | <i>Even in spite of</i> this. |
| <i>Kwa</i> hiyo | <i>Because of</i> this. |
- (c) In respect to :—
- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| Tano <i>kwa</i> mia | Five <i>per</i> cent. |
| Mara <i>kwa</i> mara | Time <i>after</i> time. |
| Siku <i>kwa</i> siku | Day <i>by</i> day. |
| Yayo <i>kwa</i> yayo | The same words <i>over</i>
<i>and over</i> again. |

(E)

- (d) To express "to" or "at" or "from" a person
- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Yuko <i>kwa</i> Hamisi | He is <i>at</i> Hamisi's. |
| Ametoka <i>kwa</i> Hamisi | He has come <i>from</i>
Hamisi. |
| Enda <i>kwa</i> Hamisi | Go <i>to</i> Hamisi. |

The ku, pa, mu Particles

(i) "Ku, "pa", "mu" represent adverbial ideas of Time and Place and should be looked upon as formative particles affixed to roots, stems, and other formatives. To speak of them merely as Locatives limits the speaker's outlook on them.

(ii) They impart these adverbial ideas of Time and Place to the roots, stems, and formatives to which they are affixed.

(iii) Not only do they refer to either Time or Place, but often to Time and Place at one and the same time, just as in English we say "There and then".

(iv) Each particle has its own specific meaning:—

ku = a going on in time and place, hence conveys an idea of motion, direction, distance, generality.

pa = a point in time or place, hence it conveys an idea of nearness and rest.

mu = a plural idea of "pa" and "ku," hence within-ness, alongness, surface.

In the foregoing tables of "-o" and "-a" it has been shown how one particle in Swahili represents many English expressions.

The "ku, mu, pa" particles illustrate an opposite phase, viz. how the same words or expressions in English require to be differentiated in Swahili according to the specific idea to be conveyed by the speaker.

These fine shades of meaning are characteristic of the Swahili language. It is essentially logical and precise in its construction. This same point will be seen in the formation of tenses, when they are under consideration. A point in time or place is distinguished from a "going on" in time or place.

We will now see how these adverbial particles of time and place impart their meaning to the roots and stems to which they are affixed.

<i>pa, ku, mu</i>					
1	2	3	4	5	6
DEMON- STRATIVE.	DEMON- STRATIVE.	POSSESSIVE.	-o OF REFERENCE.	ALL-WHOLE.	HAVING.
h-	-le	-angu	-o	ote	enye
hapa	pale	pangu	po	pote	penye
huku	kule	kwangu	ko	kote	kwenye
humu	mule	mwangu	mo	mote	mwenye
7	8	9a	9b	10	
SUBJECTIVE. Prefix	OBJECTIVE. Infix	ADJECTIVE. root	ADJECTIVE. root	PREPOSITIONAL. -a	
pa	pa	peupe	pengine	pa	
ku	ku	kweupe	kwengine	kwa	
mu	mu	mweupe		mwa	

No. in
Table.

pa = a Point in "Place"

1. Put it down here	Weka <i>hapa</i> .
2. Put it down over there on the table	Weka <i>pale</i> mezani.
3. He fell down at his feet	Alimuangukia miguuni <i>pake</i> .
4. Ye who are here present	Ninyi <i>mliopo</i> .
5. Anywhere	<i>Po pote</i> .
6. A shady place	<i>Penye uvuli</i> .
7. This place pleases me	Hapa <i>panipendeza</i> .
8. I can't see the place	<i>Sipaoni</i> .
9. An open space or clearing	<i>Peupe</i> .
10. In his father's stead	Pahali <i>pa</i> or mahali <i>pa</i> babake.

No. in
Table.

pa = A point in Time

1 Thereupon he flew quickly on to a banana tree	Hapo akarukia upesi juu ya mgomba.
1-4 Once upon a time From that time Moment by moment	Hapo kale. Tangu hapo. <i>Papo</i> kwa <i>papo</i> .
4 When he spoke	Aliposema.
5 Any time	<i>Po pote</i> .
7 There are some people coming just now	<i>Panakuja</i> watu.
There was once a man	<i>Palikuwa</i> na mtu.
9 Sometimes, other times	<i>Pengine . . . pengine</i> .

No. in
Table.

ku = a "going on" in Place

1 It is a fine place all around here	Huku <i>kuzuri</i> .
2 Go over there yonder	Enda <i>kule</i> .
3 Go to my room	Enda chumbani <i>kwangu</i> .
4 Where he went	<i>Alikokwenda</i> .
5 In all directions Wherever he looked	<i>Kote kote</i> . <i>Ko kote alikotezama</i> .
6 Let us make our way towards the station.	Twende <i>kwenye</i> station.
7 Is there any water round about here? No.	Huku kuna maji? <i>Hakuna</i> .

No. in
Table.

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 8 | Do you see over there | Wakuona huko ? |
| 9 | Let us go in some other direction. | Twende <i>kwengine</i> . |
| 10 | Let us go home | Twende <i>kwetu</i> . |

ku—*a going on in Time (and place also)*

No. in
Table.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | Meanwhile at the feast the guests were getting hungry | Huku nyuma katika karamu ya chui wageni walioalikwa walikuwa wakiona njaa. |
| | He waved to him meanwhile making his way off into the forest again. | Alimpungia mkono huku akijitia mwituni tena. |
| 7 | It is getting light
Then darkness fell
To sing | <i>Kunakucha.</i>
<i>Kukaingia giza.</i>
<i>Kuimba.</i> |

mu—*within-ness, alongness, surface*

No. in
Table.

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| 1 | Put it in this box | Weka humu kashani. |
| 1 & 4 | It is there in the cupboard | Imo mle kabatini. |
| 3 | Put it in my cupboard
On his shoulders
The hairs of your head
Round his neck | Weka kabatini <i>mwangu</i>
Mabegani <i>mwake</i> .
Nyele za vichwani <i>mwenu</i> .
Shingoni <i>mwake</i> . |
| 4 | The room in which we sat | Chumba tulimoketi siswi. |
| 5 | All round his neck
Along the whole length of the canal | Shingoni <i>mwake mote</i> .
Pembeni <i>mwote mwa mfereji</i> |
| 7 | Is there no water in the well ?
No. | Hamna maji kisimani ?
Hamna. |
| 10 | On the borders of Switzerland | Mipakani <i>mwa nchi ya Switzerland</i> . |
| 11 | The sand on the seashore | Mchanga ulio ufuoni <i>mwa bahari</i> . |

mu—*in respect to Time*

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 4 & 7 | Round about 5 o'clock | <i>Mnamo saa tano.</i> |
|-------|-----------------------|------------------------|

The Particle " i "

Before passing on to the consideration of other adverbial formatives, mention should be made of the particle " i " which expresses indefinite time and place and indefiniteness in general.

Unlike *ku* and *pa* it cannot be affixed to a variety of roots and stems. Its uses are restricted to the following :—

- (i) As formative to particle " a ".
- (ii) As formative to possessive stems.
- (iii) As subjective prefix of a verb.

(i) Whereas " ku " and " pa " convey specific ideas in relation to time and place, " i " expresses indefiniteness. If a speaker wishes to express neither a " ku " idea nor that of " pa " he uses " i ". For instance, such words as below, above, behind, before do not necessarily express a point, hence " i " is used. *mbele ya, juu ya, nyuma ya*. (In Mombasa Swahili the expression " mbele za " is often heard.)

(ii) In certain connections the " i " particle is affixed to the possessive stems. " *juu yako* " " it is your responsibility "—lit. it is upon you—which expresses no " ku " or " pa " idea.

(iii) As subjective prefix it is frequently heard in such expressions as " *Haidhuru* "—It does not matter. " *Haifai* "—It won't do. " *Imenipasa* "—It is incumbent upon me—I must.

" I " is much used with verb " to be " when indefiniteness is to be expressed in contrast to reference to some one person or thing.

Ikawa—and it came to pass. Lit. and it was.

Ikiwa—if it be. Lit. it being.

Ijapokuwa—Although it be.

Ingawa—Even though it be.

The implication of this " i " will be more fully discussed when verbs and auxiliary forms are being considered in the next article.

Perhaps the " i " idea of indefiniteness accounts for its appearance in the expression *Nini hi*—what is this ?

The " vi " Particle

Having examined the adverbial particles of Time and Place, we will now turn to the adverbial particle " vi " expressing **Manner**.

Because of its inherent meaning it cannot have such a wide usage as the " ku " and " pa " of Time and Place. On the other hand it translates a very wide variety of English expressions, as the following sentences show. This " vi " formative generally *refers to some implication in the context* rather than to any particular word or words.

The "vi" of Manner

Demonstrative.	"-o" of reference.	Interrogative.	Adjectival root.
hi vi	. vyo	vi-pi ?	vi-zuri
vi le	hivyo		vyengine
	vivyo		
	ovyo		
	ndivyo		

With demonstrative :—

How can one man eat so much ? Lo !! mtu mmoja awezaje kula
hivi !!

Hearing how matters were Kusikia *hivi* ali . . .
For instance, when passing by Wakipita hapo Kisauni hu-
Kisauni they would say to the wamkia *hivi* hao Mateka He !
freed slaves He ! wait awhile and njogeni nyi !
you will see, etc.

While they were thus employed Walipokuwa wakishughulika
hivi.
Because of being so tired Kwa vile alivyokuwa amechoka.
On seeing how matters had turned Kuona *vile*.
out.

In exactly the same way *Vile—vile*.

With "-o" of reference :
Things went on in this way for a Mambo yaliendelea *viryo hivyo*
long time kwa muda mwingi.
Go and do thou likewise Enda kafanye *viryo*.
How tall he is ! Jinsi alivyo mrefu !
How greatly he loved his son !! Jinsi alivyompenda mwanawe !
This is how they used to be inti- Ndivyo walivyokuwa wakitishwa
mated hao.
In whatever way they desired. . . . *vyo vyote walivyotaka wao*
wenyewe.

In spite of circumstances Hata kwa *hivyo*.
Just anyhow *Ovyo*.

With interrogative "-pi" :—
Which way of doing it is best ? *Vipi ni bora ?*

With adjectival root :—
They read well Walisoma *vizuri*.
Let us test him in some other way Tumjaribu *vyengine*.
Various other ways *Vyenginavyo*.

The particle "vi" not only translates a variety of English expressions, but it can graphically and tersely represent a whole English phrase.

On seeing how matters stood = *Kuona vile*. Nothing more is needed! "vi" indicates manner, "le" represents a demonstrative idea. Literally "that howness". A graphic touch indeed. Failure to realize the potential powers of a formative to impart its meaning to a root or stem accounts for much of the heavy English Swahili idiom.

A comparison of the "ku, pa, mu" particles of Time and Place with the "vi" of Manner leads one to see how closely they are related in function, and that they are all Adverbial Formatives.

The Particle "ki"

Closely allied to the "vi" formative but more restricted in its meaning is the "ki" particle expressing "likeness" and representing the English suffixes "ly", "wise", "ish". The relation of these two formatives "ki" or "vi" to the "ki" and "vi" of Classes VII and VIII is not clear at present and calls for further research.

"ki" as adverbial formative is restricted to noun and adjective stems.

<i>Root or Stem.</i>	<i>Adverbial Form.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Swahili.</i>
swahili	kiswahili	To greet in Swahili fashion.	Kuamkua <i>kiswahili</i> .
		To speak in the Swahili language.	Kusema <i>kiswahili</i> .
-falme	kifalme	To speak in a regal manner.	Kusema <i>kifalme</i> .
-ungwana	kiungwana	At Frere Town they were brought up as freemen.	Hapa Kisauni walilewa <i>kiungwana</i> kihuru.
tongo	kitongo	When he prayed they peeped at him with half closed eyes.	Ashukurupo huzamwa <i>kitongo</i> tongo.
kondoo	kikondoo	To die like a sheep	Kufa <i>ki-kondoo</i> .
-ume	kiume	To play the man	Kutenda <i>kiume</i> .
-dogo	kidogo	To know by degrees	Kujua <i>kidogo kidogo</i> .
wete	kiwete	To walk lame	Kwenda <i>kiwete</i> .

toto	kitoto	To cry like a child	Kulia <i>kitoto</i> .
-tako	kitako	To sit down (on the haunches, haunch-wise).	Kukaa <i>kitako</i> .

By prefixing the particle “-a” with the concord appropriate to the word to which it refers, this “ki” formative becomes *adjectival*. Thus :—

-a kiswahili	Swahili potatoes	Viazi vya kizungu.
-a kifalme	Regal clothes	nguo za kifalme.
-a kitako	Bananas which grow near the ground.	Ndizi za kitako.
-a kiwete	The gait of a lame person	Mwendo wa kiwete.
-a kitoto	Childish games	Michezo ya kitoto.
-a kiume	A manly voice	Sauti ya kiume.

The difference between “nguo za mfalme” and “nguo za kifalme” will become apparent at once.

Tenses of the Verbs

Let us now examine the formation of Tenses in Swahili and see how the “Idea” approach is exemplified in them.

Time is expressed in Swahili by prefixing formative particles to the verb stem. Like all other formatives each expresses a certain idea, which it imparts to the verb to which it is affixed.

These particles commonly spoken of as “*Tense*” *Infixes do not all refer to Time*. Recognition of this is an important factor in the understanding of tenses and their usages.

Particles are of two kinds :—

(A) Time. (B) Aspect (for lack of a better name).

(A) Time particles refer to Time as Present, Past, or Future. In these is included the “-a” infix which is used to indicate no particular time.

(N.B.—In Mombasa Swahili this “-a” particle is also used to indicate time in the present.)

A. TIME PARTICLES

1. No particular time	-a	Wasoma vizuri ?	Do you (<i>or can you</i>) read well ?
2. Present	-na	Ninasoma	I am reading.
3. Past	-li	Nilisoma	I read.
4. Future	-ta	Nitasoma	I shall read.

B. ASPECT PARTICLES

To express :—

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. A point in time | -na Ninasoma | I am reading (now). |
| 2. A going on of action
or Repetition. | -ki Nikisoma | I reading. |
| 3. State entered upon | -me Nimesoma | I have read. |
| 4. Connective idea | -ka Nikasoma | and I read. |
| 5. Possible contingent | -nge Ningesoma | I would read. |
| 6. Impossible contingent | -ngali Ningalisoma | I would have read. |

In each of these sentences the formative is affixed to the verb itself, and imparts its particular meaning to the verb.

We will now show these elemental formative ideas in a Table.

TABLE I.—ELEMENTAL FORMATIVE PARTICLES. A AND B

		NO ONE PAR-	PRESENT.	PAST.	FUTURE.
		TICULAR TIME.			
A.	Reference to Time	a	na (a)	li	ta
B.	Aspect. Point in Time	na			
	Action going on	ki			
	State entered upon	me			
	Connective idea	ka			
	Possible contingency	nge			
	Impossible contingency. . . .	ngali			

By a logical combination of these particle ideas, it is possible to express almost every shade of meaning in relation to a verb.

These combinations may be of (i) Time and Aspect, or (ii) Aspect and Aspect.

Let us see what ideas are expressed in the first set of Time and Aspect and the *order* in which they are combined.

(1) To express Present, Past, and Future time in reference to a point in time "na", or to duration in time "ki", or to state entered upon "me", the *time* particle is affixed to the *auxiliary* "kuwa" and the *main* verb takes the *aspect* particle.

The following table shows how logical it is.

TABLE II.—"NA," "KI," "ME" IN RELATION TO TIME, I.E. B + A

IDEA	NO ONE TIME IN PAR-TICULAR	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE
Reference to Time	-a-	-na.-a-	-li-	-ta-
Reference to Point in Time	-na	-nakuwa-na-	-likuwa-na-	-takuwa-na-
Reference to Action going on—duration, or Repetitive action	-ki	-nakuwa-ki-	-likuwa-ki-	-takuwa-ki-
State entered upon	-me	-me	-likuwa-me	-takuwa-me

If the ideas expressed in the above particles are put into English two facts will become apparent :—

(i) That one particle in Swahili may express several English tenses, i.e. in English, state may be expressed by :—

They are sleeping.	A Present Imperfect.
They are lost.	„ Indefinite.
They have arrived.	„ Perfect.
They know.	„ Indefinite.

All these are expressed by one and the same particle in Swahili, i.e. the “me” particle, because “me” expresses State entered upon.

(ii) On the other hand one English tense may express several ideas in Swahili. The sentence “The sun shone” may be expressed in three different ways in Swahili, according to whether a point in time is indicated or a repetitive idea or merely a reference to time. The speaker uses the particles which best express the idea he wishes to convey, and in keeping with the context.

We will now illustrate the particles in Table II in sentences. A perusal of them will make plain the futility of limiting the meaning of any one “tense” in Swahili to that conveyed by its English title, and in addition the absurdity of labelling Swahili verb forms with the names of English tenses.

Labels, however, *are* necessary to enable the verb forms to be easily recognized. What labels then shall be used? If we gather up the ideas conveyed by the basic particles we shall see that there is :—

(i) Colourless reference to Time in Present, Past, Future.

(ii) Reference to a Point in Time in Present, Past, Future.

(iii) Reference to Duration and/or Repetition in Present, Past, Future.

(iv) Reference to State in Present, Past, and Future.

Therefore, they could be spoken of as :—

Reference Forms.	Duration Forms.
Point Forms.	State Forms.

These are merely tentative suggestions.

In the following sentences it is the *implication* of the English words and *context* which determine the form of the verb in Swahili.

		NO PARTICULAR TIME	
LABEL.	PARTICLE.		
Reference	-a	Wasoma vizuri ?	Do you read well or can you read well ?
Duration	-ki	Alipita alisoma	He passed by reading.
State	-me	Umesoma chuo hiki ?	Have you read this book ?

PRESENT

Reference Point	-na -nakuwa-na	Unasoma nini ? Ndio wakati kama huo unapokuwa unasoma.	What are you reading ? It is at a time like this, when you are engaged in reading that you should, etc.
Duration	-nakuwa-ki	Hao ! ! Kila siku wanakuwa wakisoma kutwa !	Reading ? Yes, they are always reading ; reading from morn till night.
State	-me	Umesoma ? Ndiyo nimesoma.	Have you read ? Yes, I have just read.

PAST

Reference Point	-li -likuwa-na	Utisoma lini ? Nilipokuwa ninasoma	When did you read ? Just as I was reading someone came to me.
Duration	-likuwa-ki	Jana nilikuwa niki-soma kutwa. Kwanza mlikuwa mki-soma, sasa kwani hamsomi ?	I was reading the whole of yesterday. Formerly you used to read, why do you not read now-days ?
State	-likuwa-me	Nilipofika, yeye alikuwa amekwisha kisoma. Alikuwa amefuatana na mkewe.	When I arrived he had already read it. He was accompanied by his wife.

FUTURE

Reference Point	-ta -takuwa-na	Nitasoma chuo chako. Wakizidi kujibidisha watakuwa wanaweza kusoma.	I will read your book. If they continue to work hard there will come a day when they will be able to read.
Duration	-takuwa-ki	Kila siku atakuwa akisoma.	Every day from now onwards he will read
State	-takuwa-me	La ! Usiende nacho kwa kuwa kabula utakuwa hujafika, yeye atakuwa amekwisha soma kile chuo.	No, don't take it because before you can arrive he will have already read the book.

It should be noted here that the "me" form is often used idiomatically to express what to an English mind requires a "-likuwa-me" tense. The idiomatic or graphic use of these tenses does not affect the foregoing set out of verb forms. The explanation is a simple one ; for when so used the African is viewing the action complete, or the state complete at the time referred to in the narrative. It must be remembered also that the same sequence of tenses is not the same in Swahili as in English. The following is an example of the graphic or idiomatic use of the "me" tense : When the witch doctor heard that Kintu *had arrived*. Yule mchawi aliposikia kuwa Kintu *amewasili*.

The "a" and "na" tenses are also used in this graphic way.

TABLE III.—ONE "ASPECT" PARTICLE IN RELATION TO ANOTHER, I.E. B ← B

	CONNECTIVE	STATE	POSSIBLE CONTINGENCY	IMPOSSIBLE CONTINGENCY	BEING OR DURATION
Reference Point	-ka -kawa-na-	-me ...	-nge	-ngali	-ki -kiwa- na..
Duration	-kawa-ki-	-mekuwa- ki-	-ngekuwa- ki-	-ngalikuwa- ki	-kiwa- ki.
State	-kawa-me-	-me-	.....	.....	-kiwa- me.

N.B.—Tables II and III are set out together on page 857.

The principle governing the order in which one aspect particle is combined with another is the same as that which relates to aspect particles in relation to time.

The following sentences make this clear:—

THE "KA" OR CONNECTIVE PARTICLE

Reference Point	-ka -kawa -na	Hamisi alikwenda dukani akanunua chai. Wawili walisitahimili, wakawa wanakimbia chuni ya maji.	Hamisi went to the shop and bought some tea. Two (hippos) put up with matters for a time, and then made their way off under water.
Duration	-kawa -ki	... na mbwa akazidi kumfuatia na kadhalika Mpobe akawa akienda, akitezama huko na huko.	The hyrax went on running and the dog continued to follow, and Mpobe, too, kept on going, looking here and there.
State	-kawa -me	... hata wakawa wamefika makamo ya kusoma.	... until at length they became of school age.

(There are many other uses of the "ka" form which should be studied, but which are not relevant to the subject-matter of this article.)

THE "ME" OF STATE

Reference	-me	Umetafuta vizuri?	Have you searched well?
Duration	-mekuwa -ki	Tangu siku ile watu wengi wamekuwa wakitafuta lile shimo.	Ever since then many people have been looking for the pit.

THE "NGE" OF POSSIBLE CONTINGENCY

Reference	-nge	Laiti kama ningekuwa kadhi ningejua la kufanya.	If only I were judge I should know what to do.
State	-ngekuwa -me	Uonaje? Ingekuwa imeshuka yote pamoja ingekuwa rahisi kuzihifadhi aya zote?	How does it strike you? Would it be easy to take care of all the verses if all had come down together.

TABLES II AND III COMBINED

LABEL	A TIME PARTICLES				B ASPECT PARTICLES				ALTHO' IDEA, ETC., ETC.				
	NO TIME IN PAR- TICULAR	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE	CON- NECTIVE	CON- TINGENCY POSSIBLE	IMPOSSIBLE CON- TINGENCY	"GENERAL- LY" IDEA		STATE ENTERED UPON	STATE OF BEING	CONTIN- UATION OF BEING	STILL GOING ON
Reference	-a	-na	-li	-ta	ka-	-nge	-ngali	hu	-me	-ki	-li	-kali or ngali	-ngawa
Point	-na	-nakuwa na	-likuwa -na	-takuwa na	-kawa -na	-ngakuwa -na	-ngalikuwa ? -na-	huwa -na-	— ...	-kiwa- na			-ngawa -na
Duration or/and Repetition	-ki	-nakuwa -ki	-likuwa -ki	-takuwa -ki	-kawa -ki	-ngakuwa -ki	-ngalikuwa- -ki	huwa -ki	-mekuwa ki	-kiwa ki	-li, ki.	-kali -ki or -ngali -ki	-ngawa- -ki-
State entered upon.	-me	-me	-likuwa -me	-takuwa -me.	-kawa -me	...	...	huwa -me.	...	-kiwa -me	-li, -me.	-kali -me, or -ngali -me	-ngawa -me.

Aspect.

TABLE IV.—VERB FORMS IN NEGATION

	NO TIME IN PARTICULAR	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE	CONNECTIVE	CONTINGENCY	STATE OF BEING	"GENERALLY" IDEA
Reference	ha i	ha i	ha- [*] ku-	ha- [*] ta-	-si e	ha . . nge	ha i	huwa-ha i
Point	ha i	ha i	-likuwa ha-i	-takuwa ha-i	-kawa ha i	-ngekuwa ha-i	-kiwa ha-i	—
Duration and/or Repetition	ha-i	ha i	ha-kuwa-ki	ha-takuwa-ki	-kawa ha-i	-ngekuwa ha-i	-kiwa ha-i	huwa ha-i
State	ha- [*] ja-	ha-ja-	-likuwa ha-ja-	-takuwa ha-ja-	—	—	-kiwa ha-ku-	huwa ha ku

The reason for the * "ku", "ta", "ja" particles appearing in the negative forms is not discussed here, as the interest of this table lies in illustrating that the negative formative h i conveys no time implication and that it is dependent upon an auxiliary carrying a time infix to express negation in past or future time.

THE IMPOSSIBLE CONTINGENCY

Reference	-ngali	Kama <i>ungalijaribu</i> ungalishinda.	If you had tried you would have managed it.
Duration or repetitive	-ngalikuwa -ki	Laiti <i>wangalikuwa wakikaa sana</i> , hawangaliweza kupanda kurudi kwao.	For if they had made a practice of staying on, they would not have been able to climb home again.

THE "KI" OF BEING

Reference	-ki	<i>Yakipatikana</i>	They being procurable, i.e. if they are procurable.
Point	-kiwa-na	Wingi wa migomba, ni wingi wa ndizi, na matunda <i>yakiwa yanapatikana</i> kwa namna hii.	Numbers of banana trees implies a glut in bananas, and seeing that they are at present to be had in this fashion . . .
Duration	-kiwa-ki	<i>Nikuwa nikienda.</i>	I While going (Steere).
State	-kiwa-me	Kila dakika 3 ao 5 ilitulazimu kusi-mama kwa kuwa <i>tukiwa tumesimamishwa</i> na polisi.	Every few minutes we were obliged to stop because of being stopped by the police.

It is interesting to note how the order of the formative particles affects the meaning. Let us take, for example, “-mekuwa-ki” and “-kiwa-me”. In the former the duration idea is in the main verb. “Wamekuwa wakisoma”—they have been reading. In the latter “Wakiwa wamesoma” the state idea is in the main verb. They being in a state of having read, or as in idiomatic English, They having read.

In addition to the above particles, there are others, which when affixed to the auxiliary “kuwa” are capable of imparting countless shades of meaning to the verb stem. Such as: *huwa*; *-li*; *-kali* (or *ngali*); *ngawa*; and the copula “ni”. All of these can be combined with one or all of the “na”, “ki”, and “me” forms. Space does not allow for an illustration of each of these forms.

And by varying the stem or root of the auxiliary a still richer variety of verb forms emerge, with numerous shades of meaning. “*kwisha*”, “*kupata*”, “*kuja*”, “*kwenda*”, all of these are frequently used as auxiliaries.

NEGATION

(i) Negation is expressed by means of formative particles:—

(a) By prefixing formative “ha” to the subjective prefix and by changing final “a” of the verb to “i” (except in 1st person, when “ni” becomes “si”).

(b) By adding particle "si" as an infix in the subjunctive mood and relative forms.

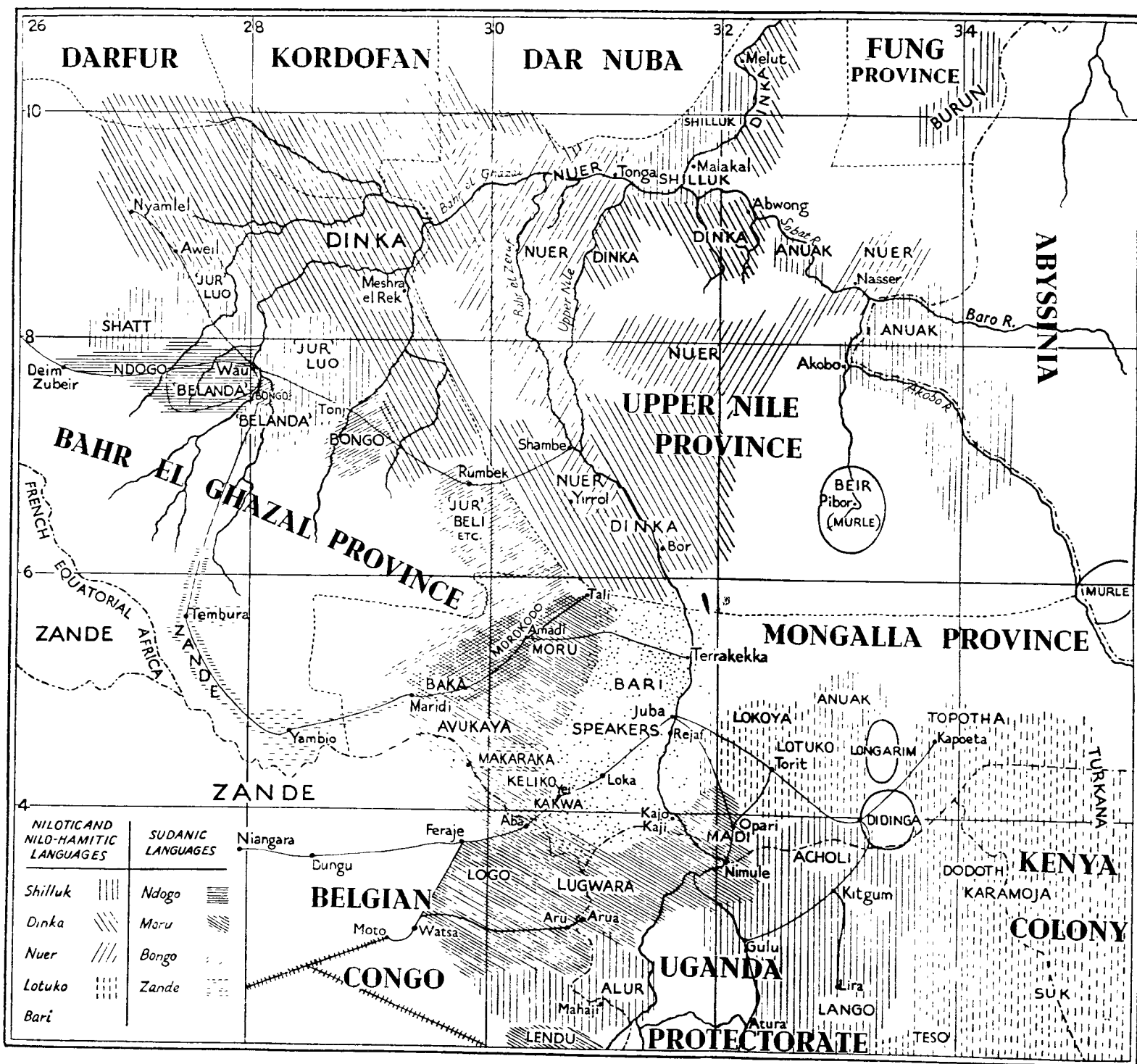
(ii) These formatives express negation *without relation to time*. It is a mistake commonly made to speak of the verbs with suffix "i" as a "present" negation. It has no tense infix and *conveys no time implication*. It indicates negation of various shades of meaning which are differentiated in English si-sikii = "I cannot hear" as well as "I do not hear".

(iii) If negation is spoken of in relation to a point in time in Past or Future the auxiliary takes the time infix followed by the principal verb expressed in negation.

(iv) If negation centres around a repetitive idea or duration in time, then the auxiliary is expressed in the negative and the principal verb remains in the affirmative. See table, p. 857.

Enough has been written to show that the "idea" approach is both logical and workable.

In a later article further characteristics of Swahili will be examined, such as reduplication, principles underlying word order, and other syntactical points. Auxiliary verbs and the formative functions of suffixes and prefixes of nouns derived from verbs will also be discussed.



SOUTHERN SUDAN. MAP SHOWING LANGUAGE GROUP AREAS.

Survey of the Language Groups in the Southern Sudan

By A. N. TUCKER

IT has been the custom of linguists to divide African languages into three main layers—"Sudanic," "Hamito-Semitic," and "Bantu". Of these the Bantu languages show the greatest continuity and the Sudanic languages the least.

The Southern Sudan may be regarded as one of the most interesting of African fields for the comparative linguist and anthropologist, for it is here that the Eastern "Sudanic" and the Western "Hamitic" races meet, and it is here also that one finds that peculiar wedge of people who, for want of a better term, are called "Nilotes".

The aim of this article will be to group together those Southern Sudan languages which show undeniable affinities, and, by applying phonetic and linguistic criteria, endeavour to allocate these groups places within the categories of African languages. For this purpose it will be necessary, first, to determine on the necessary criteria.

DEFINITION OF A SUDANIC LANGUAGE

It would appear that linguists in the past have been content to group under the general term "Sudanic" all Central African languages which cannot fit another grouping, and then to state that the main characteristic of Sudanic languages is their extraordinary divergence one from another. Thus vocabulary similarity as a criterion is permissible within only a very restricted range, while other criteria allow for such anomalies as isolative languages in the North-East Congo, inflected languages (with full personal verb conjugation and noun cases) around Lake Chad, and almost Bantu-like noun class systems in the Western Sudan.

With such a wealth of criteria available, the definition of "Sudanic" must needs be arbitrary. Westermann, however, has already given a lead with the following five points (see *Die Sudansprachen*, also *The Shilluk People*) which we may do well to follow¹:—

- (1) Sudanic languages are monosyllabic, each word consisting in one syllable.
- (2) Each syllable or word consists in one consonant and one vowel.

¹ *The Shilluk People*, p. 35.

(3) They are isolating, that is they have no inflection, and only few formative elements; the "class-prefixes" of the Bantu-languages and of some Hamitic languages are absent.

(4) They have no grammatical gender.

(5) Intonation is prevailing in a higher degree than it is in Bantu and Hamitic languages.

To this, for the purposes of this article, may be added the following characteristics, upon which most authorities are agreed¹:—

Phonetics and Word-structure

(6) Characteristic consonantal sounds are the labio-velars *kp* and *gb* and the implosives 'b and 'd.

(7) Noun formatives are few, the most common being the prefix *a-* which forms nouns out of verbs. For the rest, new conceptions are formed by simply combining two or more given words, e.g. the diminutive is achieved by suffixing the word for "young".

(8) The singular and plural of nouns is not distinguished, or else number is shown by adding a noun or pronoun (usually third pers. pl.). The most common plural formatives are the vowels *a* and *i* or a nasal.

(9) Case in nouns is shown either by the position in the sentence or else by combination with another noun in the form of a post-position.

(10) There are no derivative verb species, except where the idea of motion to or from the speaker is implied, when the verbs "to come" and "to go" will be combined with the main verb. Similarly the dative idea is obtained by combination with the verb "to give".

(11) Verb conjugation for person consists in merely pronoun + verb stem.

(12) Tenses are few in number, but the tense particles cover more than the mere idea of time.

(13) There is no passive form of the verb, and the passive idea is expressed by a circumlocution.

Sentence-structure

(14) The normal sentence order is either subject + verb + object or subject + object + verb.

(15) The possessor (genitive or *nomen rectum*) precedes the

¹ I am deeply indebted to Professor Westermann for going over the MS. of this article with me, and also for the loan of the MS. of his own article *Charakter und Einteilung der Sudansprachen (Africa, 1935)*, which goes into these points in greater detail and to which the reader is here referred. As further source I have used Dr. Alice Werner's treatise *Structure and Relationship of African Languages*.

possessed (*nomen regens*) in the genitive construction. This applies also to the possessive adjective.

(16) The adjective may precede or follow the noun it qualifies.

DEFINITION OF A HAMITIC LANGUAGE

Although there seem to be very few languages which are truly and thoroughly Hamitic, authorities seem to be more certain on what are "Hamitic" characteristics than in the case of Sudanic languages. For convenience I shall use the same numbering as above.

(1) Hamitic roots may be monosyllabic, disyllabic, or even trisyllabic.

(2) The popular consistency of a root seems to be three consonants, with intervening vowels as in Semitic, though many roots have only two consonants.

(3) Hamitic languages are highly inflected, mostly by means of prefixes and suffixes, though vowel change (*Ablaut*) is by no means uncommon.

(4) They have grammatical gender—masculine and feminine.¹ Combined with this is the phenomenon known as *Polarity*, whereby a noun may be masculine in the singular and feminine in the plural, or vice versa.

(5) Dynamic accent plays a greater role than intonation.

(6) Characteristic consonantal sounds of both Hamitic and Semitic languages are the pharyngeal "emphatic" sounds (*Press-laute*), as typified by Arabic ح ع and ق.

(7) There are many noun formatives.

(8) The singular and plural of nouns is distinguished by a multitude of formative elements, mostly suffixes.

(9) Case relationship is often shown by suffixes, applied either to the noun or to the verb.

(10) Each verb may have derived species, formed mostly by suffixes or *Ablaut*.

(11) Person in verb conjugation is shown by prefix (as in Semitic) or by suffix.

(12) Tenses are shown by means of prefixes and suffixes.

¹ For the range of ideas covered by these two terms, see Meinhof. *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, p. 22 et seq. Detailed discussion on this language family will also be found in De Lacy Evans O'Leary's *Characteristics of the Hamitic Languages*. See also Werner Vycichl, "Was sind Hamitensprachen?" (*Africa*, 1935); C. Brockelmann, "Gibt es einen hamitischen Sprachstamm?" (*Anthropos*, 1932); Marcel Cohen, "Les Langues dites Chamitiques" (*Congr. de l'Inst. des Lang. et Civ. afr.*, 1933).

- (13) There is a distinct form of the verb for the passive.
 (14) The normal sentence order is verb + subject + object.
 (15) The possessor follows the possessed in the genitive construction and is usually linked to it by means of a genitive particle.
 (16) The adjective follows the noun it qualifies.
 (17) There is one characteristic of most African languages, which has been cited as Sudanic, Hamitic, and Bantu, respectively, on various occasions, viz. the use of “vocal images”, “onomatopœic words”, “descriptive adverbs”, “radicals”, to bring out or intensify the meaning of ordinary verbs and adjectives. It is quite probable that these exclamatory words are characteristic of the *Negro* element in all three language families. Therefore their absence in any African language is more remarkable than their presence.

There are, roughly speaking, eleven decided language “groups”¹ in the Southern Sudan (exclusive of several as yet unplaced languages) and their speakers are to be found mostly in the three provinces Upper Nile (91,100 square miles), Bahr el Ghazal (94,000 square miles), and Mongalla (54,900 square miles). These groups may be arranged under four headings, according as the speech characteristics conform with the criteria given above. Thus we have:—

Sudanic languages:—

- (1) The Moru-Madi group.
- (2) The Bongo-Baka group.
- (3) The Ndogo-Bviri group.
- (4) Zande.

Nilotic languages:—

- (5) Dinka.
- (6) Nuer.
- (7) The Shilluk-Acholi group.

Nilo-Hamitic languages:—

- (8) The Bari dialects.
- (9) The Lotuko dialects.
- (10) The Topotha-Turkana group.

Fourth category (as yet unplaced):—

- (11) The Didinga-Beir group.

It must not for a moment be thought that language groups

¹ Under “group” is to be understood here a number of languages and dialects with close grammatical and vocabulary affinities, to the point of complete or partial mutual intelligibility. This loose definition embraces also, of course, the idea of a common original language, whether actual or hypothetical.

necessarily confine themselves within political boundaries; consequently almost all the Southern Sudan languages have affinities in French Equatorial Africa, Belgian Congo, Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya, and Abyssinia. The interesting point is, however, that these affinities are all relatively near geographically, and are all sharply defined within their own areas. There is no grand spread of any one group throughout the length and breadth of Central Africa—as, for instance, in Bantu—although future investigation in the area between the Sudan and Lake Chad may possibly bring to light more continuity than has at first been suspected.

For my Sudan population statistics I am very grateful to the Sudan Education Department and to the Governors of Provinces, who provided me with the latest figures at their disposal. In the case of some of the smaller tribes an attempt has evidently been made at an exact census. In other cases only the number of *tax-payers* is given; in such cases a fair estimate of tribal strength may be obtained by multiplying the number of taxpayers by five.

These figures are to be regarded, on the whole, as only approximate, and in fact some of them differ considerably from those given in the "Report of the Rejaf Language Conference", those given in Seligman's *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, and again from figures which I collected from local authorities three years ago. I enter them here as the latest governmental estimate.

The location of the tribes and sub-tribes is obtained largely from personal investigation during 1931-2,¹ and I am deeply indebted to the various local authorities, who spared no pains to help me make out tribal maps for each district.

My Uganda and Tanganyika statistics have been taken from the 1931 census returns of those countries.

My Kenya statistics have been obtained through the kindness of the Government of Kenya Colony, and show the estimated strength of the various tribes in the Colony as on the 31st of December, 1933.

The Belgian Government has also very kindly provided me with the latest population figures of the non-Bantu tribes in the north-east corner of the Belgian Congo.

THE EASTERN SUDANIC LANGUAGES

Westermann, in his *Charakter und Einteilung der Sudansprachen*, gives four sorts of Sudanic language. I shall not try to relegate the

¹ Under a combined grant from the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures and the School of Oriental Studies.

languages dealt with here to any particular category or categories within his Sudanic family, but merely state that the affinity any one group bears any other, either inside or outside the Southern Sudan, is of the slightest superficially, except in the case of the Bongo-Baka group and the Moru-Madi group, which show a fair amount of vocabulary and grammatical correspondence. The term "Eastern" is therefore used here in a strictly geographical sense, and implies merely the territorial position of the speakers of these languages as against other Sudanic tribes to the west.

The Sudanic tribes in the Southern Sudan, with the exception of the Azande, have suffered much from slave raids from the north and invasions from the south. Hence they are very small and much scattered. Although most of them have settled down now, a few of the smaller ones are still on the move, and localization of them is difficult. This is particularly so in the Western District of the Bahr el Ghazal, where the government's repatriating policy is still at work.

1. THE MORU-MADI GROUP

This is a very interesting group of almost mutually understandable languages, which stretches in a horse-shoe bend from Amadi to Yei in Mongalla Province, through the north-eastern corner of the Belgian Congo and the north-western corner of Uganda, and back into Mongalla Province, Opari District. These languages and dialects seem to fall into three sub-groups, which may for convenience be called the "Northern or Moru dialects", the "Central languages", and the "Southern or Madi languages".

The Moru Dialects (29,000 speakers)

The districts Amadi and Maridi in Mongalla Province are the home of the Moru speakers, who are as follows:—

The (MORO)MIZA (1,900 taxpayers) live south-east of Amadi under Chief Ndarago. Their dialect is now the language of education in the mission schools.

The (MORO)KEDIRU (1,400 taxpayers) live north of the Miza under Chief Wala. A branch of the Kediru, the MAKU'BA, live under Chief Roba on the Tapari.

The LAKAMA'DI live north of the Kediru on the Tali road under Chief Monda.

These three dialects are almost identical.

The MOROONDRI (700 taxpayers) live west of the Miza under Chief Ngere.

The 'BÖLI'BA (300 taxpayers) live south of the Miza, adjoining Pöjulu territory, under Chief Jambo.

These two dialects are almost identical.

The MOROÖGI (400 taxpayers) live west of the Moroöndri on the road to Maridi in two small sections under Chiefs Agangwa and Okupoi respectively. Another small section of the Miza is to be found living between them.

The (MORO)WA'DI (325 taxpayers) are scattered about north of Maridi under the Chiefs Okupoi and Madragi. Many so-called Wadi are really Morokodo, and speak a Bongo-Baka language.

These two dialects are almost identical, and nearer Moroöndri than Miza. In fact, Moroöndri is more representative of the majority of Moru dialects than Miza, and has more affinities with Avukaya on the one hand and Madi on the other.

The Central Sub-group (83,000 speakers)

The AVUKAYA¹ live in two sections between Maridi and Yei. The OJILA branch (650 taxpayers) live largely between the Naam and the Olo Rivers, but reach as far east as Chief Wajo; another smaller section is to be found north of Chief Madragi. The OJIGÖ branch (700 taxpayers) live just north of Yei, but there is a small section of these, called Agamoro, living on the outskirts of Mundu country, south of Maridi.

The KELIKO¹ (real name MA'DI) (1,113 taxpayers) are to be found west of Yei; they extend into the Belgian Congo, where a section is to be found south of Aba (9,138), in the territory Alur-Lugwara.

It is doubtful whether the BÖRI have separate tribal existence. The various scattered clumps seem to speak either Keliko or Pöjulu according to the people they live among. I am told that there is a Böri rain-makers clan among the Moru, whose graves resemble those of Kakwa rain-makers.

The LOGO (some 60,000) are mostly to be found in the Congo in the triangle of country between Aba, Faradje, and Watsa, where there seem to be four sections of them. A few Logo are to be found in Yei District of Mongalla Province. The Belgian Government statistics concerning this tribe are as follows:—

“In the territory of the Logo-Dongo (head township, Faradje) there are 75,581 inhabitants, of whom 62,941 are indigenes. They

¹ “Avukaya” or “Abukaya” is said to be a Zande nickname for the Ojila and Ojigö. The name “Keliko” is of obscure origin.

are divided into Logo-Agambi (19,976), Logo-Doka (31,510), Bari-Logo (4,292), and Dongo-Tedemu (7,163)."

The Central languages are not so closely tied as the Moru dialects. Keliko and Logo are on the whole mutually understandable, but Avukaya can only be understood with an effort, forming as it does a bridge between these languages and the Moru dialects.

The Madi Sub-group (240,000 speakers)

The LUGBARA (also called "Lugwari") live in the North-East Congo (50,844) with centre Aru, and extend into the West Nile District of Uganda with centre Arua (139,348). A few (171 taxpayers) are to be found in Yei District.

The MADI (pronounced MA'DI) of Uganda (40,307) are to be found in Aiiyu County, West Nile District, and also in greater or lesser numbers through most of the north-east counties in Gulu District. They extend into the Sudan into the western section of Opari District, Mongalla Province (1,022 taxpayers).

There seem to be two main dialects of Madi in the Sudan:—MA'DI LOKAI spoken by Chiefs Surur, Odego, and Ito Gaperi (2,000); MA'DI PANDIKERI spoken by Chiefs Dar, Iberu, Geri Nyani Kuyu (5,000). Ma'di Lokai is most like Uganda Madi, and is the language of education in mission schools in Opari District. Ma'di Pandikeri has more in common with Moru (Moroöndri dialect). I have heard of a third dialect, 'Burulo, said to be spoken around Nimule, but was unable to follow it up. The few words I met with were like Pandikeri.

The LULU'BÓ (766 taxpayers) constitute the vanguard of the Madi penetration into Opari District, and now appear left high and dry on the Luluba Hills, 40 miles south-east of Juba and west of the Lokoya. Their dialect is more like Pandikeri than Lokai, with some Pöjulu vocabulary borrowings.

All these three languages are mutually understandable to a fairly high degree. As a matter of fact, all the Moru-Madi languages (with the exception of Lendu, which shall be discussed separately) are so closely related that any speaker of one would very soon be able to adapt himself if brought to live among speakers of another.¹

The LENDU also belong to the Moru-Madi group, but their language cannot be understood by the other members, having undergone

¹ My questionings of a Moru speaker, whom I had with me while on tour, elicited the fact that, of all the Moru-Madi languages which were foreign to him, he got on best with Abukaya and Madi, but found Logo the most difficult to understand. He himself was a Moroöndri.

violent phonetic changes which have resulted in a "spitting" pronunciation of syllables containing consonants only, which cause great trouble to would-be scribes. The Lendu live in the Congo, west of Lake Albert (151,925) with centre Djugu, while a smaller branch (5,985) are to be found in Alur-Lugwara territory; some have overflowed into (mostly) the West Nile District of Uganda (2,670). Their real name is 'BALE or 'BALENDRU, and their language is 'BAATHA or or 'BALETHA. They have often been erroneously classified as Bantu.

2. THE BONGO-BAKA-BAGIRMI GROUP

The members of this group are the most scattered and diverse of any, and mutual understanding, except in a few cases, is absent. By comparison of vocabulary and grammar, however, one can easily ascertain such members as are on record.

The BONGO in Schweinfurth's time were evidently far more numerous than now (3,192). At present they are to be found mainly in two small settlements, one, under Chief Sabun, on the Bussere River just south of Wau and extending south along the Bo road, and the other larger settlement further east, near Tonj, under Chief Kerisit. There is also an isolated colony in the Lori country, near Rumbek. The now extinct MITTU (WETU) were Bongo speakers, as far as can be ascertained.

The BAKA (2,380 taxpayers) live fairly thickly around Maridi and extend almost to Yei. There is another section of them in the north-east corner of the Belgian Congo (4,000).

The Baka form the southern end of a linguistic chain, stretching up through Moru country to Rumbek. Those that live in the Moru district cause most confusion to investigators:—

The MOROKODO (625 taxpayers) live on the Amadi-Maridi road just west of Amadi, under Chief Hassan.

The (MORO)BITI, also under Chief Hassan, live north of Amadi on the Tali road.

The MA'DI¹ live north of these, and the (MORO)WIRA farther north, both tribes under Chief Dokolo.

The MÄ'DU live with the Lakama'di under Chief Roba.

These five small tribes are all called "Moru", and consequently are often confused with the true Moru. The languages Morokodo and Ma'di are almost identical, while Biti, Wira, and Mä'du may be

¹ Not to be confused with the Ma'di of Opari district, whose language belongs to the Moru-Madi group.

grouped together. These five dialects are the most closely connected of all the Bongo-Baka group.

The NYAMUSA (600 taxpayers) live north of the Wira, also under Chief Dokolo, but their language is not so closely allied.

The northern section of this linguistic chain is composed of the "Rumbek Jur"¹ (7,194), stretching from just north of the Nyamusa to Rumbek in the Bahr el Ghazal. They consist of four small tribes (hemmed in on the north by the Ngok Dinka and on the east by the Agar and Atwot):—

The LORI live north-west of the Nyamusa along the old Mvolo-Gnop road, and the LALI close to them. Their languages are almost identical.

The BELI and the SOFI, speaking practically identical languages, live just south of Rumbek, the Beli being north of Toinya post and the Sofi south of it.²

Of these "Jur" languages, Beli and Sofi are most like Bongo, while Lori and Lali are much more like Nyamusa and the so-called "Moru" dialects.

Such are the main members of the Bonga-Baka group in the Sudan. Of late, however, some interesting information on the very confused population of the Western District of the Bahr el Ghazal has come to light:—

The YULU³ (1,124), BINGA (pronounced "Biḡa") (638), KARA (328), and, less definitely, the RUNGA (150), AJA (728), and NGUNGULI (1,052) show remarkable vocabulary resemblance to Bongo and Baka, though no grammatical material is as yet forthcoming. These tribes are for the most part an overflow from tribes in French Equatorial Africa—the boundary is very near.

The SINYAR,⁴ who live on the border of Darfur and French Equatorial Africa at Mogororo (lat. 12 N.), show a vocabulary resemblance also. This seems to be the only language in Darfur or Kordofan to do so.

Outside the Southern Sudan, enough vocabulary evidence has been

¹ Not to be confused with the Shilluk-speaking "Jur" (Luo) near Wau. The word "Jur" means "stranger" in Dinka, and the Dinka apply the term to all foreigners except Europeans and Arabs.

² Of all these tribes the Beli are the most numerous. Seligman mentions another tribe, GBERI, living west of Mvolo, and speaking a dialect akin to Mittu (*Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, p. 474). I was unable to locate this tribe.

³ From information supplied me by Fathers Simoni and Santandrea.

⁴ From information supplied me by P. B. Broadbent and A. J. Arkell, of the Sudan Political Service.

collected by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes¹ to pursue this group along the Chari Rivers in French Oubangui-Chari as far as Fort Archambault. The representatives in this area he classes under the BARMA group, and they comprise the languages BARMA, BABALIA, DISSA, BULALA, and the multitudinous SARA dialects (Sara Denjé, Sara Guléi, Sara Baï, Sara Lak, Kaba, Horo, Ngama, Valé, Télé, and Tané).

Finally, south-east of Lake Chad, are the BAGIRMI (30,000), whose language also shows considerable resemblance to Bongo, as already remarked by Gaden.² To this language is related that of the KENGA and KUKA on Barth's evidence.³

On the strength of the above data I should suggest as a tentative name for this huge belt of Sudanic languages, the combination "Bongo-Bagirmi" or "Bongo-Baka-Bagirmi", as embodying the most important Eastern and Western members of the group.

3. THE NDOGO-BVIRI GROUP

This group consists of four dialects, so closely allied as to be mutually intelligible. The area covered by this language group is roughly that of the Central District of Bahr el Ghazal Province, with centre Wau.

The NDOGO (2,164) live a few miles west of Wau (where the Wau-Deim Zubeir road crosses the Getti), and at Kayango.

The SERE (also called Basiri) (1,320) live west of the Ndogo, where the same road crosses the Kpango River.

The BAI (1,120) live west of the Sere.

The BVIRI (commonly called BELANDA,⁴ also Mvegumba) (3,660)

¹ *Documents sur les Langues de l'Oubangui-Chari*. I have been able to compare aspects of Bongo grammar with notes taken on Sara by Professor Westermann and Dr. H. J. Melzian, and justify at least the inclusion of that language in the Bongo group.

² *Essai de Grammaire de la Langue Baguirmienne*. Gaden was able to note only the vocabulary similarity, but comparison of his grammar with my field notes has established the connection beyond all dispute. It is interesting to note here that, of all the Bongo-Baka languages in the Sudan, Bagirmi most approaches the Morokodo sub-section in grammatical structure; this is strange, seeing that these languages have themselves been largely influenced (in other respects) by Moru-Madi.

³ *Sammlung und Bearbeitung Central-Afrikanischer Vocabularien*. Dr. J. Lukas, who read this article in MS., informs me from personal experience that BULALA, KUKA, and MODOGO (not mentioned above), are all practically identical and all closely related to Bagirmi.

⁴ The name "Belanda" is the cause of much confusion, as it is used to denote two tribes, speaking totally unrelated languages: the BVIRI (also called "Mvegumba") speaking a Ndogo dialect, and the BOR (also called "Mverodi") speaking a Shilluk dialect. These two tribes are neighbours, intermarry, and mostly know each other's languages, however. See my article, "The Tribal Confusion around Wau" (*Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xiv, pt. 1, 1931). The name "Belanda" is of Bongo origin.

live on the Belanda circular road, which leaves Wau, and after a southern detour joins the Deim Zubeir road near the Getti. Another branch of Bviri may be found near Deim Zubeir.

Scattered clusters of all four peoples may be found at intervals on the road from Wau to the Zande country and on the circular road north-west of Tembura. There is also a body of Sere living in French Equatorial Africa, across the border from Yubu.

Mention should here be made of the GOLO (1,952), who live between the Ndogo and Wau, and whose as yet unplaced language is fast dying out in favour of Ndogo.

4. THE ZANDE LANGUAGE

The Zande language is spoken consistently throughout the southern part of the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and in the neighbouring regions of French Equatorial Africa and Belgian Congo, whence the Azande originated. At one time Zande bid fair to oust all the other Sudanic languages in the Southern Sudan—the Maridi-Amadi conglomeration, the Ndogo languages at Wau, and even a good many of the Western District languages. Since the enforced retirement of the Azande conquerors, however, these other languages have regained to a certain extent their former usage. The Azande in the Sudan (231,000), owing to sleeping-fever legislation, are concentrated at Tembura, at Yambio, and along the Tembura-Yambio and Yambio-Maridi roads.

There is only one sub-dialect of Zande in the Sudan, spoken by the MAKARAKA (true name ADIO) (415 taxpayers), who live between Yei and Maridi.

There are over 500,000 Azande in the Congo, and they form the majority of the population in several territories. The Belgian Governmental statistics are as follows :—

Territory of the Avungara, centre Ango, 72,527 out of 72,605.

Territory of the Avuru-Wando, centre Dungu, 175,774 out of 177,002.

Territory of the Avuru-Kipa-Amadi-Abaremba, centre Poko, 93,061 out of 158,900.

Territory of the Abandia, centre Bondo, 107,839 “Zandeized” Mongwandi.

Territory of the Madjara, centre Niangara, 72,313, population largely of Nilotic origin.

The Azande in French Equatorial Africa are assessed at about 50,000, but no statistics are to hand.

Among the Azande are the descendants of a variety of conquered

peoples (such as the Pambia, Barambo, Huma, Bukuru),¹ but the pronunciation of the language varies surprisingly little with locality.

OTHER SUDANIC LANGUAGES

The Western District of the Bahr el Ghazal contains a confused mass of very small tribes. Of these the most important people are the KREISH (KREDJ) (real name GBAYA) (6,930). There are five sub-divisions of the Gbaya :—

The GBAYA-NDOGO once lived near Deim Zubeir, but have lately been moved north of Raga. Their language has been reduced to writing by the R. C. Mission at Deim Zubeir.

The (GBAYA)NAKA live near Kafia Kingi, north of the Gbaya-NDogo. Their language is perhaps the most representative dialect.

The (GBAYA)HOFRA live on the River Boro, south of the Naka and north of the Binga.

Near the Hofra, and related to them, live the YOMAMGBA (People of the Hills), the KUTOWAKA, BOKO, and others.

The WORO are hunters in the woods near Deim Zubeir.

The Kreish language is not confined merely to the Gbaya, but has spread over other small tribes as well. It has nothing in common with Baya or Gbaya (Mandjia) in Oubangui-Chari.

After the Kreish, the BANDA are the most important people (5,980). They live between the Rivers Biri and Sopo, and are directly related to the Banda of Oubangui-Chari (and hence, perhaps, to the Mbwaka, Banziri, and Monjombo).²

Other unplaced Western languages are FEROGHE (3,200), INDRI (related to Feroqhe); SHAYU and MONGAIYAT, about which almost nothing is known.

Among the Baka in Maridi, also north of Yei, live the MUNDU (1,861 taxpayers). There is a further colony of them in the Belgian Congo, north of Aba (some 2,000). Their language is decidedly Sudanic but the grammar construction cannot warrant its inclusion in the Bongo Baka group, although it has many affinities. It is suspected that the Congo BANGBA (2,125),³ lying between Dungu and Watsa, are closely related to the Mundu.

¹ See Lagae "*La Langue des Azande*" for a full list of Zande sub-sections.

² Note that Poutrin, in *Principales Populations de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française*, considers Kreish a sub-section of the Banda group. I can find no correspondences in the two languages to justify this. Kreish has, if anything, more in common with Bongo-Baka.

³ Burssens's estimate of Bangba tribal strength is 50,000, and he would place them between Dungu and Niangara.

Reference should be made at this point to the welter of non-Bantu languages in the north-east corner of the Congo. Some few, like Logo and Lendu mentioned above, have been identified, but practically nothing is known about the rest, owing to lack of even vocabulary material.

Professor A. Burssens, in "Het Probleem der Kongoleesche Niet-Bantoetalen",¹ sums up the classifications of Delafosse, Drexel, Schebesta, Liesenborghs, Vekens, and others, and evolves the following tentative grouping:—

(1) *Oubangui-Uele Group*.—Banda; Gbaya (Mandjia); Mondunga; Ngbandi (Sango); Bangba, Mundu, Mayogo; Barambo; Zande.

(2) *Sudan-Nile Group*.—(a) Lugwara, Logo, Lendu; (b) Baka.

(3) *Mangbetu Group*.—Mangbetu, Makere, Medje, Malele, Mabisanga, Popoi, Rumbi, Beyru, Manga, Aka.

(4) *Mamvu-Efe Group*.—(a) Mamvu, Lese, Bendi, Mbutu, Mbuba; (b) Efe (Pygmy).²

(5) *Nilotic Group*.—Lur.

(6) *Nilo-Hamitic Group*.—Bari, Kakwa.

It is quite probable, when more is known of these languages, that the demesne of the Moru-Madi and Bongo-Baka groups will be still further enlarged. MANGBETU has distinct vocabulary affinities with both groups, although it plainly does not belong to either.

The following governmental statistics of these tribes should be of general interest:—

Territory of the	Babira-Walese	centre	Irumu	94,230 inhabitants
"	Mabudu	"	Wamba	174,242
"	Mangbetu	"	Isiro	122,317
"	Makere-Malele-Popoi	"	Niapu	42,680
"	Babua	"	Buta	120,160
"	Mobenge-Mabinza	"	Aketi	87,767
"	Babali-Barumbi	"	Bafwasende	69,663
"	Mongelima-Bamanga	"	Banalia	39,850
"	North Wanande	"	Beni	87,336
"	South Wanande	"	Lubero	154,917
"	Bakumu	"	Lubutu	50,164
"	Mamvu-Monbutu	"	Watsa	64,041
"	Logo-Dongo	"	Faradje	75,581
"	Alur-Lugware ³	"	Mahaji	160,621

¹ *Kongo-Overzee*, Oct. 1934.

² Schebesta, in *Les pygmées du Congo belge*, remarks considerable vocabulary correspondence between Efe and the Lendu-Logo languages, but considers this due to mutual borrowing.

³ Mention is made here of a tribe "Ndo" (13,947); it is grouped with the Keliko and Lendu.

ANALYSIS OF THE EASTERN SUDANIC LANGUAGES

The above language groups conform to our given criteria in almost every respect :—

- (1) They are fundamentally monosyllabic.
- (2) Each syllable consists of a consonant and a vowel.
- (3) They are isolating.
- (4) They have no grammatical gender.
- (5) They have a well marked tone system, which unfortunately has hardly been studied.¹ The fact that the Azande and the Banda use talking drums is significant.
- (6) The characteristic consonant sounds, *kp* and *gb*, 'b and 'd are in great evidence, as also a flapped *l*-sound and flapped *v*-sound.
 - (6a) They have a simple vowel system, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, but the varieties of *e* and *o* (as in Bongo, and *i* and *u* (as in Zande and Moru) need further investigation. "Umlaut" of *a* by a following *i* or *u* is common. There are no long vowels or diphthongs; when two vowels fall together, the resultant sound is a disyllable.
- (7) Noun formatives are few, noun combinations very popular.
- (8) The singular and plural of nouns is not normally distinguished. Zande, however, uses the prefix *a-*, and Ndogo *nda-*; Moru has an optional suffix *-i* (*-ki* in dialects).
- (9) Case is shown by position in the sentence or by *preposition*. (Postposition in Moru-Madi.)
- (10) There are no derivative verb species. (Motion to and from speaker is indicated in Moru-Madi by changes in the "characteristic" vowel.)
- (11) Verb conjugation is simple.
- (12) Tenses are few in number (except in Zande).
- (13) There is no passive form of the verb, the passive idea being conveyed by a circumlocution embodying (usually) the third person plural construction.
 - (13a) There seem to be two main forms of the verb, according as the verb action is incomplete (progressive) or complete (including perfect and imperative). Most verb stems are capable of prefixing a "characteristic" vowel² for certain tenses. This vowel is used in

¹ Ndogo intonation, from a lexical point of view, has been fairly well recorded in Father Ribero's *Elementi di Lingua Ndogo*, but the grammar rules are yet to be worked out.

² By "characteristic" I mean a vowel which harmonizes, according to distinct phonetic rules, with the vowel in the verb stem.

Bongo-Baka for “complete” tenses, but in Moru-Madi for “incomplete” tenses. In Zande the two forms of the verb are distinguished by suffixes, *-a* for the “incomplete” tenses and *-i* for the “complete” tenses. In Ndogo-Bviri no distinction is made.

(14) The sentence order is subject + verb + object. (In Moru-Madi the order is subject + object + verb for the “incomplete” tenses. e.g. *ma so gini* = “I hoe—or hoed—the ground,” *ma gini oso* = “I am hoeing the ground,” with characteristic vowel.)

(15) The possessor usually *follows* the possessed, but in special constructions (and also in some sub-dialects) it still precedes it.

(16) The adjective may precede or follow the noun it qualifies.

(17) “Descriptive” adverbs are very common.

THE NILOTIC LANGUAGES

The Nilotes form by far the greater proportion of the population of the Southern Sudan, and their languages extend beyond its boundaries as far south as the Great Lakes.

5. DINKA (true name Jieḡ or Jarḡ)

Dinka is spoken fairly solidly over an area consisting in the northern half of the Bahr el Ghazal Province and the southern part of the Upper Nile Province by about 500,000 people. It is composed of numerous dialects, which may be grouped conveniently according to the geographical distribution of the speakers.¹ Although there is great divergence, no dialect is sufficiently removed from any other as to be unintelligible, but it is doubtful if one dialect will ever serve as literary or standard language for all.

Western Dinka is spoken in the northern half of the Bahr el Ghazal Province by about half the total Dinka population. Its main dialects are:—

REK (“Raik”) (99,932) spoken between Wau and Meshra el Rek. It is the literary dialect of this area.

MALWAL (88,360) spoken north of Aweil and south of the Bahr el Arab. The Malwal tribe is probably the most numerous, but is the least get-at-able of all Dinka tribes, owing to its position in the swamps, and its northern boundary is uncertain.

TWIC (“Twij”) (27,988) spoken between the Rek Dinka and the Nuer.

¹ It is impossible to give here the names of all the sub-sections and clans within the Dinka tribes and sub-tribes, so, as far as possible, I shall confine myself to those sections which are known to speak definite dialects and which give their names to these dialects.

All three dialects are very much akin.

Central Dinka is spoken in the south-east corner of the Bahr el Ghazal Province and in Yirrol District, Upper Nile Province. Its main dialects are :—

AGAR (51,940) spoken south-east of Tonj and north of Rumbek. It may become the literary dialect of the district.

GOK (18,220) spoken between the Agar and the Rek. Another branch of the Gok (4,000) is to be found in Yirrol District.

ALIAB (13,500) spoken south-east of the Agar to the northern borders of the Moru and the Bari speakers.

The Central Dinka dialects are nearer Western Dinka than Eastern Dinka.

Eastern Dinka is spoken in the southern part of the Upper Nile Province. Its main dialects are :—

BOR (17,000) spoken at and about Bor on the east bank of the Nile. It is the literary dialect of these parts.

Other dialects in Bor District are TWI (18,000), THANY ("Tain") (1,300), NYARWENG (2,500), GHOL (pronounced ɣol), etc. (4,200).

On the west bank of the Nile, in Yirrol District, are related dialects : AFAK (13,000), CIEC ("Chich") (14,500), ADOR (5,000).

North-Eastern Dinka is spoken south and north of Malakal. Very little is known about the dialects in this region, which are :—

NGOK (pronounced ɲək) and BALAK (7,000) spoken south of the Sobat River, near its junction with the White Nile.

RUENG (4,000) west of the Ngok, on the Khor Filus. Both these sub-tribes are in Abwong District, but there is a further detachment of Rueng (50,000 ?) in Western Nuer District.

Just north of Malakal, on the east bank of the Nile in Shilluk District, are the DUNGJOL (7,500).

Further north, on the same side in Melut District, are the AGER (3,000), NHIEL (2,000), ABUYA (1,300), and BEIR (2,800).

Further north still, in Renk District, are the BOWOM (1,600), GIEL (850), and AKON (1,100), last-named probably being the most northerly section of all the Dinka.

Material in all these dialects is practically non-existent with the exception of Ngok, which resembles Bor to a certain extent.¹

¹ For those concerned in orthographical problems, it is probable that the Bor orthography will cover the Eastern and North-Eastern dialects, and the Rek orthography the Western and Central dialects. Owing to different processes in word-formation, the same orthography will not do for both sections.

6. NUER (true name Naath)

Nuer is spoken by some 220,000 people, who are situated in the swamps of the Upper Nile Province between the Dinka and the Shilluk. Nuer also contains many sub-dialects, which may be grouped according to the geographical distribution of the speakers¹; but there is much closer affinity between Nuer dialects than between Dinka dialects.

Western Nuer is spoken on the Bahr el Arab and the Bahr el Ghazal by the following main tribes² :—

JIKÄÄNY ("Jikain"), REEAŋ-YAN, DOK, WOT, NYUON, DOOR.

Also on the island between the White Nile and the Bahr el Zeraf by the following :—

LAAK, THYŋ, and GAAWÄAR ("Gaweir").

These dialects are all practically identical, but Jikany is the literary dialect.

Central Nuer is spoken by one very large tribe :—

The LAU, lying south of the Gaweir and extending east across country almost as far as Nasser on the Sobat River.

Eastern Nuer (another literary dialect) is spoken by three sections of Jikany who moved into the region of Nasser and the Upper Sobat during the Nuer expansion, and who are now practically isolated there. These are :—

The GAAJOOK, GAAJAAK, and GAAGWAŋ, and they extend as far as the Abyssinian frontier.

Eastern Nuer differs considerably in phonology from Central and Western Nuer, and it is doubtful if the same orthography would suit both literary dialects.

Atwot

There is one important sub-language belonging to the Nuer family, spoken by a very reserved tribe living between Shambe and Yirrol, commonly known as the ATWOT (23,000). For some time these people, whose real name is ARIL, have been regarded as a branch of

¹ Here again it will be impossible to give the names of all the Nuer sub-tribes and clans.

² The spellings here are taken from the introduction to Father Crazzolara's *Nuer Grammar*, as the official spellings of these sub-tribes are not to hand.

Seligman's arrangement of the most important Nuer tribes, based on Dr. Evans-Pritchard's ethnographical field work, is as follows :—*Western*, Bul, Jagei, Lek, Nuong, Dok; *Eastern* (i.e. central), Thiang, Lak, Gaweir, Lau; *Far Eastern*, Gaajok, Gaajak. (See *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, p. 207.)

the Dinka (whose language they also speak), but their own tongue displays unmistakable Nuer affinities.

7. THE SHILLUK-ACHOLI GROUP

This group has over a million speakers, the majority of whom live in Uganda. Numerically the Sudan Shilluk-speakers (less than 200,000) are far below the Dinka-Nuer speakers, but their roving adventures in past history have left many scattered tribes in the most unexpected quarters.

Upper Nile Province

The SHILLUK proper (own name = Cöl; language = Dhö Cölo) are a relatively small tribe (60,000) living round the junction of the White Nile and the Sobat, and extending northwards on the west bank of the Nile opposite the Dungjol Dinka. Shilluk literature is in the hands of three or four missions.

The ANUAK (own name = ANYUA) (15,000) live on the Akobo River at its junction with the Pibor, and in Abyssinia in the area between the Baro and Akobo Rivers. There is also a section on the Sobat river, east of Abwong.¹

The two languages, though differing substantially, are mutually intelligible.

Bahr el Ghazal Province

The "JUR"² (real name Jo LUO; language = DHE LUO) (14,292) extend in a chain on the outskirts of Dinka territory, north of Wau towards Aweil and west of Wau as far as Tonj. Their language is more like Anuak than Shilluk; it once had a literature, but, owing to the new language policy, its place has been taken by Dinka.

The "DEMBO" (real name BODHO) (1,404), the "JUR SHOL", and the "JUR ABAT" live between Wau and Aweil, and speak dialects (Dhe Bødho and Dhe Cölo) very much akin to Luo.

The "SHATT" (real name THURI) (1,963) live in the woods near Deim Zubeir, north of the Ndogo-speakers. I am told by a Shilluk that this dialect, of all the Bhar el Ghazal dialects, most resembles his home language.

The BOR (also called "Belanda"³ or "Mverodi") (3,600) live mostly between the two main Bongo settlements, south of Wau,

¹ I am told by Dr. Evans-Pritchard that most of these so-called "Anuak", lying between the Ngok Dinka and Nasser, are really BALAK Dinka.

² Not to be confused with the "Rumbek Jur". See footnote above.

³ See footnote on Bviri above.

that is to say, on the Belanda circular road and on the Bo-Tembura road. There is a further small detachment of them on the Kuru River near Deim Zubeir. Their language (Dhe Bor), both in pronunciation and in grammar, has been strongly influenced by Bviri, spoken by the "Mvegumba" section of the Belanda.

Among the swamps north of Wau, between the Jur and the Lol rivers, lives a peculiar tribe of expert canoemen, known as the "Jur Wir" (= strangers of the river) or MANANGEER. Their language is supposed to be a dialect of Shilluk, though they all know Dinka as well.

Fung Province

There are some peculiar and little known people, commonly classed under the general name "BURUN", who inhabit several hills in Dar Fung, and whose dialects reveal a startling vocabulary resemblance to the Nilotic languages. No grammar material being to hand, it is impossible to determine which Nilotic language is implicated, but various authorities who have studied their customs and their history (such as it is) point to their being the remnants of a long-ago Shilluk invasion, left behind when the main body retreated.¹

These people inhabit the following hills, and are sometimes named after them (or vice versa; words in italics are known tribal names):—

Northern section: *Maiak*, Surkum, Jerok, Mufwa; *Kurmuk*, Kudul, *Ragreig*, Abuldugu; *Mughaja*, Tullok.

Southern section: *Ulu*, Gerawi.

Also the tribes *Meban* ("Gura"), and the *Jumjum* inhabiting Khor Jumjum and the hills Tunya, Terta, and Wadega.

The Burun languages are quite distinct from those of the Berta, the Ingassana, and the Gumus ("Hameg").

Mongalla Province

There is a section of Anuak (1,150 taxpayers) on Lofon (Lepul) Hill at Lokoro (north-east of Torit), whose language is almost identical with that of the Anuak in Upper Nile Province. These people are

¹ This contention is vigorously opposed by Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 415-422, who relies largely on cephalic index, both of the present inhabitants and of the early inhabitants (700 B.C.). Both are found to be mesaticephalic with typical prognathous negroid faces, whereas the Nilotes are dolichocephalic, and in many cases, especially among the Shilluk, "with long shapely faces, thin lips, noses anything but coarse, and well-modelled foreheads."

usually called "Lofon" or "Berri", but call themselves PÄRI or LOKORO.¹

ACHOLI (Log Acyoli) is spoken in the Opari District of Mongalla Province and on the Acholi Hills. At one time it was thought that all the non-Madi tribes of this district were Acholi, but investigation has recently brought to light the fact that more than half these Acholi-speakers really belong to the Lotuko family, while the rest are mostly Anuak. Consequently the Acholi spoken in the Sudan is not of the purest.

The Acholi proper (620 taxpayers) are to be found (mostly in the minority) under the following chiefs in Opari district :—

Chief Odouro	Acholi-Agula.
Chief Aburi	Acholi and Latuko.
Chief Ollaya	Acholi and Anuak.
Chief Paito	Acholi and Anuak.
Chief Okec	Acholi and non-Shilluk Lango.
Chief Ongiro	Acholi and Latuko.

The Anuak element (404 taxpayers) predominates over the Acholi element under Chiefs Ollaya (Anuak-Gila) and Paito (Anuak-Farajok). The other sections, apart from that under Chief Odouro, are predominantly Nilo-Hamitic.

Uganda Protectorate

The purest form of ACHOLI is spoken in the Chua and Gulu districts of the Northern Province of Uganda, although Acholi are to be found scattered throughout most Provinces. The Uganda Acholi number 137,792.

South of the Acholi are the LANGO (pronounced lago) (176,406), mostly in the Lango District of the Eastern Province, although there is a large section (some 10,000) in Paranga County of Gulu District (Northern Province).

The ALUR (JA LVO) (80,639) live for the most part north of Lake Albert in the West Nile District. There is another section of them across the border in Belgian Congo, stretching west from Mahaji (67,963).

The languages of these tribes are very closely allied.

The "CHOP" (JO PA LVO) (4,701) living mostly in Gulu and Bunyoro districts of Northern Province also belong to this group.

¹ According to Driberg ("Lafon Hill," *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1925) the PARI are divided into three sections; the Pugéri (of Shilluk origin), and the Boi and the Kor (of Anuak origin).

Kenya Colony

The Nilotic KAVIRONDO or JALUO (470,867) are to be found on the north-east corner of Lake Victoria. Their language (Dho Luo) is quite closely related to Acholi.

Acholi and the southern languages form a sub-group by themselves. By a process of simplification they have lost some of the Nilotic characteristics, both in pronunciation and in grammar.

ANALYSIS OF THE NILOTIC LANGUAGES

- (1) Nilotic languages are monosyllabic.
- (2) The Nilotic word consists for the most part of consonant + vowel (or diphthong) + consonant.
- (3) Formative elements are few, but the Nilotic word is inflected by internal change, although the characteristic prefixes and suffixes of Hamitic and Bantu are missing.¹ Nouns show plural (and in Dinka-Nuer case as well) and verb stems show voice or species in the following ways :—

By change in vowel quality e.g. a > ε etc.

By change in vowel length a > aa

By change in voice quality a > ʔ (i.e. squeezed voice > breathy voice)

By change in voice pitch á > à (high tone > low tone)

By change in final consonant l > t

w > th.

(Here one might well have a case for vanished suffixes.)

Another characteristic of this form of inflexion is that analogy plays little or no part; every word has its own way of expressing plurality, etc., and can use or reverse any of the above processes or any combination of them in doing so, so that no rules can be laid down.

(4) There is no grammatical gender.

(5) Intonation is present to a high degree, but is more grammatical and emotional than semantic.

(6) The Nilotic languages have a peculiar pronunciation of their own which at once distinguishes them from all other sorts of languages. The consonants are relatively simple. Two outstanding series are the dental consonants (written *th*, *dh*, and *nh*, and to be differentiated from the alveolar consonants *t*, *d*, and *n*),² and the pure palatal

¹ It should be added here that Nuer uses a few suffixes as well in its inflexions.

² Acholi and Lango make no distinction between dental and alveolar consonants while the vowel system in most of the Southern languages is much simpler than in Shilluk and Anuak.

consonants *c* and *j* (quite different from the Sudanic or Bantu equivalents, which resemble more the sounds in "church" and "judge"). Another outstanding characteristic is their slurred pronunciation; thus *p* will often be pronounced like *f*, *th* like the "th" in English "thin".

(6a) The vowel system is so complicated that it is hard to say what are the fundamental vowels and what the derived forms. On the whole there seems to be a seven vowel system at bottom, *a*, *ɛ*, *e*, *i*, *ə*, *o*, *u*, but with many varieties. The most striking of the derived vowels are the "centralized" vowels:—under certain conditions, governed mostly by grammar, a centralized form of a vowel (i.e. a form approaching the neutral vowel *ə*) will be used instead of the normal vowel. "Umlaut" of *a* by a following *i* or *u* is absent however. Diphthongs are very common. Length, tone, and voice quality¹ also enter in.

(7) Dinka has a noun formative in *a-*; the Sudanic tendency to combine words is strong throughout the Nilotic languages.

(8) As stated above, plurality is expressed by internal change. In Nuer it is sometimes expressed by the suffix *-nā* or *-ni*, and in Acholi by the suffix *-i*.

(9) Case in Shilluk is shown by position in the sentence. In Dinka and especially Nuer some cases are shown by inflexion of the noun as well. In all languages it is sometimes shown by change in the verb stem.

(10) There are many derived verb species, mostly formed by internal change (Ablaut).

(11) The verb conjugation for person consists in merely pronoun + verb stem, except in Nuer, which denotes person by suffix and internal change in a Hamitic manner.

(12) Tenses are few in number and correspond in usage to the Sudanic tenses.

(13) Not only is there a distinct passive voice, but also two active voices, one for use with definite objects, and the other for indefinite objects or when no object is expressed.² It is interesting to note,

¹ I am interested to hear that Dr. Ida Ward, in her researches in Nigeria, came lately across a tribe which also distinguishes words by means of voice quality: The ABUA in the Niger Delta. This phenomenon is also suspected in Kalabari. Neither language shows any vocabulary or grammar affinities with the Nilotic languages.

² This phenomenon is also to be found in Hausa, Ful, and Nubian. See also the Nilo-Hamitic languages.

however, that Nuer forms its passive in a Sudanic manner—by a circumlocution involving the 3rd pers. plur. pronoun.

In Shilluk, Anuak, and "Jur" (Luo) the passive is used whenever possible in preference to the active. In Dinka one form is as popular as the other. In Acholi and the Uganda dialects the passive is hardly ever used.

(14) The word order is variant.

Shilluk : Object + passive verb + subject.

Acholi : Subject + verb + object.

Nuer : Subject + verb (with suffix) + object.

In Dinka the important noun is placed first and the verb is active or passive according as to whether the noun is the subject or object of the action. Thus : Subject + active verb + object.

Object + passive verb + subject.

When auxiliary particles are used, the word order in Dinka and Nuer is affected. Thus

Dinka : (Subject + particle + object + active verb.

(Object + particle + subject + passive verb.

Nuer : Particle + subject + object + verb.

(and the particle in Nuer is inflected for person).

(15) The possessor follows the possessed, and in Eastern Dinka and Acholi there are connecting particles. In Nuer there is no connecting particle, but the possessor is inflected.

(16) The adjective follows the noun it qualifies.

(17) "Descriptive Adverbs" (except in Acholi) are noticeably *absent*.

Leaving Acholi out of account for the moment, the Nilotic languages show a fairly equal blending of Sudanic and Hamitic traits, with, in addition, peculiarities in phonetics and word structure common to neither language family. One might almost be tempted to class the Nilotic languages as Sudano-Hamitic.¹ It should be noted that Nuer has the most Hamitic affinities and Shilluk the least. Acholi, in its course of simplification, due largely to its use as a lingua franca, has lost the typical Nilotic pronunciation and the Hamitic inflexions.

¹ This, however, would be to ignore the Nubian factor, which probably also plays a part. The reader is referred to Murray's "The Nilotic Languages," *JRAL.*, 1920. It is interesting to note, in passing, that the undeniable Hamitic element in the Nilotic languages tallies well with Professor and Mrs. Seligman's description of these people as being, both in cranial structure and in culture, strongly hamiticized. (See *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, chap. i.)

THE NILO-HAMITIC LANGUAGES

The Nilo-Hamitic speakers¹ inhabit the southern portion of the Southern Sudan (Mongalla Province) and are to be found also in Uganda and Kenya. In fact the majority of these people live in Kenya, and the probability is that they have overflowed into the Sudan.

The Sudan representatives fall into three groups, the Bari group, comprising the languages spoken on the Nile and west of it to the Congo border, the Lotuko group, spoken on the hills east of the Nile, and the Topotha group, spoken east of Lotuko as far as Lake Rudolf. The last two groups have much in common with each other and with the Turkana, Suk, Nandi, Masai, and Tatoga languages of Kenya and Uganda, while the Bari group shows most Sudanic influence.

8. THE BARI DIALECTS

The BARI proper (7,512 taxpayers) extend along both banks of the Nile from Rejaf northwards to Terrakekka, including Juba, Mongalla, Lado, and Gondokoro (the last three places being now mere sites of old settlements).² Bari is the literary language for the group.

The POJULU ("FAJELU") (3,446 taxpayers) lie inland and west of the Bari between Juba and Yei, and extend as far north as the Moru-speaking 'Böli'ba.

The KAKWA (5,997 taxpayers) are to be found mostly in Yei district. There is another colony the other side of the border in Belgian Congo (10,802), and a fair number (16,515) in Uganda (Kobboko County of West Nile District and Gimara County of Gulu District). The Congo dialect, which differs considerably from the Sudan dialect, has a literature of its own, and a beginning was made a few years ago to make Sudan Kakwa a literary language.

The KUKU (3,972 taxpayers) live mostly on the Kajö Kaji plateau, south-west of Rejaf. A few (1,123) overlap into Gulu District, Relli County, Uganda.

The NYEFU ("Nyefu") (546 taxpayers) live between the Kuku

¹ The term "Nilo-Hamitic" must be taken here in its strictly linguistic sense. Ethnologically and culturally the Shilluk, Nuer, etc., are Nilo-Hamitic, and the Western Bari speakers Sudanic.

² The Rejaf Conference Report mentions 8,000 Bari living in the Belgian Congo, but I have been unable to find any support for this statement. The Belgian Government statistics, however, give two sections of "Bari" (with alternative name "Bale") one, 1,149, being a sub-section of the Lugwara, and the other, 1,629, living in Mamvu Monbutu territory. There are also the Bari-Logo, with a similar name.

and the Bari, of whom they are probably a sub-section—the languages being practically identical.

The NYANGWARA (2,264 taxpayers) are to be found mostly in Amadi District, east of the Pöjulu. A few live near Rejaf.

The MONDARI ("Mandari") (2,353 taxpayers) live in Amadi District, north of the Terrakekka road, and extend from Tali to the Nile. They are bordered on the north by the Aliab Dinka, whom they much resemble in appearance and culture.

The SHIR live on the east bank of the Nile opposite the Mondari, of whom they are probably an offshoot.

The languages of all these people are so closely related as to be mutually understandable; the western languages are obviously dialects of Bari, and these people are usually referred to as the "Bari Speakers".

10. THE LOTUKO DIALECTS

The country immediately east of the Bari is a very difficult one to define tribally, as it consists of plains dotted over with small hills, on which live related tribes, speaking a multitude of dialects of the same language group. Nearly every investigator of tribal distribution in this area has produced a fresh number of tribal names, discountenancing the evidence of his predecessors. The cause of this is that many of these people name themselves and their dialects after their home villages or hills, while others assume the names bestowed upon them by their neighbours. Consequently it is not uncommon to find two men from the same village swearing to two entirely different tribal names.

The LATUKO¹ (3,105 taxpayers) live in the plains around Torit, mostly to the north and east. Their language, or rather the Torit dialect (as there are some five main dialects of Lotuko) is the literary language.

The "LOKOIYA" (2,450 taxpayers) live between the Latuko and the Bari, on and about two hills, Lirya and Lueh; consequently the two sub-tribes call themselves and their dialects ERYA and OWE respectively, although both sections own to the name OGHORIOK (pronounced oyorioik) as well. (The name "Lokoiya" is of foreign origin.) Their language is most representative of the district.

The KORICK (3,948 taxpayers) live mostly between the Lokoiya and the Latuko on the hills Longairo, Imuruk, and Ifoto. They are often referred to as the "Hill Latuko".

¹ Singular: *Lotuko*.

The LAPIT ("Lofit") (1,895 taxpayers) live on the Lafit range of hills, north-east of Torit.

The DONGOTONO (684 taxpayers) live on the Dongotono Hills, south-east of Torit.

The LANGO¹ (3,872) live on the Imatong Mountains (south of Torit on the Sudan border), and on the southern parts of the Dongotono Hills. There are a great number of varying dialects of Lango, named after the various tribal sites, like Ikoto, Logiri, Logoforok, Madial (the last and most divergent dialect being found on a hill south of the Dongotono Hills). It is probable that the word "Lango" is a nickname; the people themselves have no collective name for their dialects.

Driberg² also makes mention of the LOKATHAN ("Bira") and NYANGIYA, on the Acholi Hills, south-east of the Dongotono, to whom they are related.

It must not be imagined that each hill specializes in one particular dialect. Lotuko villages are to be found in the Dongotono Hills, and Koriuk villages in the Lango language sphere; so that the exact distribution of the speakers of any one dialect is almost impossible to determine.

Many of the so-called "Acholi" in Opari District belong actually to sub-sections of the Lotuko-speakers. Thus:—

The Ileriji under Chief Aburi (near the Obbo Forest) speak a dialect of Lotuko.

The Obolong under Chief Lokwat (south of the hill Imurok) speak a dialect of Koriuk, though some hold them to be Lokoiya.

The Ofirika under Chief Ongai speak a dialect of Lokoiya.

The Lolibai under Chief Ongiro, and the Logiri under Chief Okec are related to the Logiri of Ikoto, and speak a dialect of Lango.

All the Lotuko languages and dialects are mutually intelligible, with the exception perhaps of one or two Lango dialects (like Madial). On the whole one may say that Lotuko itself and Koriuk form an entity, while Lokoiya, Lopit, Dongotono, and some of the Lango dialects have characteristics in common not to be found in Lotuko.

10. THE TOPOTHA-TURKANA GROUP

The country between the Dongotono Hills, and the Didinga-Boya Range is scarcely populated, and east of the Boya Hills no villages

¹ Not to be confused with the Shilluk-speaking Lango of Uganda. See above.

² In "Lotuko Dialects", *American Anthropologist*, 1932.

are to be seen until the Thingaita River and Kapoeta, where live the Topotha. The intervening plains are merely grazing and hunting grounds.

The TOPOTHA ("Taposa", "Dabossa") (5,783 taxpayers) live mostly along the Thingaita and Lokalyan rivers, west and east of Kapoeta. They are a semi-nomadic people, and their exact habitat has never been properly defined. They may be found at different times of the year on the borders of the Sudan and Kenya Colony.

The JIYE, an offshoot of the Topotha, live between the Topotha and Pibor Post, but their exact locality is impossible to tell, as they are constantly on the move. There is another section among the Western Turkana and Dodoth.

Another offshoot of the Topotha, the NYANGATOM (OR DONYIRO OR BUME, it is uncertain which is the true name) live over the Abyssinian border, north of the Marille, on the Kibish and Omo rivers.¹ The "Ngi-Kera" are also mentioned as living here.

The TURKANA (58,478) are to be found mostly in Kenya between Lake Rudolf and the Kenya-Uganda border, although they overflow into the eastern corner of Mongalla Province and the neighbouring corner of Abyssinia as far north as the Tirma highlands. There appear to be two main divisions—the Billai and the Hyisirr.

The "KARAMOJONG" (or "KARAMOJA") lie south-west of the Turkana, partly in Kenya Colony and partly in Karamoja District of the Eastern Province of Uganda Protectorate (63,849).

The following further members of the Topotha-Turkana group are not mentioned in any of the census returns, and it is probable that they are merely subsections of the Karamojong:—

The "DODOTH" are supposed to live just north of the Karamojong.

The "NYIPORI" are supposed to live on the Nyangeya Hills on the Karamoja-Chua boundary.

The identity and locality of the "MUNO" and the "TEUTH" ("Teusa" or "Wandorobo") is uncertain.

The languages Topotha, Turkana, and Karamojong are so much alike as to be almost identical, and the speakers have no difficulty at all in understanding each other's dialect.

¹ Since there are at least two "Omo" rivers in Abyssinia, it should be mentioned here that the river referred to above is that which flows south into the north end of Lake Rudolf.

NILO-HAMITIC LANGUAGES OUTSIDE THE SUDAN

The chain of Nilo-Hamitic languages to the south can be given here only very sketchily, without an attempt at exact grouping. The two main groups here seem to be the Nandi-Tatoga group and the Masai group. Authorities differ among themselves¹ in the allocation of the smaller dialects, but on the whole the grouping is as follows :—

THE MASAI GROUP

Uganda Protectorate

The TESO (387,643) live mostly in Teso district, but some 40,000 of these are scattered through Bugwere, Budama, and Busoga districts—all in the Eastern Province of Uganda.

The KUMAM (43,916) are to be found in Lango District (Eastern Province) mostly in the counties Kwania, Kaberamaido, Kalaki, and Dokolo, i.e. between the Teso and the Lango.

Both these languages are said to belong to the Masai group.

Kenya Colony

The MASAI proper stretch from Uasin Gishu, north of the Nandi, well into Tanganyika Territory, as far south as lat. 6. The Kenya census gives the following sub-tribes of the Masai :—

Purko (19,393) ; Loita (2,917) ; Il Damat (1,476) ; Siria (4,624) ; Uasin Gishu (3,920) ; Matapato (3,228) ; Dalalekotok (1,301) ; Kaputiei (2,403) ; Lodokilani (1,258) ; Sigirari (756) ; Ngurman (201) ; Salei (49) ; Loitokitok (4,070) ; Kekonyukei (2,469) ; Dorobo (1,400).

The SAMBURU (10,128) also speak a Masai-like language.

Tanganyika Territory

The MASAI in Tanganyika (including the KWAVI) are given in the Tanganyika census returns as living in the following districts :—

Masai (28,742) ; Handeni (1,908) ; Kondoa (1,537) ; Pare (1,029) ; other districts (2,181).

The ARUSHA (26,703), speaking a language like Masai, live at and about Mount Meru and the town Arusha.

¹ Struck, for example, places Suk in the Masai group and Kwafi and Ndorobo in the Nandi-Tatoga group. Other tribes of his which I have been unable to follow up are the Elgumi, speaking Masai, and the Japtuleil, Sabei, and Burkeneji, speaking Nandi dialects. (See *Ueber die Sprachen der Tatoga und Irakulente* and compare Hollis, *The Masai*, Oxford, 1905.)

THE NANDI-TATOGA GROUP

Kenya Colony

There seem to be four divisions of the Nandi themselves (according to Hollis)¹ :—

The NANDI proper (51,260) live on the Nandi Escarpment, east of the Kavirondo on Lake Victoria; also to the north.

The KIPSIGIS ("LUMBWA") (72,745) live in Lumbwa District, south of the Nandi, of whom they are probably an offshoot. South of them live the BURET and south of these the SOTIK, in the districts Buret and Sotik.

The ELGONYI (4,457) live on the Uganda border near Mt. Elgon.

In the Kerio Valley live the ELGEYO (36,078) north-east of the Nandi, the KAMASIA (or "Tuken") (31,348), east of the Elgeyo, and the MUTEI.

The NJEMPS (2,221) near Lake Baringo also probably speak a Nandi dialect, although Hollis does not mention them.²

All these languages are so closely related as to be regarded as dialects.

The SUK (real name POKWUT) (24,117) live north of the Nandi speakers, and south-west of the Turkana, with the MARAKWET south of them. Beech holds their language to be almost a dialect of Nandi.³

Tanganyika Territory

The TATOGA (TATURU) (3,560) lie south-west of the Masai between Lakes Manyara and Narasa, in districts Manyoni, Musoma, and Mkalama.

The Masai group and the Nandi-Tatoga group show strong affinities with each other and with the Lotuko-Topotha-Turkana groups; also, but to a lesser extent, with the Bari group: and ultimately (but in vocabulary alone) with the Nilotic languages.

ANALYSIS OF THE NILO-HAMITIC LANGUAGES

(1 & 2) The most typical Nilo-Hamitic word stem, when shorn of its prefixes and suffixes, seems to be disyllabic and to consist in consonant + vowel + consonant + vowel (the two vowels being dissimilar). Naturally, where Nilotic stems are found, they have Nilotic monosyllabic form: consonant + vowel + consonant.

¹ *The Nandi, their Language and Folklore*, Oxford, 1909.

² Probably another name for the Mutei, as the localities of these two alleged tribes seem to coincide.

³ *The Suk, their Language and Folklore*, Oxford, 1911.

(3) The Nilo-Hamitic word is highly inflected by means of prefixes and suffixes, especially the latter. Analogy plays a considerable role, so that rules may fairly easily be drawn up for the use of these adjuncts.

(4) Grammatical gender is present, to a stronger or weaker degree in all the languages, and no language has more than two genders. Gender is not expressed in the noun or adjective itself, however, but in the pronoun affix. Cases of *Polarity* are also to be found (see under definition of Hamitic language).

(5) Dynamic accent (accompanied by high or falling tone) plays a far bigger part in grammar than syllable pitch. Bari retains distinct traces of inherent tone, but it is safe to predict that soon all these languages will be entirely stress-languages and not tone-languages in the Sudanic sense.

(6) The Hamitic "emphatic" sounds are absent; so too the Sudanic *kp* and *gb*,¹ and the Nilotic *th*, *dh*, and *nh* series. Bari distinguishes the "glottal" consonants *ʔ* and *ɗ* from normal *b* and *d*. The other languages make no such distinction, but their normal *b* and *d* consonants appear to be slightly implosive.

The Nilotic palatal sounds (*c* and *j*) are represented by forms of *s* and *dj* in Bari and Lotuko, fading off to *ts* and *dz* in Congo Kakwa in the west, and to dental fricatives (as in English "thin" and "then") in Topotha in the east.

One almost Nilotic characteristic in these languages (with the exception of the Bari dialects) is a tendency to soften and slur consonants (usually between vowels). Thus: $t > d$; $p > b$ or v ; $f > v$; $k > x$ or g ; $x > \gamma$; so that the orthographist is often hard put when to distinguish a genuine soft sound from a slurred one.

(6a) Bari has a well defined and logical vowel system; there are ten vowels, five of which are "tense" (ö, e, i, o, u) and the other five "lax" (a, ε, ɛ, ɔ, ɔ), and the rules for vowel sequence in prefixes and suffixes are such that a tense vowel and a lax vowel may never occur in adjoining syllables. This system gradually breaks down through the Bari dialects to the west, where a Sudanic simplicity ultimately reigns. There are no long vowels or true diphthongs in the Bari group.

In the other Nilo-Hamitic languages vowels seem to be as numerous

¹ In the Western Bari dialects, especially Pojulu and Kakwa, the *kw* and *gw* and *ŋw* sounds of Bari have been "Sudanized" to *kp* and *gb* and *gm*.

as in the Nilotic languages. but are not governed by the peculiar processes (such as centralization, length, breathy voice) which govern Nilotic vowels. Diphthongs are very common.

In all the Nilo-Hamitic languages, "Umlaut" of *a* by a following *i* or *u* is common.

(7) There are many noun formatives; Sudanic noun combinations (without intervening particles) are also found, but are not common.

(8) The suffixes for the singular and plural of nouns are multitudinous, and seem reminiscent of some class system, since broken down.

(9) Case is shown either by position in the sentence or by preposition. Some cases are shown by suffixes applied to the verb.

(10) Each verb has many derived species, formed mostly by suffixes.

(11) The verb conjugation is very elaborate in most of the Nilo-Hamitic languages—notably Lotuko, Topotha, and Masai, where suffixes denote person as well as tense. In Bari and Nandi a Sudanic simplicity prevails.

(12) In Bari, tense formation and application is definitely Sudanic. In the other languages, especially Masai, Hamitic prefixes and suffixes abound.

(13) In most languages there is a distinct form of the verb for the passive,¹ and also for the two active voices—formed by suffixes. The passive, however, is not preferred to the active as in some of the Nilotic languages.

(14) The sentence order in Bari is subject + verb + object. In the other languages it is typically Hamitic: Verb (inflected) + subject + object.

(15) The possessor follows the possessed in the genitive construction, and is always joined to it by a relative particle.²

(16) The adjective follows the noun it qualifies.

(17) "Descriptive Adverbs" are very common.

Apart from the rather doubtful phenomenon of sound-slurring, the only claim these languages have to the term "Nilo-" lies in the formidable array of words which, when shorn of their Hamitic prefixes

¹ Note that in Masai and Nandi there is no passive form proper, but a form derived from the third person active, after the manner of Sudanic languages.

² In some locative expressions the old Sudanic construction is to be met. Thus in Bari, *i mukök na merε* (at the foot of the mountain) may also be rendered *i merε mukök*. In Nandi: *mi tulwet yony*.

and suffixes, reveal undeniable Nilotic stems. Take the following examples from Shilluk, Bari, and Masai :—

<i>English.</i>	<i>Shilluk.</i>	<i>Bari.</i>	<i>Masai.</i>
eye	waŋ pl. nyin	k-oŋ-e pl. k-onye-n	eŋ-oŋ-u pl. iŋ-onye-k
cow	dhyaŋ pl. dhøk	ki-teŋ pl. ki-suk	eŋ-gi-teŋ pl. iŋ-gi-fu
crocodile	nyaŋ	ki-nyoŋ	ol-ki-nyaŋ
to die	thou	thwa-n	tua
to hear	liŋ	yioŋ-ga	-niŋ
to count	kwan	ken-dya	-ken-

(It is worthy of note that relatively more Nilotic stems are found among Nilo-Hamitic nouns than among verbs and adjectives.)

For the rest the languages are fundamentally Hamitic. Bari, however, although its word structure is Hamitic, shows strong Sudanic affinities in pronunciation and in grammar, while there are enough vocabulary similarities with Moru-Madi to warrant further investigation.

11. THE DIDINGA-BEIR GROUP

This group of languages is very puzzling to the investigator, as it seems impossible to link it with any other group.

The DIDINGA (1,767 taxpayers) live almost exclusively in the Didinga Hills, east of the Dongotono Hills and just north of the Uganda border.

The LONGARIM (752 taxpayers) inhabit the Boya Hills immediately north of the Didinga. These two tribes thus help to cut off the Lotuko speakers from the Topotha speakers.

The Mongalla tribal analysis of 1932 adds to this group a tribe called the BIRRA (156 taxpayers) living in Lotuko District.¹

The "BEIR" (MURLE, also known as "Jive" or "Ajibba") (30,000) live well north of the Longarim on the Pibor River between Pibor Post (Upper Nile Province) and Mount Kathangor, and are separated from them by a wide stretch of swampy country. Their language is more like Longarim than Didinga, though all three languages are mutually understandable.

On the Abyssinian border more tribes are to be found which are suspected of belonging to this group :—

There is supposed to be another settlement of MURLE on the Boma Plateau.

On the same plateau, north of the Kichepo, and also on the Omo

¹ It is possible that these people are Driberg's "Lokathan" in which case their language belongs to the Lotuko group. See p. 887.

River, live the EPETA (or KAPETA), who are said to speak a dialect of Didinga.

The SURMA of the same district are supposed to speak the same language, though racially they are different.

The NYIKAROMA and NGERA, over the border near Mount Tid, are also said to speak Didinga.

Information concerning these eastern tribes is scarce and conflicting.

ANALYSIS OF THE DIDINGA-BEIR GROUP

(1) The words are very long, but the roots, on the whole, seem to be disyllabic.

(2) The popular form of the root seems to be consonant + vowel + consonant + vowel.

(3) These languages are more highly inflected than the Nilo-Hamitic languages; suffixes are used more than prefixes.

(4) There is no grammatical gender (except in a few loan-words).

(5) Neither intonation nor dynamic accent seems to have semantic or grammatical function (but see (13) below).

(6) The acoustic effect resembles that of Topotha. 'b and 'd seem the normal variants of *b* and *d*. Dental fricatives are common, so are palatal sounds.

(6a) The vowel system is simpler than in Topotha. Vowel length is significant, and diphthongs common.

(7) There are many noun formatives.

(8) The suffixes for singular and plural are as numerous as in any Nilo-Hamitic language, and again seem to point to some old class system.

(9) Case relationship is shown by suffixes, applied to the noun or to the verb, according to the case. There are many more case-endings here than in the Nilo-Hamitic languages.

(10) There are many derived verbal species, usually formed by means of suffixes.

(11) Person in verb conjugation is shown by prefixes and suffixes.

(12) Tenses are many and complex, involving the use of prefixes, suffixes, and adverbial auxiliaries.

(13) According to Driberg,¹ the passive is indicated by changes

¹ "The Didinga Language," *MSOS.*, 1931.

in vowel length or intonation. My own impression (based on the study of Beir) is that the passive idea simply does not enter in. Context, assisted sometimes by word-order, gives the clue as to who is the agent and who the sufferer of an action, but there is no actual formal distinction in the verb itself, the intonation and length variations being connected with emphasis. Driberg admits that "grammatically there is no difference between the conjugation of the passive and active voices".

(13a) There are two main forms of the verb; one I should call the "Indefinite" (Driberg's "Aorist"), which indicates the action of the verb with no regard to time, and the other "Definite" (Driberg's "Perfect", including the Imperative), which is especially connected with the completion of the action. Each form has a fundamental stem of its own (thus *oŋ* is the Indefinite and *taŋu* the Definite form of the verb "to sleep" in both Didinga and Beir), and each stem is used with a specific set of tense particles—although these sometimes overlap.

This phenomenon, as may easily be seen, has nothing to do with the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic active "voices", but is similar in function to what has already been described in the Sudanic languages.

(14) The sentence order is verb (inflected) + subject + object, although the construction verb + object + subject for emphasis may also be found, especially in quasi-passive sentences.

(15) The possessor follows the possessed in the genitive construction, and is usually linked to it by means of a (relative) particle.

(16) The adjective follows the noun it qualifies, but precedes it when predicative, i.e. it behaves like a normal verb.

(17) There are many descriptive adverbs.

The general data given above is overwhelmingly Hamitic, yet one has hesitated in the past to assign Didinga-Beir definitely to this family, owing to complete lack of affinities with other Hamitic languages, both in vocabulary and in formative elements (although this may be said of most of the groups within the Sudanic family also). Driberg describes the languages as "incorporating elements common to both the Hamitic and Nilotic families, with a third (possibly Semitic) element intruding". It is true that Beir, owing probably to its proximity to Anuak, has a relatively high percentage of Nilotic words in its vocabulary, but otherwise the Nilotic elements in this group are very small.

OTHER ABYSSINIAN FRONTIER TRIBES

There are many other tribes on or just over the Abyssinian border, about whom little or nothing is known. Only a few will be mentioned here :—

The DATHANIC ("MARILLE") live north of Lake Rudolf, on the Omo River above Sanderson's Gulf. Their language is probably Hamitic, in that in grammatical behaviour, though not in vocabulary, it is somewhat similar to Galla.¹

The TID, TIRMA, MEINO, and KICHEPO are Boma Plateau tribes, or rather geographical sections of one tribe, speaking an unlocated language.

Among these frontier tribes are probably other speakers of the Topotha or Didinga language groups, but the information about them is too scrappy and contradictory to be reliable at the present stage of investigation.

The above article should be regarded as a companion treatise to my previous article "The Linguistic Situation in the Southern Sudan" (*Africa*, Jan., 1934) and as an introduction to my forthcoming linguistic series on "Language Groups of the Southern Sudan". Unfortunately I have been unable to include in this treatise the languages and language groups of Darfur, Kordofan, and Dar Nuba. These constitute a complete study in themselves, but would possibly also throw interesting sidelights on the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic languages.²

¹ This conclusion was arrived at after seeing the MS. notes on this language, compiled by Mr. Shackleton of the Kenya Political Service.

² See G. W. Murray, "The Nubian and Bari Languages Compared," *Sudan Notes and Records* 1920.

Notes on the Igala Language

By W. T. A. PHILPOT

ORTHOGRAPHY

Vowels

	<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
a	as <i>a</i> in "father"	A vowel written twice as in é<h>h</h> éé indicates a lengthening of the sound.
e	as <i>é</i> in "été" (French)	The nearest English equivalent is <i>a</i> as in "fate", which is phonetically a diphthong. The Igala sound is, like the French one, a single vowel.
ε	as <i>e</i> in "egg"	
i	as <i>ee</i> in "bee"	but slightly shorter.
o	as in "beau" (French)	o as in "note" is phonetically a diphthong. The Igala sound is, like the French one, a single vowel.
ɔ	as <i>o</i> in "cot"	
u	as <i>oo</i> in "boot"	
ai	as <i>i</i> in "ice"	
ei	as <i>ai</i> in "hail"	

Nasalization has only been heard in vowels coming after **ny** or **ŋ**, and is not marked here.

Tones.—' over a vowel indicates a high tone, ' a middle one, and ` a low tone. / and / indicate a rising tone, \ and \ a falling one. Where \, / appear over a vowel and consonant, the consonant too, carries on the falling or rising tone.

Elision occurs where vowels are shown in brackets. The tone, however, of the elided vowel is retained for the one which is pronounced. e.g. **éfu'** and **áne'** ("in"—lit. stomach—and "ground") are written **éf(ú)áne'** and pronounced **éfané'**.

Consonants

b, d, f, h, l, m, n, p, s, t, y, and w A plain **r** (single tap) is sometimes have their English values. interchangeable with **l**. Both sounds are here represented by **l**.

h is interchangeable with **f**. When followed by **i** it is strongly aspirated.

e.g. **ófófó** or **óhóhó** (plain **h**)
hí òjé (*h* as in German "ich").

c as *ch* in English "church".

kp expresses the unvoiced labio-velar consonant.

In the Eastern parts of Igala, there is an unvoiced **b** (?).

gb expresses the voiced labio-velar consonant.

The **b** is mildly implosive.

ny as in French "ignorer" and in English "canyon".

ŋ is the velar nasal as in "sing".

r is aspirated (unvoiced ?).

When necessary a word for word translation has been given under the examples, with the English meaning at the side.

I. NOUNS

(1) *Definition.*

Igala has no articles.

e.g. **ókútà** a, or the. stone.

(2) *Gender.*—A noun or pronoun alone has no particular gender. The male or female is expressed by placing a suitable word after the noun or pronoun to indicate the sex.

e.g. ómá	child.
ómá kèkélé	boy.
ómá igbèlé	girl.
éfà	bush cow (both genders).
éf(á)olé	bush cow (female).
ì c(é)okèkèlé mí.	He is my younger brother.
ì c(é)oyá mí.	She is my wife.

(3) *Number.*—The plural is expressed by prefixing the pronoun **ámá** which means "they" to the singular.

e.g. ádágùnà	monkey.
ám(á)ádágùnà	monkeys.

(4) *Case.*—The form of all Igala nouns remains the same whatever the case may be.

- e.g. (a) *Nominative* **éIá d(é)ámò.** The (or an) animal is there.
 (b) *Objective* **I f(ù)elá kpá.** He killed the (or an) animal.
 (c) *Genitive* This is indicated by putting the possessor after the thing possessed.

e.g. **ér(è) elá.** The animal's foot.

Foot animal.

Thus the case, as understood in English, in which a noun is meant to be, is determined by its position in a sentence.

II. PRONOUNS

(5) *First Person Singular.*

(a) *Emphatic* **ómí.**

éné dé ?

Who is (that)? **ómí. ómí dé. ómí kpáí ọ́.**
Me. It is me. I and he.

(b) As a *subject* of a verb **nú, nná, mí.**

Note.—**nná** is found only when continued action is indicated.

See also paragraph 17 (b) below.

mí lí ọ́. I see (or saw) him.

nná wá. I am coming.

nú mán. I don't know.

(c) As the *object* of a verb **mí** (direct or indirect).

í kpó mí égbé. He beat me.

ká mí. Tell me.

(d) *Possessive* **mí.**

ódú mí ámè. My name is Amè.

(6) *Second Person Singular.*

(a) *Emphatic* **úwé.**

éé

úwé! you! léwá! léá! come! come!

(b) *Subjective* **wé, é.**

úńbó wé kwó? Where have you come from?

Place you come from?

é gbóó? Do you hear?

(c) *Objective* **wé.**

mí lí (or lu) wé.

I see you.

(d) *Genitive* **wé.**

édó wé dé. That is your axe.

Axe you is.

(7) *Third Person Singular.*(a) *Emphatic* $\text{o}\eta$.

$\acute{\epsilon}\text{n}\acute{\epsilon} \text{k}(\acute{\text{u}}\text{w})\acute{\epsilon}\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\text{n}\acute{\epsilon} ? \text{o}\eta !$ Whom are you looking for ?
Who that you are seeking ? Him ! (or) Her !

(b) *Subjective* i , ya (where the verb expresses continued action).

e.g. $\text{i} \text{l}\acute{\epsilon} \text{w}\acute{\text{a}} \text{m}\acute{\epsilon}$. He has come.

He depart come has done.

$\text{y}\acute{\text{a}} \text{w}\acute{\text{a}}$. She is coming.

(c) *Objective* $\text{o}\eta$.

$\text{d}\text{o}\text{o}\eta !$ Call him ! (direct object).

$\text{k}\text{a}\text{o}\eta !$ Tell her ! (indirect object).

(d) *Genitive* $\text{o}\eta$.

$\acute{\text{a}}\text{t}\acute{\text{a}} \text{j}\text{i}(\text{a})\text{o}\eta \text{d}\acute{\epsilon}$. That is his hat.

Hat he is.

(8) *First Person Plural.*(a) *Emphatic* $\acute{\text{a}}\text{w}\acute{\text{a}}$.

$\acute{\text{a}}\text{w}\acute{\text{a}}$ we.

(b) *Subjective* $\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{a}}$, $\acute{\text{a}}$.

e.g. $\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{a}} \text{ny}(\text{i})\text{uny}\text{i} \text{fai}$. We are going home now.

$\text{d}\acute{\text{u}} \text{w}\acute{\text{a}} \text{k}(\acute{\text{u}})\text{a} \text{g}\acute{\text{o}}$. Bring it for us to see.

Put come that we look.

(c) *Objective* $\text{w}\acute{\text{a}}$.

e.g. $\text{i} \text{k}\acute{\text{p}}\acute{\epsilon} \text{w}\acute{\text{a}} \acute{\text{u}}\text{ch}\acute{\epsilon} \text{ny}(\acute{\epsilon})\text{o}\text{m}\acute{\text{o}}$. He sent us there.

(d) *Genitive* $\text{w}\acute{\text{a}}$.

e.g. $\acute{\text{o}}\text{k}\acute{\text{o}} \text{w}\acute{\text{a}} \text{ch}\acute{\epsilon} \text{j}\text{j}\text{i} \text{r}(\acute{\text{a}})\text{em}\acute{\text{i}}$ Our farm is far from here.

[or] $\text{k}\text{w}(\acute{\text{o}})\text{em}\acute{\text{i}}$.

Farm we make far run here.

(9) *Second Person Plural.*(a) *Emphatic* $\grave{\text{a}}\text{m}\acute{\epsilon}$.

$\grave{\text{a}}\text{m}\acute{\epsilon} !$ You !

(b) *Subjective* $\grave{\text{a}}\text{m}\acute{\epsilon}$, $\text{m}\acute{\epsilon}$.

e.g. $\grave{\text{a}}\text{m}\acute{\epsilon} \text{k}\acute{\text{i}} \text{d}\acute{\text{u}}\text{f}\acute{\text{u}}\text{n}$. You should not go out.

You should out not.

$\text{m}\acute{\epsilon} \text{l}\acute{\epsilon}\text{w}\acute{\text{a}} !$ Come !

(c) *Objective* $\text{m}\acute{\epsilon}$.

$\text{y}\acute{\text{a}} \text{d}\acute{\text{s}} \text{m}\acute{\epsilon}$. He is calling you.

(d) *Genitive* $\text{m}\acute{\epsilon}$.

$\acute{\text{u}}\text{ny}\acute{\text{i}} \text{m}\acute{\epsilon}$. Your house.

(10) *Third Person Plural.*

- (a) *Emphatic* $\overset{1}{\text{ama}}.$
 $\overset{1}{\text{ama}} \overset{1}{\text{meji}}.$ They two.
- (b) *Subjective* $\overset{1}{\text{ma}}.$
 $\overset{1}{\text{ma}} \overset{1}{\text{le}} \overset{1}{\text{t(ú)unyí}}.$ They went home.
- (c) *Objective* $\overset{1}{\text{ma}}.$
 $\overset{1}{\text{i}} \overset{1}{\text{kpá}} \overset{1}{\text{ma}}.$ He killed them.
- (d) *Possessive* $\overset{1}{\text{ma}}.$
 $\overset{1}{\text{óko}} \overset{1}{\text{ma}}.$ Their farms.

(11) *Relative Pronouns* are expressed in Igala by the conjunction **ku** which means "that", followed by a personal pronoun.

- e.g. $\overset{1}{\text{ójúwó}} \overset{1}{\text{k(ú)i}} \overset{1}{\text{d(é)ómò}}.$ The hill which is there.
 $\overset{1}{\text{ám(a)}} \overset{1}{\text{ojúwó}} \overset{1}{\text{kú}} \overset{1}{\text{ma}} \overset{1}{\text{d(é)ómò}}.$ The hills which are there.
 K(u)i, ki, is commonly used instead of **ku ma**.

(12) *Interrogative Pronouns* $\overset{1}{\text{éne}}, \overset{1}{\text{eòh}}.$

- $\overset{1}{\text{éne}} \overset{1}{\text{dé}} ?$ Who is that ?
 $\overset{1}{\text{eòh}} \overset{1}{\text{dé}} ?$ What is that ?

$\overset{1}{\text{eòh}}$ really means a thing or object without life.

- e.g. $\overset{1}{\text{ám(a)}} \overset{1}{\text{eòh}} \overset{1}{\text{ójójí(o)jójí}} \overset{1}{\text{ma}} \overset{1}{\text{d(é)ómò}}.$ Various things are there.

They thing different they are there.

$\overset{1}{\text{ójó}} \overset{1}{\text{á}} \overset{1}{\text{ch(e)eòh}} \overset{1}{\text{k(ú)inyò}}.$

God is making thing that good.

(13) *Demonstrative Pronouns.*

- $\overset{1}{\text{éi}} \overset{1}{\text{ki}} \overset{1}{\text{dé}}$ (often **ei** only). This one.
 The one which is.
- $\overset{1}{\text{éi}} \overset{1}{\text{ki}} \overset{1}{\text{d(é)ómò}}.$ That one.

The one which is there.

(13a) *The Demonstrative Adjectives.*

"This" and "that" are indicated by adding **yi** and **le** to a noun.

- e.g. $\overset{1}{\text{ócu}} \overset{1}{\text{yí}}$ this month.
 $\overset{1}{\text{ócu}} \overset{1}{\text{lé}}$ that particular month.

III. VERBS

(14) (a) *Igala Verbs* are mostly monosyllabic. When they have two or more syllables and are transitive, they are divided and the object is placed between the two halves.

- e.g. It is deteriorating. $\overset{1}{\text{yá}} \overset{1}{\text{kpábyé}}.$
 But, It is spoiling the road. $\overset{1}{\text{yá}} \overset{1}{\text{kp(á)oná}} \overset{1}{\text{byé}}.$

(b) Some verbs are only used with certain nouns.

á l(ó)uché.	We cultivate a farm.
í néké l(ó)aló.	He can relate a story (as a song).
ýá kp(á)itá.	He is telling a story (without singing).

Note.—**Ohiala** is also used for a story but seems common only in Western Igala.

(15) *The Negative* is **n** or **no**, the latter being the stronger form. Both words always come at the end of a sentence.

í d(é)ómó.	He is there.
í d(é)ómón.	He isn't there.
éhéé, í d(é)ómó nó.	No, he is <i>not</i> there.

In a conditional sentence or a relative clause, **ma** is also inserted.

ègbà kí má wán éé ló. If he doesn't come, you go.

When that he not come not you are going.

ábó kí má n(é)unyín. Those who haven't any houses.

(16) *The Interrogative* is indicated entirely by tone. There is no difference in the order of words between a question and a statement.

e.g. i neke gw(ə)əkəə? Can he paddle a canoe?

(Spoken with an ascending scale of tones.)

í néké gw(ó)əkòò. He can paddle a canoe.

(17) There appears to be no rigid distinction of *Tenses* in Igala. The various modes of expressing action are explained in the following examples of the verb **jè** :—

(a) nń jè	I eat or ate.
wé ¹ or é ¹ jè	you (sing.) eat or ate.
í jè	he eats or ate.
á jè	we eat or ate.
mé jè	you (plur.) eat or ate.
má jè	they eat or ate.

Uncontinued action is expressed by a verb in this form. Whether the action is present or past is only indicated by the context.

éné k(ú)ójó má kpán óné íléyí néké kpán.

Person that God not kills not person world here can kill not.

Whom God does not kill, no one in this world can kill.

ònká tété átaoṅ bí. One (child) only his father bore.

(b) *Imperative.*

lěwá! Come!
ájódé! Fú mi tú tód(ú)ójó! Hunter! Unbind me for God's sake.

(c) nhá jè	I am, was, or shall be eating.
wɛɛ jè	you (sing.) are, were, or will be eating.
ya jè	he is, was, or will be eating.
aa, jè	we are, were, or shall be eating.
mɛɛ jè	you (plur.) are, were, or will be eating.
maa jè	they are, were, or will be eating.

The addition of " a " which changes the sound of the pronouns indicates *continued action*. Here, too, only the presence of other words will show whether the action is present, imperfect, or future :—

wè kɪ j(i)ɔŋ k(u)aa gó. You must bind it for us to see.
You must bind it that we shall be seeing.

nná ló á téné újèdŋ k(u)ámómá mì á jé.
I am going shall be finding food thing that children me shall be eating.
 I am going to find something for my children to eat.

(In each verb the action is or will be continuous for some time.)

ébie nyíníŋ óŋ wéé lí égè wé.
Seven to-day so you shall be seeing eggs you.

In seven days you will see your eggs.

òd(ò) oká úkpótá á kpá.

Year one hunger was killing.

One year there was a bad famine.

(This again expresses continued action.)

(d) *The Use of fu.*

nh fú jé I do or did eat.

wé fú jé you (sing.) do or did eat.

etc., etc., as in (a) with the auxiliary **fu** inserted.

This is the mode of expressing uncontinued and completed action, where the verb is transitive.

ánjéjé f(ú)ɔwó gwé.

The tortoise washed his hands.

ánjéjé ókáté fú jé chákaa.

The tortoise alone eat all.

ábú kɪ f(ú)ɔjé jé kpá.

When he finished eating the food.

wé gbá k(u)wé f(u)ɔŋ ché mì ábélé.

You receive that you do thing make me so.

You take them and make me something like them.

(e) **mɛ** is sometimes placed after an intransitive verb indicating that the action has just been completed.

í lé mé! He has gone!

í lé wáméé? Has he come?

í wá tá nò. He has not come yet.

(18) *Verbs of Motion.*

(a) **Le** which implies "move" in the sense of "depart" and **wa** which signifies "come".

e.g. í lée?	Did he go ?
í lé mé.	He has gone.
í wá mēē?	Has he come ?
í wá tǎn.	He has not come yet.
lé wá !	Come ! (i.e. depart from where you are and come to me).
lé w(á)eml !	Come here !
í dákúbl w(á)ómò.	He came back there.
but ló !	Go away !

(b) **Tu** mostly used with **le** expresses "arrive at" or "reach".

e.g. mā lé t(ú)ómò.	They went there (i.e. they departed from where they were and reached another place).
í tú gwàlàwò.	He reached Gwalawo.

Le and **Tu** are often found reversed.

e.g. í túlè.	He passed (i.e. he reached the place thought of and departed from it).
--------------	--

Tule is also used in making a comparison.

e.g. òcè yí cēinyò t(u)éí kí d'òmólè.

Paddle here make good reach one that is there depart.

i.e. This paddle make good pass that one (this paddle is better than that one).

(c) Both **wa** and **tu** are used after **du** which can mean either "put", "lift" or "give".

Thus :—

d(ú)oml ml.	Give me some water.
<i>Give water me.</i>	
dú wá !	Bring it !
d(ú)oml wá.	Bring water !
<i>Lift water come.</i>	
Dú t(ú)ómò (or) mú dú t(ú)ómò !	Put it there !
<i>Lift reach there (or) catch put reach there.</i>	
d(ú)adù yí t(ú)anè.	Put this load on the ground.
<i>Put load here reach ground.</i>	

or **m(ù)adù yí dù t(ù)anè.**

Catch load here put reach ground.

Put this load on the ground.

(19) **Ce.** This verb is used very frequently in Igala and seems to imply the meaning to "make" or "do". The following phrases illustrate some of its uses.

e.g. **í f(ù)okà kí d(é)ilé yí cé kpá.**

He (past) skill which is world here make finish.

He performed every act of skill in the world.

ùwé lò t(ù)unyí k(ù)i c(é)elá nyíni.

You go reach house that it make nine to-day.

Go home till nine days have passed.

ám(á)oma òṅ c(é)ejì.

They child she make two.

She has two children.

éné cè t(ù)ekéji lé ká mí ?

Which make reach second depart tell me ?

Tell me which performed better than the other ?

ábàkpà cé túlé.

má c(é)onúkú.

mí c(é) ugbédè wé.

èṅṅ k(ù)yá cé fáí ?

màà c(é)h)ia.

nù fú cé kpá.

ágo mónù í cè ?

Clock how many it make ?

The mallam performed the better.

They make friends.

I thank you.

What is he doing now ?

They make merry.

I finished.

What time is it ?

í c(é) agógó méta túlé kpáí

minúti mégwà.

It make clock three past (reach depart) and minutes ten.

It is ten minutes past three.

wé c(é)alú.

You make mouth.

Open your mouth.

í cè cè mé.

í cè kù mà gùgù.

He make that they sit.

That is better.

He made them stay (really "sit").

má cè gidigidi.

Íbó kú má c(é)owò.

People that make hands.

They wrestle.

Moslems.

má cè gb(é)ejù(ò)ṅkà. They played a trick.
They make plant eye one.

Note.—gb(é)ejù is used to mean “clever”.

ì gb(é)ejù gbè. He is very clever.

éti ọ̀ṅ cè kàjì. He is deaf.
Ear he filled up (ce kàjì is used to mean “stuffed”).

wé c(é)omí nyú ml. Pour me some water.
You make water for me.
 (The meaning of nyu is not clear).

(e.g. **ì cè nyú ml.** He wronged me.)

ì kwó c(é)ere ọ̀ṅ. He followed him.
He come from make foot he.

í ché k(u)ṽá lí ọ̀nà wán. He has no opportunity to come.
It make that he see road come not.

má c(é)ebi ọ̀lá má. They are exactly like each other.
ọ̀lá ọ̀ṅ cè cí wá. His body is dirty.

(20) **de** means “to be” in the sense of “to exist”.

e.g. **ọ̀yá mì dé, yá c(é)ogà** I had a wife, she became ill and
gbógbó í lè kwú. died.
Wife I is, she is making sick until she depart, die.

ọ̀nà dé í cè jljì. There is a road. It is long.
Road exist it make far.

éné dé? Who is that? **omí dé.** That is I.

Note.—Where the English “to be” requires a complement the Igalas use **ce**.

e.g. **í céinyò.** It make good, i.e. it is good.
mà cè wéwé. There are many of them.
They make many.

(21) **ne** means “to have” in sense of “possess”.

e.g. **í n(é)oyà.** He has a wife.

wé n(é)oláa? Have you anything to say?
You have word?

IV. ADVERBS

- (22) (a) *Of Place.*—**emi.** Here. **omo.** There.
uṅbo, really a noun meaning “place”, is used for “where”.
 e.g. **í lè t(ù)uṅbó má.** He went to their place.
nná téné ny(é)uṅbó k(ù)omí I want to go where there is water.
dé.
I am seeking go place that water is.
mà lè t(ù)uṅbó dú. They went everywhere.
They depart reach place all.
úṅbó wé kwó. Where have you come from?
Where you come from?
- (b) *Of Time.*—**fai.** Now.
 e.g. **ḡá wá fáí.** He is coming now.
ta. “yet”.
 e.g. **í wá táń.** He has not come yet.
ta followed by **ku** means “then”.
 e.g. **í l(ó)u cé tá k(ù)i f(ù)ucú** He hoed his farm and then planted
gbè. yams.
- (c) *Of Manner.*—**abo.** How?
 e.g. **ábó k(ù)ε līōṅ.** How did you find him?

V. PREPOSITIONS

(23) The name “Prepositions” cannot be applied to any set of Igala words; but certain nouns which are names of various parts of the body are also made to do the same work as “Prepositions”.

Thus:—

(a) To say “on” in the sense of “on top of”, the word for “head” is used.

e.g. **ókútà í d(é)ojí òdò.** The stone is on the wall.
Stone is head wall.

“On” in the sense of “over” or “covering” is expressed by **ēju** which means “eye” and is also applied to the face as a whole.

e.g. **égbé í d(é)ej(u)ónà.** There is grass on the road.
Grass it is face road.

(b) **eti** meaning “ear” is used for “beside”.

e.g. *únyi ónú ájá í d(é)etí ájá.* The Sarikin-Kasua's house is
House chief market it is ear beside the market place.
market.

éti áji. The water side (*áji* is applied to
Ear water. a large body of water).

(c) *éfù* meaning "stomach" is used for "in".

Thus *éfù óṅ á wò.* He has a stomach-ache.
Stomach he is aching.

éjà d(é)ef(ù)omí. There are fish in the water.
Fish is stomach water.

The preposition "at" is implied in Igala, only in the order of words.

e.g. *í d(é) alómá.* He is at Aloma.
He is Aloma.

(d) Those prepositions which are used after words indicating action or motion are expressed in Igala by certain verbs of motion. *Tu* meaning "to reach" and *nye* "to go" are used for "to" and "towards".

e.g. *í tú lókojá.* He reached Lokoja.
í lé t(ú)unyí òṅ. He went to his house.
He depart reach house he.

úṅbó wéé nyí (or nyé). Where are you going to ?

í r(á)ulé ny(é)ajáká. He ran to Ajaka.

(e) *kwo* meaning "to come from" would be used where the English would say *from*.

e.g. *úṅbó wé kwó.* Where have you come from ?

ónà í kw(ó) idá ny(é)Ankpà.

Road it come from Ida go Ankpa.

The road goes from Ida to Ankpa.

"Out", "out of", and "out from" are indicated by *kw(o)efu*, i.e. come from stomach.

e.g. *èbyè kw(ó)ef(ù)oṅ.* Blood came out of his stomach.

àdagbà kw(ó)ef(ù)òkó. The elephant came out of the

Elephant came from stomach forest.
forest.

VI. NUMERALS

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| (24) 1. <i>òkà¹</i> (or) <i>òṅkà¹</i> . | 4. <i>èlé.</i> |
| 2. <i>èjì.</i> | 5. <i>èlú.</i> |
| 3. <i>ètá.</i> | 6. <i>ètà.</i> |

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 7. èbyé. | 15. égw(á)elú. |
| 8. èjò. | 16. égw(á)efá. |
| 9. èlá. | 17. égw(á)ebyé. |
| 10. ègwá. | 18. égw(á)ejò (or) ókè méjì cì ògú |
| 11. égwá(ə)ká, égw(á)óká, | (cowrie two less twenty). |
| or égw(á)ojká. | 19. égw(á)elá or ókè cì ògú |
| 12. égw(á)ejì. | (cowrie less twenty). |
| 13. égw(á)etá. | 20. ógú. |
| 14. égw(á)elè. | |

All ordinals are formed by prefixing **ek** to the cardinals.

e.g. **ek ógú mèlú nyiògbò métá** 160th.

The sound *m* is sometimes inserted where two vowels would normally come together.

e.g. **únyí ònú d(é)òmò ?** How many houses are there ?
únyí mégwèlè d(é)òmò. Fourteen houses are there.

Most of the higher numbers are composites of from 1 to 20.

Thus 24 is **ógú ny(é)ókè mēlè.**

(20 go cowrie 4.)

Note.—**yo** is sometimes found instead of **oke**. **oke** and **ókó** both appear to have been applied to the cowrie. **oke** is now used in counting, while **ókó** is applied to money generally and to shillings in particular.

Some of the most important high numbers are :—

30. **ògwègwá** (twenty ten).
 40. **ógú mèjì** (twenty two) or **ògbò mèjì**.
 50. **ójé**.

Note.—Fifty seems to appear as a component in still higher numbers in the form of **oli**.

60. **ògbò mētá** (or) **ógú mētá**.
 70. “**ògbò mētá ny(é)ókè mégwá.**”

Twenty three go cowrie ten.

80. **ògbò mēlè**.
 90. **èl(á)egwá**. (Short for “**ògbò mēlè ny(é)ókè mégwá**”.)
 98. Would be “**ògbò mēlè ny(é)ókè mégw(a) èjò**” or **ókè méjì cì ógú mèlú**.
 100. **ógú mèlú**.

The simplest way to count after 100 is by multiples of twenty.

e.g. :—

120. **ògbò mēfá**.

The following are exceptions :—

150. ólí mètá¹ (*fifty three*).
 200. ògwókò.
 300. ólí mēfā (*fifty six*).
 400. úlòkò.
 500. ólí mēgwá (*fifty ten*).
 600. úlògwá.
 700. ógú mēlú c(i)icám (*800 less 100*).
 800. icám.
 900. icám ny(e)ògú mēlú (*800 go 100*).
 1,000. íchám ny(e)ògwókò (*800 go 200*).

Then by adding multiples of 100 and 20 together up to 2,000.

- 1,135 would be ícám ny(é)olí mēfā ny(é)ògw(á)égwá ny(í)oké mēlú.
 2,000. ógbà.

The remainder of the higher numbers all appear to be expressed by multiples of 800 with as many of the numbers below it, added as required.

Thus :—

1,758 would be :—

ícám mēji ny(e)òlí mētá ny(e)oké mējò.
 (*800 two go 50 three go cowrie 8.*)

VII. SOME IGALA PHRASES

- | | |
|---|--|
| (25) ómá ògbaòṅ. | His firstborn. |
| <i>Child front he.</i> | |
| í m(ú)ojì ódè gh (or) í m(ú)ojì
ákpágú. | He came to the throne. |
| <i>He catch head stool sit.</i> | |
| í f(ú)ifá bó. | He made a divination, i.e., con-
sulted the oracle. |
| í f(ú) efú(o)ṅ nyó. | She conceived. |
| í n(ó)ejù(o)ṅ gēn. | He did not want her again. |
| éřè(ò)ṅkátè. | All at once. |
| <i>Foot one alone.</i> | |
| m(ú)omí òú g(ú)uná kí nà. | Put water on to boil. |
| <i>Catch water put sit fire that it boil.</i> | |
| í d(ú) ed(ò)ṅ t(ú) ojò. | He turned his heart to God. |
| <i>He give heart he reach God.</i> | |
| úkòlò kú ñn tètè á chè. | The work that I alone am doing. |

- ì m(ú)εwó dú t(ú) ikù.* He tied up the goat.
He catch goat put reach string.
má kp(ə)òŋ égbè. They gave him a severe beating.
òdò m ònù dè k(úw)εéli ̀òŋ?
years how many exist that you are seeing him.
How many years is it since you saw him?
òdúú òdúú bírr. Very early in the morning.
éft(ú)alú méjl ònà. In the middle of the road.
Stomach mouth two road.
ì ná yó. He rejoiced.
mà m(ú)εkpó cí nu(ò)ŋ. They mix oil with it.
éné kí n(é)ukpaíú. A strong person.
ì d(ú)omú dágò. He answered back.
He give answer stand.
ì m(ú)omú dá. He answered.
èdò má w(á)anè dú. They quieted down.
Heart they come ground all.
ì ŋ(ó) olòkò t(ú)ej(u)anè. He spread a mat on the ground.
He weave mat reach face ground.
ì kp(é)ε(ə)ŋámònè. He divided it among the people.
εòŋ k(ú)εé cé ták(u) éé j(è)ojè?
What that you are making then that you are eating food?
How do you earn your living?
nná téné k(úw)ε m(ú) okó mí gbá mí.
I am seeking that you catch money I receive I.
I want you to receive my money for me.
ì f(ú)oyá oné móné fè. He fornicated with another man's wife.
ónà! Look out!
Road!
én(è)ilá. A fool.
éné ì kpábíe (or) énéfúbò. A worthless person.
ì e(é)ológú b(?)ámá cáká. He begged of them all.
ì mú d(à)adágúná. He became a monkey.
ì f(ú)er(é) olà kaòŋ cáká. He told him the root of the matter.
He (past) foot word tell him all.
ì n(é)oláci gbé. He is a very bad person.
He has word lie very much.
ì mú dú kòlì á t(ú)òdò. He hung it on the wall.
ì kwó kóéjì. He returned from collecting wood.

Note.—**Ko** is used when more articles than one are spoken of.

e.g. d(ú)(o) t(ú)an(é)omó.	Put it over there.
k(ó)(ma) j(ó)an(é)omó.	Put them over there.
í wá b(á)omí kéké.	He came and bailed out a little water.
í k(ó) t(ú) an(é)ika ̄oŋ.	He put them on his shoulder.
<i>He collect reach ground shoulder he.</i>	
c(é)omí nyú ml.	Pour me some water.
<i>Make water for me.</i>	
à b(ó)odu(ò)ŋ k(ó) ?	What is his name ?
í c(á)né c(é)ere(ò)ŋ (or) gb(á)ere(ò)ŋ.	He began to follow him.
<i>He began make foot he.</i>	
m(ú)onà lé k(é).	Take this road.
í w(ó)edó kw(ó)omó	He became angry and left them.
<i>He pain heart come from there</i>	
ló.	
<i>go away.</i>	
mí kw(ó) dácl ój(í)até.	I lay down on the bed.
éfu(o)ŋ mú kpánà.	His stomach was torn open.
ólí yí là rú.	This particular tree bore fruit.
mà lé bá ló t(ú)unyí ój(ó)ok(ó)ŋ.	They accompanied her to her husband's house.
mà m(ú)ukp(ó) tú j(ó)ané.	They took off their clothes and put them on the ground.
<i>They catch garment loose collect ground.</i>	
í mú dù t(ú) ej(ú)unà.	He set it on the fire.

Linguistics without Sociology : Some Notes on the Standard Luganda Dictionary

By LUCY MAIR

IT is getting to be a commonplace of modern linguistic studies that the method of interpreting one language in terms of another simply by assigning equivalents to isolated words cannot lead to a profitable understanding of systems of speech, each of which is inseparably bound up with the particular culture in which it is used. The work of Ogden and Richards and of A. H. Gardiner on civilized and of Malinowski on primitive language has shown conclusively that meaning cannot be regarded as something inherent in words and possessing an independent existence, but must be sought for in the context, if not of an actual situation, of the associations which form the experience of the speaker and hearer. In regard to primitive language, Malinowski has shown how the most apparently simple phrases, of which only one rendering might seem possible, can be misinterpreted by failure to recognize the special reference which they have to the native speaker.¹ Still less can the social institutions of one culture be defined in the terms applicable to those of another, even where there is a general similarity between two types of institution ; for example, while every society has some system of land tenure, the attempt to describe those of primitive societies by such terms as "feudal system", "leasehold", "métayage", each of which has a very specialized meaning dependent on its historical and geographical context, can only result, not in elucidating the characteristics of the primitive system but in obscuring them.

The existing dictionaries of African languages represent the product of immense patience and labour on the part of persons, many of whom had no special training to facilitate their task. The later comer, whose task in learning such languages has been lightened by the work of these pioneers, owes to them a very great debt of gratitude. It is no disparagement of the early missionary lexicologists to point out that their work suffers from the inherent disadvantages of the circumstances

¹ See appendix to *The Meaning of Meaning*, pp. 461 ff.

in which it was done. Its primary aim was to establish communication with the native peoples for a specific purpose—the inculcation of Christian doctrines—which involved for the Protestant missionaries the translation of the Bible and, for the Anglicans at any rate, that of the Prayer Book. Of course, it has not rested content with this aim, but has carried the study of native languages as far as was possible; but this primary purpose has left its imprint on the resultant dictionaries. And the efficacy of further studies has been hampered by the complete absence of such sociological knowledge as would point the way, where necessary, to some context of institutions taken for granted by the native informant but non-existent to the European translator.

I am not here concerned with anecdotes of errors due to the misinterpretation of a gesture, nor with such linguistic refinements as the metaphorical reference behind some native phrase whose literal meaning has been satisfactorily understood. The first are a matter of mere carelessness; they could never become current in intercourse between natives and Europeans and, if they have found their way into early translations of the Gospels, they are expunged when these come to be revised. The second type of question is one, the answer to which is necessary to the complete understanding of a language, but which a dictionary could neglect without seriously misleading the student.

The kind of misunderstanding that can have really grave results is that in which a native word is rendered by some equivalent implying either a sociological context of the type with which the European is familiar, or the context of some activity which is erroneously held to characterize native societies in general. It is obvious also that, even without leading to serious misconceptions, a dictionary may, by a slight error or shift of emphasis in definition, point the student in the wrong direction instead of guiding him towards those situations in which he may expect to find the word in use. I propose to support these generalizations by examples from a native language which I have myself used in anthropological field-work, as it is interpreted in a dictionary which I found of very great assistance: Kitching and Blackledge's *Luganda-English Dictionary*, published in 1925.

The definitions quoted in italics are those given in the dictionary. I shall group the examples given according to the native institutions to which the words in question refer.

I. RELIGION AND MAGIC

EKIWENDO, *human sacrifice.*

EKYONZIRA, *sacrifice (n.).*

TAMBIRA, *offer human sacrifice to.*

ETAMBIRO, *place for human sacrifice.*

These series of equivalents appear to have their origin in the assumption that all "savages" practise human sacrifice, which has coloured the interpretation put on all references to the taking of human life and even overflowed into regions where the native word has no such references. If human sacrifice has the meaning which it has in the Old Testament, of the offering of human victims as part of the cult of some deity, then none of the words above quoted has any connection with it.

The word *kiwendo* describes a type of wholesale execution ordered by the king, regularly on the death of a near relative and at other times when he was informed by the prophets of the leading divinities that the welfare of the country required it. In the latter circumstances, the purpose of the *kiwendo* was magical, but it still did not represent the sacrifice of a victim as part of a ritual establishing communion between divinity and worshipper: its aim was not to placate a wrathful deity, but to remove some evil which was actually present, or threatening to appear in the country.

In this sense the *kiwendo* has points of similarity with the *kyonzira*. This word describes various types of rite which aimed at expelling or averting evil by removing some object from a village or by placing a magical object in the path of the oncoming danger. The *kyonzira* to avert a hostile army consisted in sewing a child's body, along with certain leaves, in a cow-hide and placing them in the enemy's path. The *kyonzira* of the simsim harvest consisted in plucking a bunch of the plants and placing them outside the village.

The verb *kutambira* refers to the ridding of a place from anything undesirable and particularly from undesirable persons. It may be used in a magical sense or in a purely political one. A native defined it to me in the course of a conversation on magic as "to set the land in order so that it may be in peace". But it is used if anything more commonly in reference to a purely judicial or political execution, and the cognate *tambiro* describes, not any part of a temple precincts, but the place of execution attached to a chief's court.

I should make it clear that all these words refer to institutions

now obsolete, so that the contexts in which I have studied them are those of narrative only, and not of action. I cannot, therefore, discuss their significance in the same detail that would be possible were such rites still practised. Nevertheless, I suggest that even interpretations obtained at second hand can be made more satisfactory if the investigator is concerned to obtain as much information as possible bearing on the word in question rather than simply to seek the first equivalent that a superficial point of resemblance suggests.

Ensasi "rattle used in heathen rites".—The *nsasi* is one of the instruments used in the invocation of a *lubale*, or divinity, by a prophet who is about to act as the *lubale*'s mouthpiece either for the purpose of initiating a new prophet or in order to answer inquiries brought to him. The word could be adequately defined for dictionary purposes by specifying the type of rite with which it is exclusively associated.

Ekigali "small offering made to spirits".—A *kigali* is a small flat basket. They are used in pairs to carry small objects such as coffee-berries on ceremonial occasions. A pair of *bigali* is part of the regular paraphernalia of a prophet; people who come to consult him place their offerings in one. They are also carried about for the same purpose at the celebrations of the birth of twins.

Omwambo "fetish".—As a convenient word to describe any magical object, "fetish" has been rejected by anthropologists. It is doubtful if it ever had a meaning sufficiently specific to justify its attachment to one single word in any native language. A *mwambo* is a bunch of leaves carried about in some parts of Buganda during the initiation of a prophet.

Olutembe "necklace made of wild banana seeds".—Such a necklace is one of the distinguishing marks of a prophet.

E'talo = *E'dogo*.—*E'dogo* is a generic term covering sorcery in all its forms: *e'talo* is one of two diseases believed to be produced by sorcery.

Bigalanga "flatulent dyspepsia".—To the native, the essential significance of this word lies not in the symptoms which it describes, but in the fact that those symptoms indicate possession by the offended spirit of an ancestor.

II. KINSHIP

The majority of Europeans in Buganda, even those most familiar with the natives, are unaware of the existence of the classificatory system of kinship terminology. Some hold that the Baganda "do not

distinguish" between near and distant relatives; others, when an unmarried house-boy introduces a child as "my son", treat the situation with incredulity, laughter, or a suspicion of illegitimacy. The authors of the dictionary cannot be blamed for not having in their possession the key to the real uses of some of the kinship terms which they include; but the pitfalls which must await any attempt to explain such terms with only European concepts as a guide are obvious.

Thus we find:—

Mwanyina "his sister, her brother (by the same mother, but sex opposite to that of person spoken of)".—It is tempting to derive *mwanyina* from *nyina* "mother", but actually it is the reciprocal used between all men and women of the same generation of the same patrilineal clan.

Omu'jwa "nephew".—This is used of the relationship to a man of the children of women whom he calls *mwanyina*; it applies to male and female children.

Wa zobota "with both parents living".—*Mwana wa zobota* is a rarely-used term describing the relationship to a woman of the children of men whom she calls *mwanyina*.

Kizibweo "first cousins not of same sex".—This follows a perfectly correct definition of *kizibwe* as "child of father's sister". The suffix *wo* simply means "your". It seems as if this second meaning had crept in through some misunderstanding of a statement that the rule of avoidance holds between *bakizibwe* of opposite sex.

Omulamu "brother or sister-in-law".—This term is used by a woman of the brothers and sisters of her husband, real and classificatory, and by a man of his wife's sisters, but not of her brothers, and the daughters of his wife's brothers, real and classificatory.

Endobolo "share of plunder; the child of a raided woman is so called by her owner; an adopted child."—The first of these meanings is correct. The second I was unable to verify. The third suggests the existence of an institution that is not found among the Baganda, while failing to describe one that does exist there. One of the effects of the clan system is that adoption, or formal assumption of a fictitious parenthood, is unnecessary in the circumstances in which it most commonly happens in our society. To provide for a fatherless child is a duty recognized by every heir, which requires no process of adoption to make it valid, while the Baganda practice of sending their children to relatives to be brought up lacks the essential

characteristics of adoption, since the link with the child's own parents remains. The use of the word *endobolo* in connection with the practice which this translation attempts to describe is linked with the first meaning of the word. "Because the children are a sort of profit" that brother of the wife who is especially responsible for her could claim, in the past, a substantial present on the birth of each. This was his *endobolo*, and if it was not forthcoming he was entitled to take the child instead. This process again was quite different from adoption, for the child remained a member of his father's clan, though cut off from it, and was consequently an outsider in his new home, and treated as such.

III. SEX AND MARRIAGE

Obuko "price paid for a wife".

Obuko "paralysis agitans".

Properly to appreciate the significance of these two words and the connection between them it is necessary both to understand what is the sociological aspect of the marriage relationship to which both refer and to see how this is expressed in a characteristic linguistic usage. The prefix *bu* in Luganda is used to make an abstract general concept out of an adjective, noun, or verb, e.g. *ga'ga* "rich", *muga'ga* "a rich man", *buga'ga* "wealth"; *kulwala* "to be ill", *mulwa'de* "a sick man", *bulwa'de* "sickness". The noun connected with *buko* is *muko*, the name applied by a man to his wife's mothers, real and classificatory. To all these people he has to behave with marked respect, and freedom of social intercourse with them is limited by certain rules of avoidance. I have heard the word *buko* used in a context where it might refer to these specific rules of behaviour or to the whole relationship established by the marriage contract, of which they are of course an integral part.¹ A man who has seduced an unmarried girl, and subsequently marries her, goes through a ritual unlike that of a normal marriage, in which he eats with her parents in a manner which the rules of avoidance will always afterwards preclude. This meal also ratifies the marriage. As soon as it is over, my informant said, "*obuko buingi'de*". ("The *buko* has entered.")

Buko in the sense of the bride-price is really a contraction for *ebintu bya buko* "the things of *buko*", or, again, the things which

¹ I have heard the word *bwana* (from *mwana*, "a child") similarly used of the relationship of a child to its elders.

make the marriage valid and create the *buko* relationship. The phrase for "to determine the amount" is not *kusala obuko* but *kusala ebintu*.

The second meaning of *buko* given above is closely connected with the general significance which I have indicated. Anyone who breaks the rules of avoidance is believed to be afflicted with palsy; *buko*, therefore, is in this sense not a homonym describing certain symptoms, but another use of the same word. *Kuwala buko* is "to be ill as a result of *buko*", that is, of disregarding the rules of behaviour which *buko* imposes. That certain symptoms, whenever they are seen, are recognized by the native as due to this cause does not alter the fact that it is the cause rather than the symptoms which give them this name. Major and minor offences against the rules of *buko* are distinguished as *obuko bunene* and *obuko butono*. The phrase used when they have been expiated is *buko buwe'de*, the *buko* has gone.

Akasimo "first instalment of price for a wife".—The *kasimu* (the form in which I have always heard the word), is quite distinct from the bride-price. The amount is fixed by tradition, not determined by the bride's father; it is given, not to him with the bride-price but to her mother, *kubanga asimye mwanawe* "because [the husband] is pleased with her child"; and it is given, not as a first instalment, but on the wedding-night after the gifts which constitute the bride-price proper.

E'dya "wife's home".—This does not mean the home of a wife's parents, but the household to which she herself belongs. In a polygamous household each wife had her own *dya* within the group of houses which formed the *maka*.

Zira "reject, scorn, refuse a present".—This word has the specific meaning of a protest by a husband against misdemeanours of his wife, particularly bad cooking. He refuses to eat until she gets a fowl from her relatives and cooks it for him.

Sowerera "pay compensation for rape".—This word describes the ritual atonement made between relatives who, in the course of a quarrel, have done certain acts which are held to call for special compensation. Instances given me were of a husband breaking a cooking-pot, a wife striking her husband so as to draw blood, or a child striking his parents. It seems to have no connection with rape.

Kansira "make propitiation for adultery".—This word again describes a specific ritual limited to certain circumstances. If a man commits adultery while his wife is suckling a child, this is believed to cause the death of the child, unless the husband and his mistress

perform the rite known as *kansira* over it. It is not made necessary by adultery in general.

Amakiro "illness of woman caused by sexual excess, prostitution".—*Makiro* is a mysterious illness believed to afflict women who are repeatedly unfaithful to their husbands during pregnancy. It is sometimes said to afflict, not the mother but the child; the only description ever given me was that it causes the mother to eat the child. It has no more than an accidental connection with prostitution; I have never heard it used when that subject was discussed.

Mubikira "virgin, nun".—This word, meaning a person veiled, is used of the Catholic Sisters, and by the Catholic missions of the Virgin Mary. No native would understand its use to indicate a virgin in the common meaning of the word.

IV. LAND TENURE

Bwesengereze "leasehold land".

Senga "serve or join a new master".

These words illustrate the impossibility of briefly defining concepts which involve for their understanding acquaintance with an entire political and economic system. It is, nevertheless, necessary to attempt to do so, for to seek for equivalents among our own technicalities can only lead to confusion. The Baganda knew nothing approaching the distinction between leasehold and freehold land. In their system, roughly speaking, chiefs occupied land at the king's pleasure and administered it on his behalf, and a common man could only obtain land by attaching himself to some chief and rendering him the services prescribed by custom. The whole status of such a man is summed up in the verb *kusenga*, and *bwesengereze* describes land occupied on those conditions, which, in modern times, have been transformed by the European government into leasehold.

Nakyeyombekede "woman landholder".—The word describes a widow who has not attached herself to the household of a relative, but lives alone under the general protection of the head of the village. Of course she "holds land" in the same sense as any other peasant, but the suggestion that she *owns* it is quite misleading.

V. WORDS DESCRIBING CEREMONIAL BEHAVIOUR

Gemula "bring from a distance (generally of food)".—This word always describes ceremonial presentations, whether from peasants to chiefs or in connection with a marriage.

Bika "announce the death of".—This word refers to the formal announcement of certain events to persons especially entitled to hear of them—the king or chief, or near relatives of the person concerned. It is used of births as well as of deaths, where these have to be formally announced.

Lubuga "queen-sister".—This word describes the female attendant who goes through the ritual of installation along with any heir, male or female, king, chief or commoner. She does not remain in any permanent association with the heir such as would justify the assimilation of the king's *lubuga* to a queen.

Olufuwa "goat eaten by children of deceased at funeral".—This animal was eaten by all the relatives, the children sharing the liver and other portions being allotted to persons standing in other relationships to the deceased. From its form the word should describe the ritual and not the animal.

VI. EQUIVALENTS DUE TO THE ATTEMPT AT LITERAL TRANSLATION OF ENGLISH TEXTS

Obulombolombo "tradition".—This word is used in Sir Apolo Kagwa's *Empisa za Baganda* to describe certain complicated religious rites. But it is dangerous to go for the generally accepted meaning of a word to the first attempt made by a Muganda to write his own language, for he, no less than the European, was seeking words which he had never needed before. I have only heard the word used in the pejorative sense of "fuss" or "red tape". In the Luganda version of the Anglican Prayer Book it is used as the equivalent of "ceremony".

Entumbwe "calf of the leg; per ext., loins".—The fantastic mistranslation in this second meaning can, I think, only have been due to the search for words to translate the Bible text, "Thy son that shall come out of thy loins." The Luganda *mwana wentumbwe* is not a metaphorical reference to the process of generation, but distinguishes a slave—also called *mwana* "child"—from a man's own child by a reference to the exertion involved in capturing him in war.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TAO, THE GREAT LUMINANT, ESSAYS FROM HUAI-NAN-TZŪ. With Introductory Articles, Notes, Analyses. By EVAN MORGAN, Hon. D.D. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd.; London: Kegan Paul, 1934. 10s.

This book contains translations of eight of the twenty-one dissertations that make up the famous book known as *Huai-Nan-Tzŭ*—a collection of Taoist essays written by a group of scholars in the second century B.C. under the patronage of Liu An, Prince of Huai-Nan.

All western writers on Taoism are faced by the difficulty of finding a satisfactory European term for the all-important word Tao, and like most of these Dr. Morgan often prefers to leave it untranslated. In many places, however, as in the first of the translated essays (which is also the first in the original book) he has rendered *Yüan Tao* (原道) by “the Cosmic Spirit”, and this is perhaps as satisfactory a rendering as any European scholar has yet devised. Dr. Hu Shih, in his *Development of Logical Method* (pp. 17, 141-2) has informed us that Tao is “nothing but a way” for the ordering of the world. He also declares that it is “a word which has been unnecessarily mystified by amateurish translators but which simply means a way or a method; a way of individual life, of social contact, of public activity and government”. Such a pronouncement is hardly worthy of Dr. Hu; nor is he quite consistent in his own view, for he admits that sometimes (as in the second book of *Chuang Tzŭ*) Tao is “no longer ‘a way’ but ‘cosmic reason’”. Dr. Morgan’s “cosmic spirit” is at least as good as “cosmic reason” and perhaps better.

In the course of his prefatory remarks on Taoism and its reputed founders, Dr. Morgan finds “some similarity” between Lao Tzŭ and Bernard Shaw—mainly, it would seem, in the desire common to both writers of awakening men “from dead tradition to a more real life” and stinging them, like a gadfly, “to a new consciousness.” (vi.) He feels constrained, however, to add that “suppression of self is a leading tenet of the Taoist philosophy”—the ego being only used as “a medicine for the expression of the Tao.” (vii.) This “leading tenet”, which can hardly be described as characteristically Shavian, is attractively set forth in many striking passages of *Huai-Nan-Tzŭ*.

Dr. Morgan's translation is prefixed by a series of introductory essays which are not of uniform value. The account of the "Life and Times" of Lao Tzū is based on material supplied by Mr. M. T. Lien, whom Dr. Morgan describes, with doubtful justification, as "an accomplished scholar". It will be read with interest, not least by those who, having come fresh from a study of Mr. A. Waley's translation and able exposition of the *Tao Tê Ching* ("The Way and Its Power"), have learned that no trustworthy information exists regarding the personality, name, or life of the author of that cryptic production. Mr. Lien, on the contrary, seems to be a naïve believer in the unsupported traditions handed down by the Taoist school, and assumes that Confucius, after a personal interview with Lao Tzū, acknowledged that in the Taoist philosopher he had met his superior.

It is a pity, perhaps, that it was thought worth while to drag in a comparison between the cosmology of Lao Tzū and that of Abraham, and also between Tao and Jehovah. It may be questioned whether Dr. Morgan (or Mr. Lien) is fully justified in the view that Lao Tzū "was an advocate of monotheism" and that "indirectly his teaching may imply a Trinity". Perhaps in these and other observations we may find traces of a more or less conscious desire to bring Taoism into line with Trinitarian Christianity. One is reminded of the ridiculous attempt once made to find the word "Jehovah" in three Chinese characters in the *Tao Tê Ching*.

In his efforts to magnify Lao Tzū, and to glorify Taoism at the expense of Confucianism, Dr. Morgan (or Mr. Lien) is apt to be unjust to Confucius. The observations that when Confucius held office in his native state "all had to follow his will, and those who refused were threatened with death" (p. xvi), and that it was due to Confucius's harshness and inhumanity that his tenure of office lasted only three months, are unworthy of a Chinese scholar.

The other introductory essays, besides their misprints (which are far too numerous throughout the book) contain some dubious statements. In the account of the Prince of Huai-Nan, for example, Ch'ü Yüan's poem "Li Sao" is described as "a celebrated book on rhymes in poetry"! (p. xlv.)

The translations read well on the whole, but there is some odd phraseology. The word "pullulate" (for the Chinese *fu* 發) is over-worked, and a better term than "interosculate" might have been found for *ts'ò-ho* (錯合) on p. 31.

The story of "Mr. Ho" who had his feet cut off as a punishment

for an offence of which he was not guilty is told on p. 239. A reference might have been made to the much fuller account of this unhappy episode which may be found in Liu Hsiang's *Hsin Hsü*. The story of Shên Pao-hsü (who visited the king of Ch'in to implore his aid against the state of Wu) is told on p. 236, and all we glean from the Notes is that Shên Pao-hsü was "a loyal minister of Ch'u". It might have been pointed out that a different and better version of the story is given by Liu Hsiang in his *Shuo Yüan*. In the same story the translator errs in making Shen Pao-hsü refer to himself as "the king". The Chinese *kua chün* (寡君) does not in this passage mean "I the king" but "my king", and the reference is, of course, to king Chao of Ch'u (楚昭王), on whose behalf Shên Pao-hsü had undertaken his dangerous and self-imposed task of travelling to Ch'in. He made no attempt to impose upon the ruler of Ch'in by representing himself to be the fugitive king of Ch'u.

On p. 104, line 3, "Yu" should surely be "Lo". The Chinese is 洛. The translation from the *Tao Tê Ching* which follows this needs reconsideration.

For "who is it that can understanding (*sic*) the form of the formless?" on p. 103 might be substituted something like "who can understand form's formlessness?" (孰知形之不形者乎).

"The people . . . ascribed Yao and Shun to be sages" (p. 89) is a curious construction.

Instead of "Beginning and Reality" as the title of the second dissertation (p. 31) perhaps a better translation of the Chinese 俶真 would be "The True Beginning". The difficult passage at the beginning of this dissertation is almost identical with a passage in the second book of *Chuang Tz'ü*, but the Notes contain no reference to this.

The Notes, indeed, are often fragmentary and inadequate, and they bear evidence (in some cases) of having been hastily put together. Sometimes they are unnecessarily repeated. We are told about the legendary emperor, Fu Hsi, for example, in note 51, p. 253, and again in slightly different language, in note 21, p. 257. On p. 46 this venerable monarch, who is supposed to have lived nearly 3000 B.C., is referred to as "Mr. Fu Hsi"! We might as well speak of "Mr. Noah".

The accounts given of the semi-sacred imperial building known as the Ming T'ang are inadequate and disjointed (see note 28, p. 260, and notes 33 and 9 on p. 267), and no reference is made to the

late Wang Kuo-wei's scholarly investigations into this interesting subject.

On p. 131 a passage is translated as follows:—"Lu Ao, a man haughty and proud, went touring towards the North Sea to find an arhat." The Chinese text hardly justifies this translation, and the commentator makes it clear that the being for whom Lu Ao was looking was a *shên hsien* (神仙), which cannot legitimately be translated by the Buddhist term "arhat" (*lohan* in Chinese). The note on p. 262 (30) does not make matters better by the mention of the "Shen Hsia arat", whoever he may be.

The note on Fu Sang (扶桑) on the same page (note 33) is far from satisfactory, though ample material for a full exposition exists both in Chinese and in European languages.

On p. 261 (note 8) there is a reference to, and a quotation from, "the Tang poet Pei Lo-tien." How many western readers will recognize under this name the poet Po Chü-i? ("Tang," moreover, should be "T'ang" and "tien" should be "t'ien". One of the most serious typographical blemishes of this book is the frequent ignoring of aspirates.)

On p. 264 (note 5) it is stated that "in ancient times it was the custom for the host duke to pour out the wine into the cups of the guests". Has Dr. Morgan not attended dinner-parties in China where the same ancient custom was still scrupulously observed?

Mo Ti or Mo Tzū is always referred to as Mei Tzū. It would be a good thing if western scholars would agree upon a uniform transliteration of the name of this ancient philosopher, especially as for some time past he has been emerging (and deserves to emerge) from his former obscurity. "Micius" was suggested by one of his western interpreters many years ago, on the analogy of "Confucius" for K'ung Fu Tzū and "Mencius" for Mêng Tzū: and the suggestion was not a bad one.

"Genii," frequently used in this book as if it were a *singular* noun, is surely indefensible, even on the ground of the possible ambiguity of "genius".

In spite of numerous misprints, doubtful translations, and minor errors—mention has been made of only a few of those noticed in the course of a single reading—the book as a whole may be warmly commended as a valuable addition to the meagre list of authoritative Taoist works in the English language. It is greatly to be hoped that Dr. Morgan will continue his labour of love, and that before long we

shall have from his gifted pen a full translation of the thirteen dissertations which, with the eight included in this book, make up the fascinating compilation of *Huai-Nan-Tzū*.

R. F. J.

THE TEMPLES OF ANKING AND THEIR CULTS : A STUDY OF MODERN CHINESE RELIGION. By JOHN SHRYOCK. Paris : Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1931. Frs. 100.

This is a short, compact, and useful handbook to certain religious cults practised at the present time in Central China. It deals with the temples of one district—Anking (An-ch'ing) in the Yangtse Valley. The author did well to restrict himself to the rites and beliefs of the district with which he was personally familiar. The book shows that he is a careful and painstaking observer, and it would be well if his excellent example could be followed by missionaries in every part of China. We might then have the material necessary for an encyclopædia of living Chinese cults such as De Groot tried single-handed to give us in his great work—unfortunately left unfinished at his death—*The Religious System of China*.

In describing the cult of the famous warriors Kuan Ti and Yo Fei, Mr. Shryock notes (p. 67) that “the national parliament” raised Yo Fei to equal rank with Kuan Ti. This is true, but it might have been well to add the reasons for the elevation of Yo Fei, and for the neglect with which he was treated by the imperial government under the Manchu dynasty. The subject was dealt with in some detail by the present reviewer some years ago in *The New China Review* in an article on “The Cult of Military Heroes in China”.

Ti Tsang, perhaps the most popular of all the Buddhist divinities in the province with which Mr. Shryock is concerned, rightly receives careful attention ; and there is a good account of the festival known as the Yü-Lan-Hui. Mr. Shryock appears, however, to have overlooked the full description of this festival which was given by Mr. Y. K. Leong and Mr. L. K. Tao in their book *Village and Town Life in China*.

The Bibliography, though useful, is not as full as it might be, and the List of Errata might be considerably lengthened. Misprints are numerous, the transliteration of Chinese words and names is often careless, and aspirates are frequently omitted. These and other blemishes should be removed in a later edition. A valuable feature of the book is its Index, the names in which are accompanied by Chinese characters.

R. F. J.

JEHOL : CITY OF EMPERORS. By SVEN HEDIN, translated from the Swedish by E. G. NASH. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1932. 18s.

In this book the famous explorer has given us a pleasant account of his visit to the temples and pavilions of Jehol, once a favourite summer-resort of the Manchu emperors of China. It is intended for the general reader rather than for the scholar, and is illustrated by excellent photographs taken by Dr. Gösta Montell.

Most of the palace buildings at Jehol were erected, and to some extent planned, by that imperial poet and lover of art and nature the emperor Ch'ien-Lung, and therefore belong to the eighteenth century. After the time of Hsien-Fêng (one of whose consorts was the lady afterwards known as the dowager-empress Tz'ü-Hsi) Jehol ceased to be occupied by the imperial family—the story, repeated by some Western writers on China, that the emperor Hsüan-T'ung spent some time there after the Revolution is erroneous—and the buildings suffered sadly from neglect. In recent years the decay has been very rapid. Dr. Sven Hedin's visit took place not long before the province of Jehol was added, as a result of one of the most rapid and one-sided campaigns in history, to the new Manchurian state, and it is gratifying to know that the glories of Ch'ien-Lung's favourite abode are likely to be revived. The Manchurian authorities, with the co-operation of the Far Eastern Historical Society, of which premier Chêng Hsiao-hsü is president, have undertaken to restore the buildings as far as possible to their original beauty and splendour. It seems not improbable, therefore, that the day is not far distant when the emperor Ch'ien-Lung's much-loved *Pi Shu Shan Chuang* ("Mountain Village for Avoiding the Heat") will open its gates to welcome his descendant, the emperor K'ang-Teh.

Some of the chapters of the book contain narratives relating to court-life at Jehol which seem to be taken from sources that cannot be regarded as trustworthy. Chapter X, for example, gives us a fanciful account of the beautiful "concubine" Hsiang Fei. The author admits that his story is "romanticized in places", but adds that it "has a historical background". As narrated, the story is more than romanticized "in places", it is almost pure romance, and the "historical background" is at best very meagre.

If the Manchurian authorities carry out their project, Dr. Sven Hedin's book will be of some permanent value as giving a good general idea of what the buildings were like just before the restoration took place.

R. F. JOHNSTON.

EMPIRE IN THE EAST. Edited by JOSEPH BARNES. pp. 332. London : Kegan Paul, 1934. 10s. 6d.

This volume represents a co-operative effort to state the problems of American policy in the Far East. It is the work of ten members of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Specialists in widely different fields, the contributors are qualified to speak with authority.

Owen Lattimore, already known to English readers through his earlier works on Turkestan and Manchuria, here defines China's frontier policy from early times to the present day under the title "China and the Barbarians"; J. E. Orchard, an Associate Professor at Columbia University, who has specialized on problems of industry in the East, writes a chapter on "The Japanese Dilemma", in which he emphasizes the magnitude of the outward thrust of economic pressure from within Japan itself; Grover Clark, former editor of the *Peking Leader*, and specialist on China's economic problems, discusses the past and the future of trade between East and West in "Changing Markets", and concludes that, contrary to general belief, the market which the East offers to the West is likely to become a market for "the products of the farm rather than of the factory".

The financial aspect of Far Eastern politics is dealt with by F. V. Field, author of *American Participation in the China Consortiums*, and former secretary to the International Research Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations. In this chapter, which bears the title "Battle of the Bankers", the author analyses the competition for investments and trade in and with China, and contemplates discouraging consequences resulting from the continuance of the "process of imperialism" in the Pacific.

The chapter "Missionaries of Empire", which should be read by all missionaries and their supporters, is contributed by Pearl Buck. The achievements of missions, their function as carriers of western cultures, the changed attitude of the East towards missions which followed as a direct result of the Great War, are discussed with admirable freedom from prejudice and should carry weight, coming as they do from one whose acquaintance with mission-work is well known.

An illuminating chapter on "Soviet Siberia" is the work of the editor, who has lived and travelled extensively in the Soviet Union. It has been difficult to ascertain from the Chinese side what the situation is in Mongolia and Central Asia, and the Soviet approach

from the west is a question of vital interest to all the nations concerned in Far Eastern developments.

America's "Open Door" doctrine and its motive and results are the subject of another lucid chapter, "The Open Door," by the Professor of International Relations at Princeton, Tyler Dennett, formerly historical adviser to the Department of State; mineral enterprise is treated by H. Foster Bain, a former director of the United States Bureau of Mines, in "Second El Dorado"; and the food problem is dealt with under the heading "The Struggle for Food" by a director of the Food Research Institute at Stanford University, Carl L. Alsburg.

The final chapter, entitled "Peace or War", is by Nathaniel Peffer, author of *China: the Collapse of a Civilization*, who was for many years a newspaper correspondent in the Far East. "The Far East," Mr. Peffer says, "involves the relations of nations; therefore the first and major question it puts is, Peace or War? . . . All other questions are dependent on the prior settlement of that one." Withdrawal from economic competition he views as impossible under existing conditions in western countries, and the only alternative he sees to a reshaping these conditions is catastrophe.

It must, of course, be understood that all the chapters have reference primarily to the United States, but the Far Eastern policy of any nation is a matter of grave concern to all the powers, and this volume will help to clarify for English readers the political and economic significance of the policy of the United States in relation to Far Eastern affairs. The value of the book is enhanced by the fact that, contrary to the practice of some recent histories of the Far East, it has very nearly succeeded in avoiding both sentimentalism and political bias; how far this is due to efficient editing and how far to the authors themselves is immaterial—the result must command a deeper respect and a wider interest than would otherwise have been the case, and the book is recommended not only to students of Chinese but to all those who have ever wondered in what direction Far Eastern affairs are likely to develop.

E. E.

THE PAGEANT OF CHINESE HISTORY. By ELIZABETH SEEGER.
Illustrated by BERNARD WATKINS. pp. 414. London :
Routledge, 1934. 8s. 6d.

It was an excellent idea to write a history of China for children, and we therefore welcome this volume. But if children are to learn only the traditional view of early Chinese civilization they will miss a great deal. An introduction to the modern scientific view of China's beginnings, to archaeological field-work in China parallel with that undertaken in Egypt, in Mesopotamia, in India, suitable material for a review of which now exists in book form as well as in journals, would have lifted the legendary period of ancient China out of the realm of faery into the modern child's fairy-land of science, and shown Chinese origins as they are at present conceived.

Nevertheless, though much has been omitted from this volume, much has been included which must evoke in childish minds a clearer picture of some aspects of Chinese civilization than is commonly found. The writer is evidently sympathetically disposed towards the Chinese; there is indeed a tendency to prejudice in favour of China, noticeable, for instance, in the account of the Opium Wars, and we feel also that the Chinese would deprecate the author's implied identification of *Shang Ti* with the Christian God.

This is a book for the younger generation, whose thanks Miss Seeger merits for this introduction to a problem to which they will almost certainly be called upon to supply a solution at some future date. The volume is attractively produced and the illustrations will delight childish readers.

E. EDWARDS.

WORD FAMILIES IN CHINESE. By BERNHARD KARLGRÉN. Reprint
from the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities,
No. 5. 10½ × 7½, pp. 112. Stockholm, 1934.

It is universally recognized that Chinese is genetically related to the languages of the Tibetans and of many of the Indo-Chinese, but precisely how they are connected is as yet obscure. True, attempts have been made to compare Chinese words with resembling terms in the T'ai languages and the Tibeto-Burman family of languages, and some very convincing equivalences have been proposed. Dr. W. Simon's study, *Tibetisch-Chinesische Wortgleichungen, Ein Versuch*,¹ is a case in point. But, in fact, a comparison of isolated words can

¹ *Mitt. Sem. Or Spr. Berl.*, Bd. xxxii, 1929, Abt. 1.

hardly prove anything. As pointed out by Professor Karlgren, Tibetan *miḡ* "eye", for example, may just as well correspond directly to Archaic Chinese *mīōḡ* "pupil of the eye" as it may to Archaic Chinese *mīōk* "eye". In order to establish once and for all the linguistic affinity between Chinese and Tibetan the structure of words and the functions of affixes, as well as the phonetic system, the vocabulary and the word-usages, of Archaic Chinese (c. 1000-600 B.C.) must first be restored. The same work has to be accomplished for Tibetan of the seventh century A.D., the earliest known period of the language. The vocabulary each language contained in its earliest stage of development must be carefully sifted, and cognate words must be properly grouped together so as to enable us to compare, not isolated words, but the word-families belonging to each of the two languages concerned. It is for this reason that Professor Karlgren has taken up the problem of word relationship in Chinese and revealed part of the results he obtained through the book under review.

With especial caution the author avoided "dictionary words" and the words which consist of two elements such as *ku*, *pā*, etc., for these are too risky for comparison owing to the shortness of their word bodies. Instead he wisely selected the commonest words, composed of three elements: initial, vowel (diphthong), and final, such as are to be found in Soothill's Pocket Dictionary. These he has classified into ten different types: A. *k-ng* (369 words), B. *t-ng* (673 words), C. *n-ng* (73 words), D. *p-ng* (188 words), E. *k-n* (334 words), F. *t-n* (353 words), G. *n-n* (51 words), H. *p-n* (155 words), I. *k-m* (88 words), and K. *t-m* (86 words), *n-m* (4 words), *p-m* (2 words). The *k*-group includes words with *k*·-, *g*·-, *g*·-, *ng*·-, *χ*·-, ·-; the *t*-group words with *t*·-, *d*·-, *d*·-, *t*·-,¹ *t*·-, *d*·-, *d*·-, *ts*·-, *ts*·-, *dz*·-, *dz*·-, *tʂ*·-, *tʂ*·-, *dʂ*·-, *ʂ*·-, *s*·-, *z*·-, *ʂ*·-; the *n*-group words with *n*·-, *l*·-; the *p*-group words with *p*·-, *b*·-, *m*·-. Similarly, the *-ng* group embraces words ending in *-k*, *-g*; the *-n* group words ending in *-t*, *-d*, *-r*; the *-m* group words ending in *-p*, *-b*. Under each of the above-mentioned ten types words that are proposed to be cognate by the author are placed together, and it is quite easy to see that the words belonging to each word-family thus arranged have related meanings. Phonetically, however, many words that are assumed to be akin appear dissimilar, e.g. *g*·*wāng* "bright", *kog* "bright", and *χ*·*ink* "brightness" (p. 60), where the initial

¹ The letter *t* is here used for a voiced *t* which is indicated by *t'* in his earlier works. Similarly *d'* is replaced by *d*.

consonant, the principal vowel, and the final consonant differ in each case. That such a grouping is justifiable notwithstanding is clearly illustrated by the "Laws of Alternations" (pp. 98-118) deduced from copious examples.

The whole study is based on the materials taken from one and the same archaic dialect, and is so extensively and systematically carried out that there is no room for doubt as to its accuracy, even though some of the word-families thus arrived at may yet prove to be subject to necessary modifications when comparative Sinitic linguistics has attained a more advanced stage. In order, however, to provide us with this valuable study Professor Karlgren has had to reconsider certain phonetic categories in Archaic Chinese which he had treated in his *Shī King Researches*, and to take up certain other rhyme categories which he had reserved for future discussion.

Dealing first with "Categories ending in Arch. Dental Consonant" (pp. 10-39), he tells us how well the rhyme category A ending in Arch. *-ân* (with a long *a* grave), *-an* (with a long *a* aigu), and *-ǎn* (with a short *a*) is distinguished from the rhyme categories B ending in Anc. *-ien*, *-iĕn* (with or without a ho k'ou vowel *w* or *u*), and C ending in Anc. *-ən'* *-iĕn*, *-iĕn*, *-ien*, *-an* (with a short *a* aigu), *-ien* (with or without a ho k'ou vowel *w* or *u*). The problem is: Why do we find the Anc. endings *-ien* and *-iĕn* in both B and C which were strictly kept apart in Archaic Chinese? Seeing that these endings in cat. C formed a rhyme group with the endings *-ən* and *-an* they were in all probability pronounced *-iĕn* and *-iĕn* respectively in Archaic Chinese. If so, the similar Anc. endings in B could be archaic. This supposition, thinks Professor Karlgren, accounts for the reason why Arch. *-iĕn* was kept only after the gutturals and the labials (with ho k'ou only) down to the Ts'ie yün time, whereas Arch. *-iĕn* was preserved unaltered after all consonants. In other words, Arch. *giĕn*, *kiĕn*, *piĕn* of cat. C suffered no changes, whilst Arch. *tiĕn* and *tiĕn* became Anc. *tš'ĕn* and *tš'ĕn* respectively, thus coinciding with the Arch. *-iĕn*, *-iĕn* of cat. B. Naturally, just as Arch. *siĕn* (with a short *i*) became Anc. *siĕn* (after dental), so did Arch. *siĕn* (with a long *i*) become Anc. *sien* (equally after dental). The *-an* of cat. C, according to the author, goes back to Arch. *-en* with the vowel *ɛ* which regularly went together with *ə* in the Shī rhymes, e.g. 戒 *keg* (> Anc. *kai*): 國 *kwək* (> Anc. *kwək*).

This reconstruction of the Arch. *-en* has enabled Professor Karlgren to explain the seemingly mysterious presence in cat. C of Anc. *kiĕn*,

which appears to contradict his belief that the Anc. *-iĕn* after gutturals is derived from Arch. *-iĕn*, not *-iĕn*. The Anc. *-iĕn* of cat. C is found in the forms *tšĕn*, *mĕn*, and *gĕn*, but the k'ai k'ou final *-iĕn* after gutturals and laryngals is missing. It is clear, then, that here in Anc. *kĕn* we have the missing type Arch. *kĕn*, the *i* correspondence to the *-en* as in Arch. *kĕn* (> Anc. *kĕn*). This deduction is supported by the fact that, whereas the Arch. *-iĕn* of cat. B has given Go-on *in*, the Arch. *-iĕn* of cat. C has Go-on *on*. Thus Professor Karlgren concludes that "in cat. C the *-en* vocalism is primary and principal, and that all the *-ĕn* and *-en* are secondary" (p. 12).

The reconstruction here put forward seems perfect except on one small point. Judging from the fact that the two Arch. vowels *ε* and *ə* regularly went together in the Shī rhymes, they must have had a similar acoustic effect. If so, how are we to explain Arch. *kĕn* > Anc. *kĕn* and Arch. *tšĕn* > Anc. *tšĕn* in contrast to Arch. *kĕn* > Anc. *kĕn* and Arch. *tĕn* > Anc. *tĕn*? In the first instance the Arch. *ε* is preserved after *tš*, but is changed into Anc. *ĕ* after *k*, whereas in the second the Arch. *ə* is kept intact after *k*, but is turned into Anc. *ĕ* after a dental. There must be a strong reason for this strange phenomenon, which, it would seem, requires explanation.

Corresponding to the three *-n* categories—A, B, and C—we have three categories—D, E, and F—ending in Arch. *-t* and *-d*. Here it must be noted that Professor Karlgren has reverted to his older theory, according to which the Anc. final *i* with a falling tone as in 害 Anc. *γái* and 例 Anc. *lĕi* evolved from Arch. *-d*, but which he later modified by proposing a *-t* with a falling tone in place of *-d*. The parallelism between A, B, and C, on the one hand, and D, E, and F, on the other, is beautifully illustrated by the author (pp. 14–19).

The twenty-one pages that follow the above discussion are devoted to the most intricate problem, namely the curious rhymes in which Anc. *-en* goes together with Anc. *-ei*, e.g. 晨 : 輝 : 旂 Anc. *zĕn* (< Arch. *dĕn*) : 𠄎 *ɣwĕi* : 𠄎 *gĕi* : 芹 : 旂 Anc. *gĕn* : 𠄎 *gĕi*. The first words in these rhymes, i.e. 晨 and 芹, belong to cat. C, while both 輝 and 旂 belong to cat. G, which comprises words mostly ending in Anc. *-i*. Professor Karlgren once suggested that certain Arch. *-iĕn* became *-iĕⁿ* > *-iĕⁿ* > *-iĕi*, just as certain Arch. *-án* became *-án* > *-á*, on the ground that certain words with *-n* have rhyming or hie sheng connections with words ending in a vowel, e.g. 難 Anc. *nán* with phonetic 難 *nán*, 𠄎 *d'á* with phon. 單 *tán* and rhyming with 𠄎 *γán*. This assumption, as he has since noticed, fails to give a satisfactory

explanation as to why e.g. 罷 (Arch. *d'án according to this hypothesis) should get its -n eliminated by nasalization and become Anc. d'á, while 單 (Arch. tán) has always kept its -n. The contacts of -n words with words ending in a vowel are too numerous to allow us to consider this discrepancy as being due to a dialectal difference. Besides, to assume that 旂 Anc. g'jēi originally ended in -n, hence got its phonetic 斤 (Arch. k'jən) and rhymed with 晨 (Arch. č'jən), but dialectally developed into *g'jēn > g'jēi, whilst 鮮 Anc. s'jān had been nasalized in some archaic dialect (thus s'jān > s'jān > s'jāi) and therefore could rhyme with the -i word 泚 Anc. ts'i, would imply two different nasalization theories, which is very disturbing. "If," the author continues to controvert, "冠 kuán > dial. *kuái, in order to rhyme with *kjwēi*¹ (with original -i), how could 儺 *nán > dial. *ná in order to rhyme with 左 tsá, and not nái? All this is plainly impossible" (p. 26).

Although his rationalization on this particular point is to my mind not perfect, the trend of his argument is quite clear, and his conclusions acceptable. We can be certain, as he maintains, that the contact between -n words and vowel-ending words cannot have been a question of the vocalism. Nor can we suppose it to have had anything to do with tone. Can we, then, assume a palatalized -ń: 旂 *g'jēń: 近 g'jēń? In answer to this question Professor Karlgren says: "This would explain very nicely why g'jēń has become g'jēi but g'jēń kept its -n: g'jēń. On the other hand, it would furnish a passable explanation why a supposed 頤 *g'jēń could rhyme with a 衣 jēi—because of its yodieized (i-tasting) final -ń. But we realize immediately the impossibility of this explanation. It would explain only a few cases. It could never be applied to cases like 山 Arch. sǎn rhyming with 歸 *kjwēi*, or 匪 *pjwēi* kia tsie for 分 *p'wən*, for we cannot suppose a palatal -ń in sǎn and *p'wən*, which have their -n preserved in Ts'ie yün and down to our time; nor would it be applicable to cases like 儺 ná (< *nán?) rhyming with 左 tsá, 幡 b'ua rhyming with 睥 *yan*" (p. 27). This, I regret to confess, I do not quite understand. Do not both 頤 and 衣 belong to one and the same rhyme category, G? Why, then, should we assume an -ń final for 頤 and not for 衣? Again, could 山 Arch. sǎn not rhyme with 歸 Anc. *kjwēi* (cat. G), if the latter ended in -ń in Archaic Chinese? On the other hand, I agree with Professor Karlgren in his contention that "it would be very hold to construct an Archaic antithesis 旂 g'jēń: 近 g'jēń.

¹ This seems to be a misprint for *jēi*.

for then we should have to find a reason why *-n* in the one case was 'mouillé': *-ń*, in the other not: *-n*; simply to say that this is due to unknown earlier phenomena (in Proto-Chinese) would be very unsatisfactory" (p. 27).

For a similar reason and on the ground that cat. G in normal cases is well distinguished from cat. C (*-ən* group) we cannot imagine an *-n* that was weaker than *-n* that was preserved. However, we know that Anc. *-i* frequently goes back to Arch. *-g* or *-d*. If the Anc. *-i* of cat. G were of consonantal origin, it must have been a dental consonant, since the words of this category often interchanged with words in *-n*. This assumption is well supported by the fact that, besides the numerous contacts between *-i* and *-n* words in rhymes, hie sheng, and kia tsie (as illustrated on pp. 21-5), an etymological connection between *-i* and *-n* words can also be traced with a great amount of certainty in many cases, e.g. between 衣 Anc. **jēi* "clothes" and 隱 Arch. **jən* "to cover, conceal". The dental final cannot have been *-d* or *-ḍ* (as Dr. Simon has assumed for 旂, thus *g'jedḍ*), for then there would have been an interchange with *-t* in rhymes and hie sheng instead of with *-n* as we actually find. Nor can it have been *-t*, for as a rule the *-i* words of cat. G do not rhyme with ju sheng *-t*. If the final dental consonant cannot have been *-t*, *-d*, or *-n*, it must have been *-r*, *-l*, or *-s*. But since the words of cat. G all rhymed regularly and freely with each other in Shī king time, it is impossible to suppose that some of them ended in *-r* and others in *-l* or *-s*. Either all had *-r* or all had *-l* or all had *-s*. Professor Karlgren has decided upon *-r* for the following reasons. First, an *-s* is impossible from the point of view of rhymes (with *-n*), hie sheng, and kia tsie, whilst *-r* and *-l* are equally possible in these connections. Secondly, it is easier to imagine an evolution Proto-Chinese *-s* > Arch. *-r* (e.g. = *ńjəs* > *ńjər*) than Proto-Chinese *-s* > Arch. *-l* (*ńjəs* > *ńjəl*). The latter would go against all linguistic experience, whereas the former is a common and well known transition similar to the "rhotacism" in Latin. In support of his argument Professor Karlgren quotes seven Tibetan words ending in *-r*, *-l*, and *-s* in comparison with the Chinese words ending in Anc. *-i* as probable cognates, and also Professor Pelliot's interpretation of 師 Anc. **si*, occurring in the Hsiung-nu name 師比 Anc. **si-pji*, which is usually known in the form 鮮卑 *Sien-pi*, but which is also transcribed 犀毗 Anc. **siei-b'ji*, 私鉞 Anc. **si-b'ji*, etc. (where both 犀 and 私, like 師, belong to our cat. G), as representing the sound *sūr* or *ser*.

The *-r* final thus proposed by Professor Karlgren for the words of cat. G tallies beautifully with *-d* of cat. F and *-n* of cat. C, with the exception of a few Anc. *-iē*, *-wiē* words (cat. G) which must be regarded as irregular. Besides, it speaks strongly in favour of Arch. *-d* (not *-t*) for Anc. *-i* words of cats. D, E, and F as Professor Karlgren first suggested in his *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*. Thus he concludes: "an *-i* as final and principal vowel of an Arch. syllable did not exist at all; *i* (strong, vocalic) or *i̇* (short, consonantic) occurred exclusively as a 'medial *i̇*', a subordinate element inside the syllable, combined with other vowels" (p. 36).

The above discussion is followed by a further study on the word-groups ending in Arch. *-k*, *-g*, and *-ng* (pp. 39-55). In his *Shī King Researches* Professor Karlgren supposed an implosive final for 路 *glō* (< *glāg*), since type 路 rhymes with type 故 *ko* but not with type 家 *kā* which rhymes with type 故. He has now abandoned this theory of implosive final and, following Professor Li Fang-kuei's suggestion, proposes a glottal stop in its stead, thus *kā : ko* and *ko : glō*, but never *kā : glō*. His conclusion is: "final *-g* was still living, in Shī times, after *e*, *ə*, *o*, and *u* (e.g. 來 *lōg*, rhyming with *-k*), but after the vowel *a* it very early became 'glottal stop): 路 *glāg*, 怕 *p'ǎg*, 夜 *ziāg* became *glā*, *p'a*, *zi'a*, and these again *glō*, *p'o*, *zi'o* in the Shī language" (pp. 40-1).

Next comes the question of Anc. *-ɹu* (occurring after labials only) which in his *Shī King Researches* he traced back to Arch. *-ug*, e.g. 母 Anc. *mɹu* (< Arch. *mug*). This he now considers as answering to Anc. *-ái* (occurring after gutturals and dentals, but not after labials) which goes back to *-əg*, that is to say that Anc. *-ɹu* also comes from Arch. *-əg*; thus 母 Arch. *məg*. This hypothesis, Professor Karlgren reminds us, does not in the least contradict the statement of a general rule in the hie sheng characters, according to which k'ai k'ou and ho k'ou words do not serve for each other. For the words with labial initials are exceptions from the general rule; 母 Arch. *məg* can therefore be phonetic in 每 Arch. *mɹəg* as well as in 海 Arch. *χməg*.

The author then proceeds to discuss the much-debated problem whether Anc. *-āng : -ung : -iung : -uong : -iwong* form one rhyme category in Shī king or two, and to determine their principal vowels in Archaic Chinese. He endorses Professor Li's view that Anc. *-āng : -ung : -iwong* had one kind of principal vowel in Archaic Chinese, *-uong : -iung* another. Whilst realizing the unsatisfactoriness of his earlier reconstruction:—

Arch. -*ang* -*ong* -*iong* -*uog* -*iwog*
 Anc. -*ang* -*ung* -*iung* -*uog* -*iwog*

Professor Karlgren refuses to accept Professor Li's suggestion Anc. -*iung* < Arch. -*iung*, Anc. -*uog* < Arch. -*ung*, Anc. -*iwog* < Arch. -*iong*, and adheres to his own opinion that Anc. -*iung* was Arch. -*iong* of some kind and Anc. -*uog* had some kind of *o*. In order to explain his objections to Li's hypothesis, Professor Karlgren compares the -*ng* series with the corresponding -*k* and -*u* (< Arch. -*g*) series, because the latter two series present themselves in three different categories, I, II, and III, while the -*ng* series occur only in cats. I and III. For cat. II Professor Li has proposed a principal vowel which lies "half-way between" the vowel sounds in French *or* and English *all*. "This," Professor Karlgren disapproves, "is of course phonetically extremely unnatural and impossible" (p. 48). Besides, the assumption of such a vowel for cat. II fails to explain why this category does not interchange frequently with words of type 作 Arch. *tsák*, etc., and with cat. III (-*ák* according to Li) instead of having contact with -*u* words of cat. I as it actually does. Furthermore, Professor Li's reconstruction system leaves several empty spaces which cannot possibly be filled in logically.

However, Professor Karlgren himself has had to acknowledge the fault he had committed in his *Shī King Researches*, i.e. 谷 Arch. *kok* (> Anc. *kuk*), 曲 Arch. *k'io̩k* (> Anc. *k'iwok*). He has now derived Arch. -*uk*, -*iuk* for words of these types on the ground of the following two facts:—

"(1) Whereas the *ák*, *uok*, *iuk* of I and II have frequent connections, in rhymes and hie sheng, with words of types Anc. *ák*, *iak*, *iek*, *iäu*, *ieu*, words which obviously all had k'ai k'ou, the *ák*, *uk*, *iwok* of III have no such connections.

"(2) In irregular rhymes, III often (but I and II never) mixes with Tuan Yü-ts'ai's cat. 4, which quite certainly was Arch. -*u'* -*iü*" (p. 49).

These newly proposed finals -*uk*, -*iuk* for cat. III at once tell us that -*ák* III, which was clearly distinguished from -*ák* I and -*ák* II, must have had some kind of *u* in order to rhyme with -*uk*, -*iuk*, and to have constant interchange with them in the hie sheng. But what kind of a *u* was it? Was it different from the *u* in -*uk*, -*iuk*? Professor Karlgren thinks that the difference was one of quantity, not of quality. Just as in *ang* : *äng*, *iang* : *iäng*, *an* : *än*, *ian* : *iän*,

etc., the short-vowelled rhymes with medial \dot{i} existed only after gutturals (with laryngals) and labials but not after palatals and dentals, whilst those without medial \dot{i} occurred after the said gutturals and labials (as well as after certain dentals, but not after other dentals), so do we find here in cats. I, II, and III the three Anc. $\dot{a}k$ types occurring principally after gutturals and labials. Similarly, the two Anc. $\dot{a}ng$ types of cats. I and III ($\dot{a}ng$ II being lacking) are mainly $k\dot{a}ng$ and $p\dot{a}ng$. From this reason Professor Karlgren concludes that the $\dot{a}k$ of cats. I, II, and III and the $\dot{a}ng$ of cats. I and III each had a \check{u} , a short u . Thus Anc. $\dot{a}k$ III $< -\check{o}k < \text{Arch. } -\check{u}k$ as a contrast to Anc. $-uk < \text{Arch. } -uk$ and Anc. $-\dot{i}wok < \text{Arch. } -\dot{i}uk$. Likewise, Anc. $-\dot{z}u < -u < \text{Arch. } -\check{u}g$ in contrast to another Anc. $-\dot{z}u < -u < -ug$ and Anc. $-\dot{i}u < \text{Arch. } -\dot{i}ug$. So also Anc. $-\dot{a}ng < -\check{o}ng < \text{Arch. } -\check{u}ng$ as against Anc. $-ung < \text{Arch. } -ung$ and Anc. $-\dot{z}iwong < \text{Arch. } -\dot{i}ung$.

This derivation incidentally shows us that Arch. $-\dot{i}ung$, $-\dot{i}uk$, $-\dot{i}ug$ which are found under $-\dot{a}$ category are really the short-vowel correspondences, i.e. $-\dot{i}\check{u}ng$, $-\dot{i}\check{u}k$, $-\dot{i}\check{u}g$, which are missing in cat. III. The reason why they should rhyme, not with $-\check{u}ng$, $-\check{u}k$, $-\check{u}g$ in cat. III, but with $-\check{a}ng$, $-\check{a}k$, $-\check{a}g$ in the $-\dot{a}$ category is, according to Professor Karlgren, that the short \check{u} when preceded by an \dot{i} must have sounded something like u in English *value*, which "stands genetically and acoustically fairly close to \dot{a} ", and hence in rhymes and hie sheng it went together rather with \dot{a} than with "a narrowly labialized and strongly velar \check{u} and u " (pp. 51-2). Thus he has reconstructed 弓 Arch. $k\dot{i}\check{u}ng$, 圃 Arch. $g\dot{i}\check{u}k$. 久 Arch. $k\dot{i}\check{u}g$, with an explanation that the \check{u} in these types had "a different and more open timbre than the \check{u} in types $k\check{u}ng$, $k\check{u}k$, $k\check{u}g$ " (p. 52).

The categories I and II have a strong similarity, but seeing that Anc. $-\dot{i}\check{a}u$, regular and frequent in cat. II, does not as a rule exist in cat. I, just as $-\dot{i}\check{a}u$, regular and frequent in cat. I, does not exist in cat. II, there must be a fundamental difference between I and II. Since cat. III had u , I and II cannot possibly have had the same. And since $\check{a}k$, $\check{e}k$, $\check{a}k$, $\check{a}k$, $\check{e}k$ have already been suitably proposed for other Shi king rhyme categories, the two categories under consideration must have had some kind of o for principal vowels. Whilst differing from Professor Li on many points, Professor Karlgren agrees with him in considering that cat. II had a more open principal vowel than cat. I, and has arrived at \hat{o} (a closed o) for I, o (an open o) and \hat{a} for II, distinguishing at the same time the short-vowelled syllable from the long-vowelled: \check{o} as against o and \hat{o} as against \hat{o} (p. 53).

A passing mention is made of Anc. *-eng* (*-ek*, *-qi*). These finals, according to Professor Karlgren, go back to two different Arch. origins. He states that "one of them, with an open, slack *ä* sound: Arch. *-eng*, *-ek*, rhymes with the neutral slack *ə*: *əng*, *ək*; the other, which in Ancient Chinese coincided with the open *ε* (since 耕 *-eng*: 清 *-iäng*: 青 *-ieng* are different rhymes in the Ts'ie yü'n) must have been another kind of *ä* or *e* in Archaic Chinese" (p. 54). On the analogy of cat. B quoted above, he concludes that the types 耕 *-eng*, 尾 *-ek*, and 解 *-qi* had Arch. *-əng*, *-ək*, and *-əy* respectively, as a contrast to 橙 *-eng* (< Arch. *-eng*), 革 *-ek* (< Arch. *-ek*) and 戒 *-qi* (< Arch. *-eg*). Naturally, 清 *-iäng* is derived from Arch. *-iəng* and 青 *-ieng* from Arch. *-ieng*.

Lastly Professor Karlgren points out the difficulty of reconstructing Arch. initials, for here we have only one set of material at our disposal: the poetry fails us entirely. "I am afraid," says the author, "that many consonant groups may have existed where we can only discern single consonants" (p. 56). In a case like 各 Anc. *kák*, 洛 *lák*, it is doubtful whether the consonant group existed in the *k* member or in the *l* member or in both members, which hints at the three possibilities: A 各 *klák*: 洛 *lák*; B 各 *kák*: 洛 *klák* (*qlák*); C 各 *klák*: 洛 *glák*. However, our knowledge of 藍 Anc. *lám* "indigo" (with 監 Anc. *kam* as phonetic) going back to Arch. *glám* which corresponds to Siamese *k'ram* (< *gram*) "indigo", and of the probable Arch. sound *klák* of 關 Anc. *kák* (which occurs in a phrase 約之關關 in the Shī king) speaks in favour of alternative C; thus 各 Arch. *klák*: 洛 Arch. *glák*. This is, of course, but one isolated case, and, as Professor Karlgren warns us, we must not generalize too rigidly and conclude that the hie sheng creators always applied the C type.

What has been said above should be sufficient to show that Professor Karlgren's analysis is very thorough and is of great value. Of particular importance is his reconstruction of the *-r* final. Even outside Chinese it will undoubtedly raise many interesting problems. In Japanese, for example, the character 播 is read *ha* (current reading *han*), and 敦 *ton*, *don*. But in the place-names 播磨 (*Harima*) and 敦賀 (*Tsuruga*) they represent the sounds *hari* and *tsuru* respectively. In the Kojiki (eighth century) the name 敦賀 is written 都奴賀 (*Tunuga*), in the Reiki (ninth century) 都魯賀 (*Turuga*), and in the Wamyōshō (tenth century) 都留我 (*Turuga*). The Japanese scholars, therefore, interpret the strange readings 播 *hari* for *han* and 敦 *tsuru* (< *tsuru*) for *ton* as instances of the *t~n~r* alternation

which is sometimes, though not frequently, met with in the language.¹ But is this the only possible explanation? Can we, on this single evidence of *Tunuga* > *Turuga*, safely conclude that 播摩, which is transcribed 波里萬 *Farima* in the Wamyōshō, was once called *Fanima*, hence the character 播 was used to represent the sound *fani*, or that the name was at one time pronounced *Farima* but the character 播 with the sound *fan* was used for *fari* by applying the law of $t \sim n \sim r$ alternation? It would seem more appropriate to consider that the name 播摩 has always contained an *r* sound and that the character 播 was made to represent *fari* with its Archaic Japanese sound **far*, which had been derived from Arch. *pwár* (cf. pp. 21, 33, 92). But, then, how are we to account for the place-names 平群 *Heguri* (< 倍久里 *Feguri* in the Wamyōshō), 群馬 *Kuruma* (久留末 *Kuruma* in the Wamyōshō), 訓霸 *Kurube* (久留倍 *Kurube* in the W.), 訓覓 *Kurubeki* (久留倍木 *Kurubeki* in the W.) and 駿河 *Suruga* (須琉加 *Suruga* in the W.)? The characters 群 (Arch. *g'iwən* > Anc. *g'iuən*), 訓 (Arch. *χiwən* > Anc. *χiuən*), and 駿 (Arch. *tsiwən* > Anc. *tsiūən*) all have always had an *-n* final, according to Professor Karlgren. Then, again, the drama 散樂, which was pronounced *sarugaku* or *sarugau* in the Heian epoch, has the character 散 (Arch. *sán* > Anc. *sán*) for *saru*. Whether we must adhere to the alternation theory for the explanation of these peculiar readings in Japanese or must interpret them as reflecting variant pronunciations in Archaic Chinese, we may anticipate that Professor Karlgren will settle for us.

The word-families in Chinese, as grouped together by the author, will not only serve as a basis for comparative Sinitic linguistics of the future, but will also provide Japanese linguists with useful material for the investigation of early Chinese loan-words in Japanese and Korean. We eagerly look forward to a still more comprehensive work which the author promises to publish in due course, and to which the present book is intended to be an introduction.

S. YOSHITAKE.

¹ Professor S. Ogura goes so far as to consider that the difference between the Kan-on and Go-on of such characters as 男, 奴, and 女 is due to the same alternation (*Kokugo oyobi Chōsenjo Hatsuen Gaisetsu*, 1923, p. 95).

OCHIKUBO MONOGATARI OF THE TALE OF THE LADY OCHIKUBO. A Tenth Century Japanese Novel. Translated by WILFRID WHITEHOUSE. 9 × 6. pp. 245. Kōbe : Thompson and Co., Ltd. London : Kegan Paul, 1934. 7s. 6d.

The ill-treatment of a girl by her stepmother seems to provide a favourite subject for tales, and folk-stories dealing with this theme are widely spread throughout the world. Well-known examples are the stories of Cinderella, Cendrillon, and Aschenputtel. Several tales of this kind are known in Japan, the oldest to come down to us being the Ochikubo Monogatari, now for the first time translated into English.

The current edition of the Ochikubo Monogatari consists of four books. In Book I we read of the humiliation and misery which the Lady Ochikubo, the heroine of the story, suffers at the hands of her wicked stepmother, wife of the State Counsellor of the Middle Rank. A smart young man named Michiyori, who is Major-General of the Bodyguard of the Left, hearing of the Lady's ordeal, sympathizes with her and carries her off. As their friendship deepens into love Michiyori is resolved to revenge the wrongs which the Lady has suffered. In the course of his vengeance several amusing incidents occur, which are humorously told in Book II and in the first half of Book III. Meanwhile the Lady and her husband enjoy increasing happiness and prosperity. When finally Michiyori thought that he had taught the Lady's stepmother a lesson, he allows himself to become reconciled towards his parents-in-law, to the delight of the Lady Ochikubo. This part of the story, which occupies the second half of Book III and the whole of Book IV, seems to us rather long-winded and tedious.

Neither the date nor the authorship of the Ochikubo Monogatari is clearly known to us. Tradition attributes it to Minamoto-no-Shitagau (A.D. 911-983), but there is no direct evidence for supporting or denying this belief. Modern scholars therefore leave the authorship undecided, but they all agree on this point that the story was written by a man, because in their opinion the style is too direct and too outspoken, and not verbose and vague, and the humour sometimes becomes too coarse and vulgar, for a woman to have written it. The present translator, on the other hand, thinks that it may be the work of a woman of the same station in life as Akogi, the Lady Ochikubo's attendant, since Akogi's character is portrayed with "more autobiographical feeling than the rest of the characters and a hint to the same effect is given by the closing words of the story" (pp. 238-9), which read: "And

she who was formerly called Akogi became Naishi no Suke. And it is said that the Naishi no Suke lived to the age of two hundred years" (p. 234). The date of composition is rightly suggested by the translator as being sometime between A.D. 970 and 1000.

Unlike the fairy tales of Cinderella type the Ochikubo Monogatari is a novel, the earliest novel Japan has produced, "with a plot and dramatic situations told vividly, with humour and with careful regard to characterization and consistency" (p. 241). "In realistic dialogue," concludes Mr. Whitehouse with justification, "its dramatic power, its life-like characterization make Ochikubo Monogatari a masterpiece unique in Japanese literature, a work of fiction second only to Genji Monogatari among the novels of the Heian Era and a fitting link in the development of the novel from the poem-romances of Ise Monogatari to the full development in the Tale of Genji."

The book under consideration has already been ably reviewed in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 3rd January, 1935. There is, however, one important point to be noted. Rendered in a pleasing style and with a fair degree of accuracy, the translation undoubtedly presents an extremely entertaining volume to the general reader. But, for the student of Japanese literature something more is to be desired. First, the edition that was used by the translator should have been named in the book so as to facilitate the student in comparing the translation with the original. Even the two very popular editions, the Yūhōdō Bunko edition (1914) and the Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikei edition (1927), differ in places. Compare, for example,

"Do not tell her anything more of this," the Emon no Kami said to Emon. "She is quite heartless; she takes pity on people who do harm to her." "You are too hard on me," the Lady said smiling (p. 145, l. 26-p. 146, l. 1).

with the corresponding passages in (1) the Yūhōdō Bunko edition (pp. 406-7)—

"Do not speak anything more of this. She has no sense; she takes pity on people who do harm to her. Consequently, I get the blame (for doing this)," said the Lord smiling.

and (2) the Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikei edition (p. 121)—

"Do not speak anything more of this," the Lord said (to Emon). "She has no sense; she takes pity on people who do harm to her."

"Because," the Lady said sorrowfully, "(when I see them treated so cruelly) I suffer as though I were being tortured myself."

The three versions are not at all the same. Still more serious is, of course, the accuracy. The translator might have paid greater attention to this side of his work without making the translation unreadable. The book contains many errors and omissions, of which the following are the most noticeable instances :—

p. 1, l. 7. "putting on the *hakama*" should read "putting on the *mo*". When girls reached puberty, usually between 11 and 13 years of age, they began to wear a *mo*, a skirt which was worn only on the back and over the robe. On the day fixed by divination the sash of *mo* was tied up by an ascendant relative or a man of moral repute. It is to this ceremony that is here referred. The same applies to "putting on the *hakama*" in p. 3, l. 9; p. 25, l. 21; p. 230, l. 24. This ceremony which was called *mogi* must be distinguished from *hakamagi*, which is also translated "putting on the *hakama*" in p. 207, ll. 7-8. The *hakama* is a sort of trousers which both men and women began to wear at an early age varying usually from 2 to 4.

p. 4, l. 7. "She would say angrily." This should be followed by something like: "So the attendant was unable to talk with the Lady in peace" (YB. ed., p. 270, KNBT. ed., p. 3).

p. 5, ll. 24-5. "Like unto dew-drops Falling on me from heaven" seems far removed from "If you sympathize with me Even as little as dew-drops", which is the meaning of the original.

p. 10, ll. 2-6. "The river that flows Through the heavens may be crossed By bridges of clouds; But what bridge is there for me To step across to meet you" is quite inadequate. The original poem means: "The bridge of clouds That spans the River of Heaven. How can it take you over If you dare do no more than stamp on it!" The Japanese words for "dare do no more than stamp (on it)" have another meaning, "do no more than read letters," here alluding to the indifferent attitude of the Lady. By "the River of Heaven" is meant the Milky Way which, according to the Chinese legend, the Herd crosses to meet the Weaver, his beloved, on the seventh night of the seventh month. (Cf. the fourth poem on p. 185.

p. 10, l. 11. "she is very intelligent" should read "she is responsive to love". The same applies to the word "intelligent" occurring in p. 55, ll. 14-15.

p. 10, ll. 19-20. "Tachihaki did all in his power to further the request" is much too free for "perhaps because Tachihaki felt it difficult to decline the request of his master, he wandered about looking

for an opportunity", which is the signification of the original (YB. ed., p. 276, KNBT. ed., p. 9).

p. 23, ll. 30-5. "When the news to me Comes of all your sufferings, With your feelings like A tangled cob-web twisted. My love the more increases. I do not know why it is." Surely the original must mean: "When I find you Always unyielding. Tenacious as a tangled cob-web, My love the more increases. I am beside myself."

p. 29. The second poem should be followed by something like: "It was written so charmingly that there was a look of hope and affection on his face" (YB. ed., p. 295; KNBT. ed., p. 26).

p. 35, ll. 23-4. "'Put on one of the Lady's robes. I will dry yours,' she said," should read "'I will dry them,' she said as she was about to put on him one of the Lady's robes."

p. 43, ll. 6-8. "'Why did the Kita no Kata put me to such shame as she did?' she said to Akogi. 'However, I am glad that you got this screen.'" should be: "'How did you manage to save me from shame?' she said to Akogi. 'I was very glad to have this screen.'"

p. 44, ll. 23-4. "The exits of this world seem open" should read "The opening to the world is closed". This seems to refer to a poem composed, not by the Lady Ise, but by Taira no Sadafum on losing his post. The poem is contained in the *Kokinshū* Book xviii, and has the following meaning: "The opening to the world is closed. That I do not pretend. Why, then, is it so hard for me In it to make my way?"

p. 50, l. 16. "She looks very foolish when she is angry" should be "How corpulent and how awkward she is!"

p. 52, ll. 31-2. "The Kita no Kata always says that you are slow, does she not?" should read "The Great Lady keeps on saying that you will not be able to finish them in time. You know that, do you not?"

p. 70, l. 19. "The main part of the letter" should read simply "The letter".

p. 76, ll. 11-14. "and holding it to his mouth, he went along to the store-room pretending that he was playing a flute as he walked, until he came to the side of the Lady. Then he slipped the letter under her robe." is a mistake for "and went in the Lady's room. There he sat down by the side of the Lady and, pretending to play with a flute, he slipped the letter under her robe."

p. 90, l. 30. "into my house" should be followed by "in broad daylight" (YB. ed., p. 354; KNBT. ed., p. 77).

p. 102, l. 4. "laughed at me" should be followed by "I will tell you in detail when I see you" (YB. ed., p. 366; KNBT., p. 87).

p. 106, l. 21. "for her sister." should be followed by "One can well imagine the feelings of the Kita no Kata." (YB. ed., p. 370; KNBT. ed., p. 90).

p. 106, l. 22. "ten o'clock" should be "half-past eleven".

p. 121, l. 16. "came with the Lady Ben" should read "came on the recommendation of the Lady Ben".

p. 129, last line. "Well, I shall desert you, if you bring about this marriage." should be "Well, does it not amount to the same thing if you bring about this marriage?"

p. 140, l. 26. By "The low-class people" is really meant "The people of humble positions".

p. 148, ll. 8-9. "For you are such an important person here now." should be "For I trust you thoroughly."

p. 150, ll. 5-6. "and interrupted the workmen." should be deleted, for the word *gesu*, translated "workmen", here means "us", referring to the servants themselves.

p. 156, ll. 30-1. "We are keeping them safely," should read "But are you quite sure that they are here?"

p. 175, l. 25. "the plastered store-room." should be followed by something like "Since the ceremony was to begin on the following day the people moved to the residence of the Chūnagon by night." (YB. ed., p. 438; KNBT. ed., p. 149).

p. 203, ll. 21-3. "'Why is our mother so annoying?' the Saemon no Suke asked his brother. 'She will be a hindrance to our promotion.'" This is much too free. The original means: "'Why is our mother so wicked?' the Saemon no Suke asked his brother. 'We must at least pray for her so that she may become more virtuous. It is a matter of importance for our own sake, too.'" (YB. ed., p. 464; KNBT. ed., p. 171.)

p. 209, l. 16. "all this in a letter?" should be followed by "And yet it is inconvenient for me to go (and ask her permission at present)" (YB. ed., p. 470; KNBT. ed., p. 176).

p. 217, ll. 4-5. "he was thinking that though she was very pretty, she did not seem to be very intelligent." should be "he was feeling dissatisfied wondering whether she had as excellent a character as her appearance." (YB. ed., p. 478; KNBT. ed., p. 183).

p. 229. "Sadly in farewell My sleeves do I wave as now Further and further The boat in which you are is Rowed away from the

island." The original poem must mean: "'Tis sad to visualize you
Waving your scarf in farewell As further and further is your boat
Rowed away from the land." The phrase *hire furu sode* "the hand
that waves a scarf", cannot be applied to a man, for scarfs were used
only by women.

The above remarks are not intended as censorious or fault-finding; the reviewer is well aware that it is difficult to translate ancient Japanese texts to suit the two types of readers. The translator should, nevertheless, remember that, at the present moment, it is more necessary to satisfy the demand of the student of Japanese literature than to entertain the general reader.

The book is accompanied by useful notes, a brief explanation of the political organization of Japan in the tenth century, and an interesting discussion on the title, the author, and the date of composition of the story. We are, indeed, very grateful to Mr. Whitehouse for this translation, which must be regarded as one of the most welcome publications of recent years, following on Mr. Waley's *The Tale of Genji*, which latter has not only made the celebrated Genji Monogatari world-famous, but has also given life to the original. S. Y.

THE BAMBOO BROOM. An Introduction to Japanese Haiku. By HAROLD GOULD HENDERSON. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. pp. 128. Kōbe: Thompson and Co., Ltd. London: Kegan Paul, 1934. 4s. 6d.

This little book gives a brief account of the representative Haiku poets and their compositions from the earliest period down to the present time. The author disagrees with Professor Chamberlain and his supporters, who consider Haiku as a variety of epigram. He does not tell us his own definition of that ambiguous term "epigram", but explains precisely what constitutes a good Haiku. "All Haiku worthy of the name," he says, "are records of high moments,—higher at least than the surrounding plain." Owing to their shortness with seventeen syllables as a standard, they "depend for their effect on the power of suggestion . . . by giving a clear-cut picture" drawn only in outlines, but sufficient to serve as "a starting-point for trains of thought and emotion". The association of ideas, or *rensō*, is frequently realized by references to "the change of weather with different seasons, . . . to Buddhist beliefs and customs, and to episodes in Japanese history that are familiar to every Japanese child", or by resorting to "a comparison of two or more ideas". If the picture appears indistinct at first sight, which is often the case even with good Haiku, "the

elusiveness that is one of their chief charms comes, not from haziness, but from the fact that so much suggestion is put into so few words " by skilfully omitting words that are not needed to make the sense clear. This is one of the main reasons why it is difficult to understand some of the great Haiku without the knowledge of the circumstances under which they were written. In fact, as Mr. Henderson rightly remarks, " really great Haiku suggest so much that more words would lessen their meaning."

After thus giving a lucid explanation of the characteristics of Haiku, the author proceeds to describe very briefly how this shortest form of Japanese poems evolved from *renga* at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and its development during the subsequent four hundred years. Then in 1644 Japan produced a genius named Matsuo Bashō, to whose life and work alone twenty-four pages are devoted. With the appearance of this poet Haiku attained its ascendancy, which was maintained by his ten celebrated disciples and the poets of other schools until about 1750. The second half of the eighteenth century found " a great figure in the Haiku world " in the person of Taniguchi Buson, who is classed with Bashō by Japanese commentators, as " the two pillars of Haiku ". Buson was followed by another famous poet Issa, but his death in 1827 deprived Haiku of one whose initiative ability was earlier proved. The situation was saved, however, by Masaoka Shiki, who launched an innovation movement in the last decade of the nineteenth century. " The seeds that Shiki sowed," observes Mr. Henderson, " have fallen on fertile ground, and to-day Haiku are in some way flourishing as never before. Literally hundreds of thousands of people—it would probably be safe to say millions—are not only reading Haiku, but writing them as well." Furthermore, " the standard of the average Haiku," he adds, " is quite surprisingly high."

All poems quoted in the book are rendered into rhymed English with a transliteration and a word-for-word translation. How difficult it must be to interpret Haiku in rhyme may be inferred from the fact that Mr. Henderson has sought various artifices, which would have been unnecessary had he been satisfied with blank verse. To take an example, in Sōseki's Haiku " The spring stars there, Now brought down as midnight Jewels for the hair!" (p. 118) the word " there " is inserted in order merely to complete the rhyme. Such an expedient may be justified when the gist of the poem is not destroyed thereby, as in the present case. But the misapprehension of particles is not to

be overlooked. The translation of Sodō's poem "My hut, in spring! True, there is nothing in it—There is everything!" (p. 70) does not seem to convey the idea that everything is found in nothingness, which must be the thought of the poet. The second verse should, in my opinion, be replaced by something like "There is nothing,—in that"; the difference arises from the interpretation of the emphatic particle *koso*. Similarly, in Shiki's poem "The plan to steal Melons—that's forgotten too. How cool I feel!" (p. 110) the particle *mo* means "even, to that extent", not "too". The intention of the original is to express: "The plan to steal Melons.—that is forgotten. So cool do I feel!" Such misconstrued translations are fortunately very few, whilst the majority of Haiku are neatly rendered as may be exemplified by the following composed by Shiki: "Night; and once again, The while I wait for you, cold wind Turns into rain" (p. 112).

Whatever may be said of Mr. Henderson's rhymed translation, the descriptive portion of his book, to say the least of it, is well worth reading, containing much information that is not given in other works written in European languages. S. Y.

MALIK AMBAR. By JOGINDRA NATH CHOWDHURI. 7¼ × 5. pp. xvi + 181. Calcutta, Rs. 2.

It cannot be said that the incorporation of the Nizām Shāhī dominions in the Mughal Empire was effective under Akbar. The attempts of his successor Jahāngīr to complete his father's policy were frustrated by Malik 'Ambar, an able Abyssinian minister who was in charge of the affairs of Ahmadnagar until his death in 1626.

Dr. Chowdhuri's small book, which is based upon an exhaustive examination of all available Persian sources, represents the first serious attempt to produce a biography of this remarkable man. Unfortunately the author has been unable to discover any contemporary sources describing Malik 'Ambar's revenue system. His account, therefore, is a restatement of that found in the pages of Grant Duff and Robertson. (*Selection of Papers from the Records of the East India House*, iv, pp. 397 ff.) It would be unfair to blame Dr. Chowdhuri for this. We think, however, that some reference should have been made, when dealing with the early history of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, to Sir Wolseley Haig's scientific contribution to the third volume of the Cambridge History of India and to his annotated translation of the *Burhān-i-Ma'-'āsir* of 'Azīz Allāh Tabātabāi.

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE. By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR. Vol. I. 1739-1754. pp. xv + 544. Calcutta, 1932, 8s. 6d. Vol. II. 1754-1771. pp. xvi + 555. Calcutta, 1934. 8s. 6d.

Although the eighteenth century which witnessed the decline of the Mughal empire and the growth of British power in India is one of the most important periods in the whole of Indian history, it has not received the attention it deserves. It is true that English historians never tire of recounting the efforts of their countrymen to attain the hegemony of Hindustan, but it is equally true that the decline of the Mughal empire has, with the exception of Irvine in his *Later Mughals*, been shunned by English writers because they have lacked the necessary linguistic equipment enabling them to carry on researches and wade through masses of badly written Persian, Marāthi, Urdu, and Hindi manuscripts to be found in the India Office, the British Museum, and in public and private collections in India.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who is the recognized authority on the reign of Aurangzīb, has extended his studies to embrace the decline of the Mughal empire after Nādir Shāh's invasion. It can be stated without any fear of contradiction that these two volumes, based on a large number of the available Persian, Marāthi, Hindi, English, and French sources, are a definite contribution to a hitherto neglected period, and as such will be welcomed by all students needing a clear, accurate, and scholarly account of those scenes of anarchy and bloodshed which marked the decline of Mughal rule in India. More than this, they are indispensable for any true understanding of the work of Clive and Warren Hastings.

Sir Jadunath has wisely refrained from attempting to write a history of India in the eighteenth century, and has confined himself to the decline of the powers of the central government. For this reason detailed accounts of the history of the various provinces after they broke away from Delhi will not be found in these volumes; and certain topics, such as Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa under British rule; the history of Mālwā and Gujarāt; Oudh after 1761; the six Deccan *subas* after 1748; and the Anglo-French struggles have been purposely omitted, except where they have a direct bearing upon Delhi affairs.

Muhammadans sometimes assert that Sir Jadunath's *Aurangzib* has been written with a distinct Hindu bias, but the impartial critic will certainly deny the truth of this assertion in so far as the present work is concerned, for his account of the horrors perpetrated by the Marāthas on defenceless women cannot be construed into any attempt

on his part to whitewash the sins of his co-religionists. The atrocities committed by the Marāthas in Bengal are only equalled by those of the Afghāns around Delhi and Mathura. Indeed, one is impressed by the accuracy of the learned author and by the impartial manner in which he passes judgment upon Hindu and Muhammadan alike.

In describing military movements and campaigns he has not fallen into the armchair historian's error of consulting small-scale maps only, or, what is worse, no maps at all. Nevertheless the value of these volumes would have been increased by the inclusion of a series of clear and accurate maps.

The first volume treats of the growth of the Hindu reaction and the increasing anarchy in Hindustan from the departure of Nādir Shāh to the fall of Ahmad Shāh in 1754. The most valuable chapters are those dealing with the rise of the Rohilla power on the north-western borders of Oudh, and the Marātha incursions into Bengal and Bihar. The second volume, which, in the reviewer's opinion, is the more valuable of the two, describes in detail the great struggle between the Afghāns and Marāthas for the control of the emperor at Delhi. When referring to the spread of Marātha power before 1761, Sir Jadunath corrects another historical inaccuracy which has been a long time dying, namely that the Marāthas watered their horses on the banks of the Indus, for he proves conclusively that not a single Marātha horseman ever crossed the Chanāb. This volume contains the first detailed and well-authenticated account of the third battle of Pānīpat in 1761, and may be the means of persuading some student of the period to produce a much-needed monograph on the career and policy of Ahmad Shāh Abdāli. Other valuable topics discussed are the career of Najīb-ud-daulah, who was dictator at Delhi between 1761 and 1770: and the rise of the Jat power in Hindustan from the foundation of the Bharatpur state under Badan Singh to the days of Suraj Mal, the ablest statesman and warrior that the Jat race has ever produced. This account is based upon Father Wendel's manuscript history preserved in the Orme collection in the Indian Office.

It is to be hoped that the author will favour us with an index to these two volumes as soon as possible.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

THE CAMBRIDGE SHORTER HISTORY OF INDIA. By J. ALLAN, M.A., Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum; SIR T. WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., M.A., Lecturer in Persian in the School of Oriental Studies, University of London; H. H. DODWELL, M.A., Professor of the History and Culture of the British Dominions in Asia, University of London. Edited by PROFESSOR H. H. DODWELL. Cambridge University Press, 1934. 12s. 6d. net.

This volume, as explained in the Preface, is based upon the *Cambridge History of India*—at least on as many volumes of it as have been published—but is by no means merely a summary of it. The aim has been to present a succinct political history from the very beginning down to 1919, resting upon the wide foundation of the larger compilation, and at the same time achieving unity by only having one contributor for each of the three periods, Hindu, Muslim, and British, into which the history naturally falls.

In the attempt to realize this aim, it will readily be admitted that Mr. Allan, who deals with ancient India, had the most difficult and ungrateful task. For great stretches of the remote time, of which, he writes, we have as sources only isolated inscriptions, coins, which alone, "have restored to history whole dynasties which had been forgotten," the hymns of primitive peoples, Buddhist traditions, a few scattered references in literature, and travellers' tales. "It is quite impossible," says Mr. Allen, "to give a consecutive account of Indian History for the first half of the first millennium B.C.", and it might be added that, when that consecutive narrative is possible at the latter end of the Hindu, and the early part of the Muslim, period, the record is so devoid of constitutional or social interests, such a dreary blood-drenched tale of barbarous wars and murderous dynastic feuds, that the mind revolts from, and happily perhaps refuses to memorize, it. No skill can make such a tale readable, except to those who approach it from motives of duty, or the pure pursuit of knowledge. Yet what can be done? Somewhere there must be placed on record the facts, sparse and jejeune though they are, that emerge from the dreary wastes of the waters of historical oblivion. The history of ancient India is like looking at a fine panorama of distant plains and mountains through a thick and distorting haze. Making every allowance for these preliminary difficulties, it seems still true to say that the first section of this history suffers from being too exclusively political. The real interest of ancient India is in the

development of its religions, caste, literature, and architecture, and about all these we have less recorded than we might fairly expect. The late Mr. Vincent Smith, in his *Oxford History of India*, rightly guided his readers through the rather desert-like spaces of ancient Indian history by such adventitious aids as heavily leaded type at the commencement of paragraphs, lists of dynasties and dates, reproductions of inscriptions and coins, translations of Indian poems, and, above all, frequent illustrations of statues and temples. It is, perhaps, a pity that there exists a certain prejudice against illustrations in history books of serious intention. One of the best histories of India in its time, which was based partly on original material, namely H. Beveridge's *Comprehensive History of India* published in 1867, has never received the recognition that was its due, largely because it was published in monthly parts and with numerous illustrations. If ever history can be benefited by the pictorial art, it is surely in a period so remote and so dim as the first thousand years of Hindu times. A view for instance of the great temple at Khajuraho in Southern India gives a more lasting and vivid impression of the work of the Chandel dynasty than the most meticulous record possible of the "old unhappy far off things and battles long ago", that make up their political history. All the way through, Mr. Allan, who faces his task manfully, is struggling with the difficulty of making inferences from a paucity of dependable events. Often he has been forced to fall back upon vague suggestions of probability, where he naturally craves for certainty. It must be annoying, for instance, for a conscientious historian to have to pen the following sentence, which gets us exactly nowhere: "There exists no corroboration from other sources of the statement that Kanishka, on realizing that he had been the cause of the slaughter of some hundreds of thousands of men in war, became penitent and thenceforth devoted himself to good works, but the fact that a similar story is told of Asoka is really no reason for disbelieving it in this case. We should not, however, forget the other story that Kanishka was murdered because his people were tired of his aggressive wars." It is only from time to time that a bright searchlight is thrown transitorily upon isolated and all-too-short periods, for instance by the visit of Megasthenes to the court of Chandragupta. Even inscriptions when they occur sometimes, as Mr. Allen feelingly remarks, "only raise without settling a number of chronological and genealogical problems."

The account of Muslim India given by Sir T. Wolseley Haig, as might be expected, is scholarly, accurate, and lucid. Here too, however,

it is permissible to regret that mere political history bulks too largely at the expense of constitutional, social, and economic questions. Where the author does touch upon broad constitutional developments, his treatment of them is so admirable that one regrets he did not more often indulge in digressions of this kind. There is, for instance, pages 218-19, an admirable summary of the predominant features and real meaning of the Muhammadan kingdom of Delhi, as a comparatively small foreign garrison maintaining its supremacy over Hindustan, the Punjab, and Bengal through its religious homogeneity and the impossibility of any union among the Hindus. The economic background, which has been revealed to a large extent by the work of Mr. W. H. Moreland, hardly appears at all. The early Muslim period is almost as nauseating in its long record of savage cruelty, and dreary, in its lack of constitutional evolution, as the Hindu period. Sir Wolseley Haig, having recorded on page 271 that a certain monarch of Bengal on his ascent to the throne put out the eyes of his seventeen half-brothers and sent them as a gift to their mother, is reduced to adding, with conscious or unconscious irony, that this monster of cruelty "is more pleasantly remembered by an interesting correspondence with the great Persian poet Hafiz." With the rise of the Mogul empire we arrive at last at a period more comparable in interest to the history of Europe. The well-known story of the great emperors is told with lucidity and sound judgment, and the author has contributed something of his own to the portraiture of each sovereign. He considers that Sher Shah was "one of the greatest rulers who ever sat upon the throne of Delhi", and that much of his work was imitated by Akbar without acknowledgment. On page 382 he quotes a very interesting account of a day in Jahangir's life recorded by William Hawkins. The gradual loss of force and vigour by the Imperial house, due, perhaps, to the enervating influence of the Indian climate, which few can permanently withstand, is clearly traced down to the fall of the feeble successors of Aurangzib. But here again we should have welcomed a deeper analysis of the corresponding decay of Mogul institutions and Mogul administration.

In dealing with the British period Mr. Dodwell would no doubt admit that he had the easier task of the three authors, and the one that was most likely to arouse the interest of the ordinary reader. This does not alter the fact that his task has been done supremely well. This section, indeed, is a masterly summing up of the whole meaning, tendency, and effect of European contact with India. The

reviewer, at any rate, knows of no other work which can give to the modern reader so clear and correct a conception of the goal to which our Eastern policy has long been tending. Mr. Dodwell, especially in his later chapters, has done for his generation, what Sir Alfred Lyall did for his, in his brilliant *Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India*. Mr. Dodwell has boldly broken away, where he thinks good, from the narrative style and chronological arrangement. At first, indeed, down to the end of the Mutiny he does give a connected account of political history. After 1858 he abandons that method almost entirely for broad treatment under sweeping headings of subjects that cut right across chronological order. Nothing could be better from the point of view of leaving upon the reader's mind a clear view of where we stand to-day, though it is true, of course, that anyone wishing to discover the detailed contributions of various Governors-General to these sweeping constitutional developments would have to go elsewhere. There are, in fact, many omissions. Mr. Dodwell selects and discards with an impressive courage to illustrate his themes. His style is beautifully easy, lucid, and free from every kind of pretentiousness and false rhetoric. Yet many of his phrases linger in the memory through a certain epigrammatic force springing from the terseness of the thought, rather than from any self-conscious verbal dexterity. It is very difficult within any reasonable limits of space to point out all the good things in his contribution or to make the few criticisms that seem necessary. We may, perhaps, deal with the criticisms first. The famous twelve years' truce between Spain and the United Netherlands is called (p. 502), by a slip no doubt, the twenty-one year truce. The indemnity paid by the Nawab of Oudh in 1765 (p. 562) was not thirty but fifty lakhs. It was surely not Cornwallis but Macpherson (p. 599) who repulsed Sindhia, when he made his demand for the payment of the old tribute of twenty-six lakhs. Mr. Dodwell is writing on a scale which happily excuses him from entering into the controversies which have raged over the times of Clive and Warren Hastings, but he seems to the reviewer in one or two sentences to have slurred some things over a little too smoothly. For instance (p. 553) it might perhaps be mentioned that it was on Clive's own request that the Nawab of Bengal bestowed on him the famous Jaghira. The account of the origin of the Rohilla war (p. 567) is abbreviated to the extent of impairing its accuracy. It is not made clear here that Hastings definitely agreed at Benares to lend the Nawab British troops, that the Nawab for the moment

preferred to postpone action, that Hastings on reporting the matter at Calcutta rejoiced at that way out of the difficulty ; that, when the Nawab changed his mind and asked for the troops, Hastings persuaded the council to put their terms so high that the Nawab once more abandoned the plan for a time, but that ultimately the changeable ruler accepted the terms, so that Hastings was drawn into a policy, of which he half-disapproved, through his own vacillation. On page 572 it was the suzerainty over Benares, not Benares itself, that was ceded to the Company, On page 583 the statement that Hastings had been involved by Bombay in a policy which he had never chosen, though it was a view put forward by Hastings himself, is not really accurate. The renewal of the war in 1778 was supported by Warren Hastings and indeed was forced by him upon his recalcitrant colleagues at the Council Board. The only other point that perhaps merits criticism is that Mr. Dodwell, so it seems to the reviewer, is over harsh in his judgment on the Permanent Settlement of the land revenues of Bengal. He dislikes it so much that he is never tired of attacking it whenever it crops up in history. He believes that it led to a permanent ignorance of agrarian and administrative questions among the Collectors of Bengal, the results of which have lasted down to our own time. The Permanent Settlement, he says, was "not only the fruit of ignorance but the perpetuation of ignorance". It can only be said here that there were probably better reasons than Mr. Dodwell is prepared to admit for making the Settlement permanent in 1793, though they may have been mainly political and economical rather than social or humanitarian, and we very much doubt whether through British-Indian history the Bengal civilian has been, or would admit that he has been, so ignorant of the land and peasantry over which he has ruled as Mr. Dodwell supposes.

Mr. Dodwell's section begins by an admirable account of the Portuguese and the Dutch Dominions in India. That of the Portuguese was "essentially a maritime dominion covering a commercial monopoly". The Portuguese capital, Goa, "lay on the dividing line of Hindu and Muslim influence." The difference between the policies of the leaders of the two nations is effectively put in the statement that Albuquerque aimed at the naval control of commerce by the occupation of strategic posts, while Coen aimed at the possession of the productive areas themselves. Mr. Dodwell does justice to Thomas Saunders, Governor of Madras, the opponent of Dupleix, one of the forgotten worthies of British India, a man who possessed "cool,

clear brain, strong good sense, a shrewd judgment of men, and inflexible resolution". Mr. Dodwell is particularly happy in summarizing in a neat phrase his judgments on controversies of historical research; e.g. he reduces a rather hysterical modern doctrine to its proper proportions on page 548, in his judgment on the Black Hole of Calcutta: "This event does not deserve the title of 'massacre' by which it has long been known, for there is nothing to show that the fate of the prisoners was in any way designed. But neither does there appear ground for discrediting the evidence of more than one survivor or for supposing that no such incident occurred." In his account of the Sikh wars we note that Mr. Dodwell does not agree with the verdict of Mr. J. L. Morison in his recently published book, *Lawrence of Lucknow*, for which indeed there is a great deal to be said, that Dalhousie and his military advisers made a serious error of judgment in not at once advancing to attack the Multan rebels. He applauds the decision actually taken on the rather curious ground apparently that it was better to give the Sikhs rope enough to hang themselves: "If the Sikhs wanted a renewal of the war it had better be such a war as they would not wish to repeat, a war which would convince them of the military strength of the company." Mr. Dodwell's judgment on the inauguration of the system of open competition of the Civil Service in 1853 is interesting and original. He believes that a combined system of competition after preliminary nomination, as suggested in 1833, would have given better results: "The candidates, as before, would have sprung from families connected with India, would have carried out with them family traditions, and would have been welcomed in India by family friends, Indian and European. At the same time, competition would have weeded out the bad bargains." The simple competition plan, of course, was adopted and "the system certainly secured for India the services of a greater number of brilliant men than could have been obtained in any other way. But it may be doubtful whether it provided her with as many devoted and understanding servants." The chapter on the causes and the course of the Indian Mutiny is admirably written. Here again the bitter controversies that have raged over the excesses committed by both sides are admirably summarized: "The blot on British conduct does not lie in the military punishments which were exacted, but in the conduct of a number of officers who took a bloody revenge upon guilty and innocent alike. Indiscriminate executions had accompanied the suppression of the mutinies at Benares and Allahabad. They help

to explain the pitiless slaughter of Cawnpore, and both miserably prove how cruel men are made by fear." In this last sentence there is a whole world of compassionate understanding and insight. Among the chapters that follow, particularly noteworthy is that on the crown and the Indian states, where a difficult problem is lucidly analysed. In his account of the Morley-Minto reforms Mr. Dodwell draws out a very effective contrast between the characters of the two men. Morley, whose appointment "had been one of those accidents which characterize the workings of a responsible Government", possessed an intellect narrowly doctrinaire. "All his life had been passed among the writers and speakers . . . he was essentially a critic, and a better critic of books and speakers than of action and policy." Minto on the other hand was a soldier and a landlord: "He loved fair play with all the earnestness of a true sportsman, and would no more have done a dirty thing than he would have shot a bird sitting or pulled his horse in a steeplechase. He had little of Morley's width of reading, or vigour of phrase; but he had learned to read men if not books, and to manage men if not to manage periods." Mr. Dodwell evidently, and with good reason, believes that the wiser part of the famous reforms was due to the man of action with his frank *camaraderie* and intuitive insight into human nature, rather than to the brilliant and cultured but somewhat cloistered and opinionated man of letters.

P. E. ROBERTS.

THE HISTORY OF NORTH-EASTERN INDIA (from A.D. 320 to 760). By R. BASAK, M.A., Ph.D. Kegan Paul, 1934. 12s. 6d.

This book, which gained for its author the Ph.D. degree of Dacca University, gives a comprehensive and fairly detailed account of the political history of Magadha and Bengal from the beginning of the Guptas down to the rise of the Pālas. The area treated includes Nepal, Assam, and Orissa: the empire of Harṣavardhana is outside its scope, though incidental references to it are naturally frequent. Dr. Basak is an experienced epigraphist, and has added the results of his own researches to the previous work of Lévi, Banerji, and others. Among his conclusions are (1) that the Candra of the Meharauli inscription is to be identified with Candra Gupta I (a view he maintained first in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1919); (2) that Puṇḍravardhana was included in the dominions of Kumāra Gupta I, on the evidence of land-grants discovered at Damodarpur and Baigram; (3) that the Western Gupta empire continued to flourish after Skanda Gupta's

death, its downfall being achieved not by the Huns. but by Yaśodharman, while the dynasty persisted in the East until the rise of the Pālas in the eighth century.

There is a useful chapter on the Maukharis ; one on the Gauḍa Śāśānka ; one on Orissa ; and one on Nepal. in which the inscriptions previously edited by Bendall, Lévi, and Indraji are collected and discussed. Noticeable features are a lack of conciseness and a tendency to take too literally the eulogies of royal inscriptions ; but the author shows a well-balanced attitude towards controversial points and will, it is to be hoped, attain his avowed object of opening the road to further studies. There is a good synchronistic table, an ample index, a rather inadequate map, plenty of footnote references, but no bibliography.

C. A. R.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE VĀYU PURĀṆA. By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR. M.A. University of Madras, 1933.

This is a fifty-two-page essay, reprinted from the *Journal of Madras University*, mainly descriptive in treatment. It gives a good summary of the contents of this important Purāṇa and indicates the richness of provinces yet to be explored in the philosophy, religion, music, cosmogony, and geography of ancient India. There is no great attempt at criticism : the author concludes that the main part of the Vāyu is older than Buddhism, but his arguments are not convincing. Section VI touches on interesting questions relating to the history of Yoga and of Śaivism. which require further investigation. Quotations from texts are rather marred by faulty word-division in the transliterated passages and by occasional misprints in the Nāgarī.

C. A. RYLANDS.

HATĪHA-YOGA-PRADĪPIKĀ OF SVĀTMĀRĀMA SVĀMIN. Part I translated by YOGĪ ŚRĪNIVĀSA IYANGĀR. Second edition. Part II. Haṭṭha-yogapradīpikā Svātmārāmayogendravrīcitā Brahmānandakṛṭa-jyotanābhīdhayā tīkayā samalankṛtā. (T. P. H. Oriental Series, No. 15.) pp. xix + 101 + 230. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1933.

The *Haṭṭhayoga*—presumably from *ha-thau = sūrya-candrau = prāṇāpānau*—is the severe form of Yoga which is a sort of preparatory training for the meditations of the Rājayoga. It is known from more

or less compendious handbooks of which the most remarkable seem to be the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*, the *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā*, the *Śivasamhitā*, and the *Gorakṣasataka*. Of the last-mentioned one no published text has been seen by the present writer, while the two *Samhitās* have both been published together with English translations in the *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, xv, 4 (Allahabad, 1923). The *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma is by far the most well-known of Haṭha texts. It was published by Tookaram Tayta with a translation by Śrīnivāsa Iyāṅār at Bombay in 1893, and of this edition the present one is apparently only a reprint. It has been translated into German by Dr. Hermann Walter in a Munich dissertation of the year 1893. Great parts of it—as well as of the two *Samhitās*—were quoted (with translations) by Dr. S. Lindquist, a pupil of the present writer, in his careful work *Die Methoden des Yoga* (Diss., Upsala, 1932).

The date of Svātmārāma does not seem to be exactly known. However, some of the authorities quoted in i, 4–9, are perhaps datable and seem to be able to furnish at least a *terminus post quem*. This is perhaps most obviously the case with *Matsyendra* and *Gorakṣa* (*nātha*) who are mentioned twice (vv. 4, 5) and are apparently looked upon as being the foremost authorities—Śiva or Śrī-Ādinātha of course always excepted—upon Haṭhayoga. For *Gorakṣa* apparently is the famous *Gorakhnāth*, who was a pupil of *Matsyendra* and seems to have lived in the early part of the thirteenth century. Of other authorities mentioned in the same passage *Virūpākṣa* probably is *Virūpākṣanāthapāda*, a teacher of the *Pratyabhijñā*-school, whose chief work has been published in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, No. ix, (1910). *Pūjyapāda* cannot well be identified with the famous Jain grammarian P. Devanandin who seems to have lived either in the fifth or the seventh century A.D.; however, the name may quite easily be nothing but an honorific title. *Nityanātha* again is probably the author of the *Rasaratnākara* who may belong to the fifteenth century or perhaps even to a later period. At any rate *Gorakhnāth* was apparently to Svātmārāma an old and venerable authority; this fact makes it highly improbable that his own date could be earlier than somewhere in the fifteenth century.

Of the text and translation nothing special need be said except that the latter is not always a very faithful one. Nothing of value can be gathered from the short and quite superficial introduction.

J. C.

RAGHUNĀTHĀBHŪDAYA OF RĀMABHADRĀMBĀ (A Historical Poem).

Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI. (Bulletins of the Sanskrit Department, No. 2.) pp. viii + 78. University of Madras, 1934.

The University of Madras is developing a fervent activity in publishing hitherto unknown or at least unpublished Sanskrit texts. Many of them are undoubtedly of fair importance for the knowledge of Sanskrit literature ; amongst these may be mentioned works like Mādhava-bhaṭṭa's *Rgvedānukramaṇī*, the *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya* with *Māhīṣeya Bhāṣya*, etc. Others again are rather devoid of importance, but may still evoke our mild interest ; such are the *Sāhityaratnākara*,¹ edited by Dr. T. R. Chintamani and the present work, brought to light by the same industrious scholar.

The *Sāhityaratnākara* praises the deeds of Acyutarāya of Tanjore and of his son Raghunātha while the work now in hand occupies itself exclusively with the last-named person. It was composed in the 1620's by a certain blue-stocking of his court called Rāmabhadrambā, who is mentioned because of her talents in a Telugu work, the *Rājagopālavilāsa*, by her teacher Kālayya. This excellent lady was by no means at sea in Sanskrit as is amply testified to by her composition. And she had thoroughly assimilated the art of composing a poem of surpassing tediousness and consisting of the most abject flattery of her royal patron. Him it may have greatly pleased ; to the modern student it cannot but make insipid and somniferous reading.

The editor in a short introduction gives a conspectus of the main contents of the twelve cantos of this precious poem. There is no doubt historical matter to be found in these verses, though it can be of little value to the research worker should he hit upon the life of the rather unexciting Raghunātha. To him are ascribed the valour of the lion, the beauty of the God of Love, and all else that makes man appear similar to the immortals. In a typical court poem this is the correct attitude, but it can nowise be suggested to contain the exact historical truth. For Raghunātha, who came of a not very vigorous stock, was probably much like innumerable other petty Hindu princes whom the adulations of their paid court poets have raised into greatness beyond all measure. Benevolent at times, tyrannical at times, leading a voluptuous life for which his subjects had to pay most exorbitant taxes he probably conferred little benefit upon humanity during his lifetime, and might without any great

¹ Cf. *BSOS.*, VII, pp. 681 sq.

loss have been entirely forgotten after his death. When compared with the rather few rulers who can well aspire to real greatness, such as, e.g., Queen Elizabeth, Gustavus Adolphus, or Akbar, such a life dwindles into nothingness and need not detain us any further.

In Cantos viii and ix there is told a story of how Raghunātha was asked to help the king of the island of *Nepāla* whose capital had been in a treacherous way captured by the Paraṅgis. As the Paraṅgis in a poem of this date can only mean the Portuguese, and as Raghunātha is said to have crossed to *Nepāla* by means of a bridge of boats, it is quite obvious that *Nepāla* cannot possibly mean the kingdom of Nepāl. The present writer, unfortunately, is at a loss to understand what it means and would have felt much obliged to the learned editor for elucidating this obscure point.

Though we feel, of course, grateful to Dr. Chintamani for his undertaking we should feel very pleased to meet him in other fields of research which were likely to do greater justice to his energy and talents.

J. C.

THE KATHA UPANIṢAD. An Introductory Study in the Hindu Doctrine of God and of Human Destiny. By JOSEPH NADIN RAWSON. (Carey Centenary Volume.) pp. xviii + 272. Oxford University Press, 1934.

On 9th June, 1934, a century had passed by since the death of William Carey, one of the greatest lumina within the history of Protestant mission. Much may be said for and against missionary work. There can be no doubt about the fact that, amongst primitive peoples who often live in debased and even horrible conditions, the Christian mission has often performed most marvellous work. There can also be just as little doubt that it has scarcely proved a very victorious power amongst, e.g., the high-caste people of India who may claim for themselves the possession of a religion, which is at least partly of a lofty and sublime nature, and who quite rightly object to being mixed up with the common heathen. We may well believe that European people, who are willing to listen quite earnestly to the ludicrous political rigmaroles of Mr. Gandhi and his followers, would react rather violently if Vedāntic or Jain propagandists would try by every means to convert them to their faith. But quite apart from this there can be no doubt about the greatness of spirit and the

earnestness of faith with which William Carey carried through his missionary work ; nor can the lasting value of the man's varied and admirable activities be in any way belittled by the fact that he held the Hindus in general to be heathen that must be converted to the faith of Christ.

It was a happy thought to celebrate his centenary by bringing out a new edition and translation of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, which is, in a way, the most fascinating of all the Upanishadic texts. It was an object of great admiration to Rammohun Roy, the eminent contemporary of Carey. Before that it had been included in the collection translated into Persian by the Paṇḍits of the unhappy Prince Dārā Shikoh, and through the awful Latin translation of Anquetil Duperron it had reached the Western world already during the reign of the First Consul. It has been commented upon by the great Śamkara and by any number of lesser authorities within India itself. It presents to us the Brahmin boy Naciketas, who with undaunted courage enters the house of the God of Death and forces him to yield up his most treasured secrets. Like Sāvitrī he conquers Death ; like the Prince of Denmark he finds out that there is more in heaven and on earth than any philosophy could dream of. Like both of them he belongs to the highest and most spirited type created by any literature. The *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* is not only a religious document of uncommon interest, it also contains something of the very best that Sanskrit literary genius has ever been able to create.

Professor Rawson of Serampore College, a former pupil of the late lamented Professor Macdonell, has undertaken the task of editor and translator. We may as well at once congratulate him upon the result of his highly painstaking work. For though upon more than one detail we are unable to feel at one with him it would be unfair not to admit that the merits of the work greatly outweigh its demerits. Professor Rawson has succeeded extremely well in creating a very readable and useful handbook on the *Kaṭha* which will, we trust, contribute towards making this admirable work still more known and beloved than it has hitherto been.

According to the present writer's opinion the main fault of Professor Rawson is that he is too strictly conservative both in dealing with the text itself and in explaining the ideas underlying certain phases of ancient Indian speculation. We cannot, of course, prove this at any great length, but we will try to make it clear by selecting at random a few isolated examples.

Take, e.g. the *Puruṣasūkta* (*RV.*, x, 90) which is dealt with on pp. 18 ff. That the world was created out of the body of a giant primeval being is an idea common to many rather primitive cosmologies. A close parallel to the story of the *Puruṣa* is found in the Old Norse myth of Ymir, which is alluded to, e.g. in the Eddic poem *Vafþrúðnismál*, v. 21, in this way :—

*Ór Ymis holdi var iqrð um skopð
en ór beinom biqrq.
himin ór hausi ins hrímkalda iqtuns
en ór sveita síór.*

“ From Ymir’s flesh the earth was created, and the mountains from his bones ; the heaven from the skull of the frost-cold giant, and the sea from his sweat.” Ymir, however, is simply killed and chopped up ; in the *Puruṣasūkta* again the gods perform a regular sacrifice with the primeval being as the victim, cf. *RV.*, x, 90, 6, 7, 11, 16, and especially 14 :—

*saptāsyāsan pariḥāyas triḥ saptā samīdhaḥ kṛtāḥ |
devā yād yajñāṃ tanvānā ābadhnan pūruṣam paśūm ||*

Like an animal the *Puruṣa* is tied to the sacrificial stake, slaughtered, and divided up into pieces. For such an idea there must exist a real foundation, viz. a human sacrifice, which was believed to confer increased fertility upon the whole world. And no doubt such a foundation existed. As, however, this question can only be dealt with in a more extensive connection I shall not now shock my readers with further suggestions concerning this rather unsavoury topic. The *Puruṣasūkta* is in a way idealized, but the underlying ideas are extremely crude.

The etymology of the word *brahman-* has been extensively dealt with in the present writer’s book *Brahman*, i-ii (Upsala, 1932). It is, however, not to be expected that this work should have become known to Professor Rawson ; and still less could it be expected that he and his Indian readers would feel able to share the rather heretical but none the less necessary conclusions arrived at there. As for *ātman-* it certainly betrays relationship to the Teutonic words quoted on p. 27, while it is just as certainly wholly unrelated to the Greek *ἀτμός* and *ἀΰτη(ν)* (p. 28, n. 2).

Concerning the integrity of the *Kaṭha* text I cannot find the slightest reason for altering the opinion I pronounced some years ago, and which is quoted on p. 41. Professor Rawson, in accordance with

what has been stated without any real foundation by previous scholars, thinks that *Vallī* 1-3 and *Vallī* 4-6 form two different sets of texts. However, such a suggestion wants real proofs to be taken for granted. As for the date of the Upaniṣad, there is not the shade of a proof for the hypothesis put forth on p. 48 that it belongs to the period 550-500 B.C. And to speak of it as being "pre-Buddhist" is obviously nonsensical as long as we know nothing of the real date of Gautama Buddha—except, of course, that he lived some considerable time before Aśoka—nor are able to define in an acceptable way what is really meant by "pre-Buddhist".

As for the text, the present writer lays no claim at all to having discovered any startling emendations; however, it seems rather curious that the obviously correct emendation of *anandā* into *ānandā* in v. 3 should have carried no conviction. Lack of acquaintance with certain details of the ritual may be the reason for this. In i. 11, the interpretation by Hillebrandt and the present writer seems alone possible; and the same is the case with v. 17. Geldner's emendation of ii, 3 (*sajjanti* for *majjanti*) ought to be accepted without discussion.

But we shall not continue this enumeration any further. We again congratulate Professor Rawson on the obvious success of his achievement and hope soon to become acquainted with fresh results of his talent and industry.

J. C.

HINDU MYSTICISM ACCORDING TO THE UPANIṢADS. By MAHENDRA-NATH SIRCAR. pp. viii + 344. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1934.

This book, in twenty-six chapters, by an author who is, unfortunately, otherwise unknown to the present writer, presents a curious mixture of orthodox Hindu views and an attempt at real scientific research. It deals with the mysticism of the Upaniṣads but we are at a loss to find out what is the author's own definition of mysticism. Still, even if many chapters necessarily appear obscure and contain matters by no means easy to grasp there are others which one reads with pleasure and interest. It is somewhat unfortunate that, though the author does sometimes quote the opinions of modern scholars, he has nowhere deigned to give a reference to their works. The index appears to be complete and should be quite helpful.

The apparently ineradicable mistake of translating *neti neti* (*Bṛh. Ār. Up.*, iii, 9, 26; iv, 4, 22, etc.) with "not this, not this" (or rather, according to other authorities, "not thus, not thus") appears

on p. 59. *na-iti* means nothing but “no” and simply indicates that the *ātman* (as identified with *brahman*) is the pure negation of every quality or attribute comprehensible to the human intellect. Such an idea concerning God was not at all foreign to some of the great schoolmen. J. C.

THE UṆĀDISŪTRAS IN VARIOUS RECENSIONS. Part VI. The UṆādisūtras of Bhoja with the Vṛtti of Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa and the UṆādisūtras of the Kātantra School with the Vṛtti of Durgasimha. Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI. (Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 7.) pp. xiv + 107 + 51 + 72 + 24. University of Madras, 1934.

King Bhoja of Dhārā was a great patron of literary work and also himself (or through his court Paṇḍits, which is much the same) developed various literary activities. Amongst other achievements of his was also a Sanskrit grammar, which is sometimes spoken of simply as *Śabdānuśāsana* but was probably called *Sarasvatīkaṅṭhābharāṇa*, the name alike of his Durbar Hall and of his well-known work on rhetorics. The *UṆādisūtras* belonging to this grammar have now—for the first time, so far as the present writer is aware—been edited, together with a scant but sufficient commentary by a certain Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa. The editor, Dr. T. R. Chintamani, has told us nothing about Bhoja as he intends to do so in the introduction to his edition of the rhetorical work of this royal author, which is now in press. As for Nārāyaṇa, he was apparently a *daṇḍanātha* “a commander”; it is, however, not known to whom he acted in that quality, though it is the shrewd guess of Dr. Chintamani (p. xiii) that he was in reality the Nārāyaṇa who lived in the Vanavāsi country c. A.D. 1120, and was a patron of the poet Kavirāja Paṇḍita.

The UṆādisūtras of the Kātantra, like the grammar itself, have been commented upon by Durgasimha whose date, unfortunately, still remains a problem.

The texts, though corrupt in places, seem to be carefully edited, and the indexes are excellent. It would, however, have been a good idea to give the quotations in Durgasimha's text in a separate index as Eggeling's *Kātantra* is nowadays by no means an easily accessible work. However, we feel much obliged to Dr. Chintamani for his very useful contribution to the knowledge of Sanskrit grammar.

J. C.

BṚHATĪ OF PRABHĀKARA MIŚRA [on the Mīmāṃsāsūtrabhāṣya of Śābarasvāmin] with the R̥juvimalāpañcikā of Śālikanātha. [Tarkapāda.] Edited by S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI. (Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 3, Part I.) pp. x + 416. The University of Madras, 1934.

An unhappy fate seems to have overtaken the work of the great Prabhākara Miśra. His fame was considerably obscured by that of his successor and opponent Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, and the Prabhākara system of Mīmāṃsā already at a fairly early date must have come under a cloud. His own most extensive commentary on the *Bhāṣya* of Śābarasvāmin, the *Bṛhatī*, has come down to us in an incomplete state, and has never yet been edited, though a translation by MM. Ganganath Jhā appeared in the *Indian Thought*, vols. ii and iii (1911); this translation is, however, not even mentioned in the preface to the present edition.

Now Mr. Ramanatha Sastri, a junior lecturer at Madras University, with the valuable aid of MM. S. Kuppaswami Sastriar has undertaken to drag the work of Prabhākara out of the darkness by which it has been obscured, and thus to restore the fame of the Guru. The same idea appears to have occurred to the editors of the *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series*; as we have, however, not been able to see what has appeared in that series of the *Bṛhatī* we cannot pass any judgment upon the success of the undertaking. The present edition, which contains *Adhyāya* I, *Pāda* I of the *Bṛhatī*, was undertaken with the help of one single manuscript preserved at Madras, while four manuscripts were available for the commentary of Śālikanātha. The editor himself tells us that his task was an arduous one, and we are quite prepared to believe him. To publish, with the help of one rather unreliable manuscript, a difficult and obscure text must be a somewhat doubtful undertaking, and the text must certainly contain a number of passages which are not sufficiently warranted by the manuscript materials. Of this the present writer feels sure, but he cannot, of course, have any definite opinion upon details. Mr. Ramanatha Sastri promises soon to publish the continuation of the text, and it will then be a task for such scholars as are thoroughly conversant with the Mīmāṃsā system to criticize and to try to make emendations where such seem to be needed. So far we are only able to give expression to our admiration for the energy and undaunted courage with which the editor has fulfilled his by no means easy task.

THE PADYĀVALĪ, an Anthology of Vaiṣṇava Verses in Sanskrit. Compiled by RŪPA GOŚVĀMIN, a Disciple of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya of Bengal. Critically edited by SUSHIL KUMAR DE. (Dacca University Oriental Publications, Series No. 3.) pp. cxliv + 296. Published by the University of Dacca. 1934.

Every work by Professor Sushil Kumar De merits the close attention of his fellow-scholars, and this is to an increased degree the case with his recent edition of the *Padyāvalī*. The *Padyāvalī* is an anthology of Vaiṣṇava poems put together by Rūpa Gosvāmin in the sixteenth century. It has been edited twice before, in 1911 and 1916, in the Bengālī script, but these editions, to neither of which the present writer has had access, are undoubtedly quite uncritical and can in no way be compared with this one, which was worked out with the help of no less than sixteen manuscripts. The critical apparatus is carefully described on pp. cxxi-cxlv, and the description makes it quite clear that Professor De has made thorough use of all the materials available, and has put into work all his critical faculties in order to produce a standard edition of this quite important text.

Bengālī Vaiṣṇavism centres round the great name of Caitanya (1485-1533), the mystic, who after extensive pilgrimages settled at Purī about ten years before his rather premature death. The last decade of his life was spent in a state of what would at least partly be styled mental derangement, but which to his followers must have appeared to be the very consummation of a mystic union with the deity. Legend wills it that Caitanya lost his life by plunging into the sea in a fit of visions of the sublime Deity; Professor De, however, does not touch upon this tragic end to a life of devotion. However, we shall certainly get to know all that is worth while to know about the great mystic and the movement he started when we get into our hands the book on these subjects that Professor De intends to publish shortly. It is indeed with great expectations that we look forward to thus widening our unfortunately very scant knowledge of this fascinating but obscure topic.

Caitanya, apparently wholly occupied by his devotions and almost steadily under the influence of mystic trance, did not leave with his followers any works in which he had put down his own doctrines. It fell to the six Gosvāmins, his most prominent pupils, to fill the gap and to create the literature in which were included the tenets of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism. Among these Gosvāmins Rūpa, his brother Sanātana, and his nephew Jīva occupied the foremost rooms. While,

however, Sanātana does not seem to have developed any very great literary activity Rūpa Gosvāmin became the author of many works. Perhaps the most important of them all—at least from a literary point of view—is the Sanskrit anthology *Padyāvalī*.

The text of the *Padyāvalī* together with its critical apparatus occupies 178 pages and contains a great number of very attractive little poems. Lack of space, however, prevents us from mentioning any details. Then follows a series of extensive and most instructive notes on the authors included in the anthology. The work winds up with several indexes, all most helpful and most carefully put together. The book is indeed a most important one; thus Professor De has again put all Sanskrit scholars under a deep obligation by his varied and admirable activities. The work is very aptly dedicated to Professor F. W. Thomas, the learned editor of another anthology, the *Kavīndravacanāsamuccaya*.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

BUDDHIST LOGIC. By TH. STCHERBATSKY. Bibliotheca Buddhica XXVI, Vol. I, pp. xii + 560; Vol. II, pp. vi + 468. Leningrad: Akademii Nauk. 1930-2.

These two volumes by Professor Stcherbatsky represent the conclusion of his researches for many years devoted to the investigation of Buddhist logic. He practically began in 1903, when he published the first part of his work in Russian, *Teoriia poznaniia i logika po uceniiu pozdnieisikh Buddhistov*, a translation of Nyāyabindu with the commentary of Dharmottara to which an extensive introduction followed in 1909. This was made known to scholars unacquainted with Russian by Strauss in Germany and by Masson-Oursel in France.

The two volumes recently issued in the Bibliotheca Buddhica follow the same scheme; the second volume in fact contains the translation of the Nyāyabindu and its commentary, the first being an extensive introduction and a detailed synopsis of Buddhist logic.

The works upon which the author has founded his researches are chiefly those of Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti with their numerous commentaries. He had access not only to the Indian commentaries translated into Tibetan and preserved in the bsTan agyur, but also to the extensive glosses of the Tibetan doctors and interpreters. The conclusions reached by Professor Stcherbatsky show that no research in the field of Mahāyāna philosophy can now be undertaken without

taking into consideration the elaborate contributions of Tibetan scholars. While the Chinese sources are of great help for the external history of Buddhism chiefly in its older phases, Tibetan texts are of unrivalled value for the right understanding of philosophical or mystic treatises which have been thoroughly studied and commented upon in the Tibetan monasteries.

The author has also the great advantage of being perfectly acquainted not only with Eastern philosophy, but also with Western speculation; this gives a great clearness to his *exposé* of Buddhist ideas. Very often the *realia* of Indian thought have remained obscure to mere philologists on account of their lack of philosophical preparation. Such as it is, the book of Professor Stcherbatsky can therefore be considered as a summary of the essentials of Buddhist logic, which is likely to be of great help to the historians of philosophy in general.

The various points the author discusses in detail are the problem of the reality of sensible world and those of the instantaneousness of being, of causation (*pratītyasamutpāda*), of sense perception and of the ultimate reality.

Then follows the investigation of the problem of the "constructed world", viz. the conception, the substance of which consists in describing the inductive process in its twofold aspect, viz. inference *per se* and inference for others. This gives the author the opportunity to examine the theory of logical fallacies as formulated by Buddhist doctors. The negation is then studied in detail, along with the law of contradiction and the problem of universals.

This brief summary shows that the author has given a complete synthesis of Buddhist thought as expounded by its logicians. As a matter of fact, in the system which he studies we are confronted not with a mere elaboration of logical formulae but with the explanation according to *yukti* of the fundamentals of Buddhism; that is why upon this system centred for a long time the criticism of rival systems. The period of its elaboration can therefore be considered as one of the most important for the evolution of Indian thought, since it focuses as it were its most vital points.

It is useless to add that even the understanding of the so-called orthodox writers is likely to be largely benefited by this book, since no criticism can be understood if the doctrine criticized has not been rightly interpreted.

The author has also tried to find out the European equivalent for the technical terms used by Buddhist writers, and he has generally

been very able in his choice, though I feel that sometimes he is inclined to Europeanize notions and concepts which appear to me as peculiarly Indian and, in their essence, quite different from ours.

Of course, there are in such a work some minor points in which I disagree from the views of Professor Stecherbatsky, and some which are likely to be modified by further researches. But neither do I think myself to be the only detainer of truth, nor have I the habit of searching for minor particulars in a work which like this represents one of the most important achievements of modern Buddhist scholarship.

GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

ERANOS JAHRBUCH 1933. *Yoga und Meditation im Osten und im Westen*. Herausgegeben von OLGA FRÖBE-KAPTEYN. pp. 2 + 348 + 2. Rhein-Verlag, Zürich, 1934. c. 11s.

The title reveals the programme. Eranos was for the Greeks a joyous social festival, to which every partaker made his contribution, but which had, besides the social companionship, religious-metaphysical purposes.

This Eranos, too, bears a social-æsthetic stamp with higher aims. Every year at the best season and in one of the loveliest places on Lago Maggiore scholars from various countries (Italians, Englishmen, Dutchmen, and especially Germans) and of different spheres of study come together to work out and cast light on problems, above all on those of a religious-psychological nature. This, the first printed year-book of these congresses is dedicated to the problem which for us Orientalists, particularly for the Sanskrit scholar and Sinologue, is methodically the most important one. It treats the question which crops up time and again, whether the East and the West have the same basis of thought, and, in case East and West have set different problems and found different solutions, how the one may learn from the other or even accept the results of the other.

Closely bound up with these fundamental enquiries is the current question as to the connection between religious and psychological-physiological problems.

At the International Congress of Anthropologists and Ethnologists which was held in London some months ago a general theme of discussion was the illumination and evaluation of magic religious ceremonies of various native races from the pathologist's standpoint. ("Magic as Disease.")

Thus the fifteen essays (or lectures) contained in these "Eranos Annals" circle round the most urgent questions of orientalism, psychology, and pathology.

The contributions given to these problems by different scholars from different fields and from different fundamental standpoints contain nearly every possible kind of answer.

In his three articles, which alone fill almost one-third of the book, Heinrich Zimmer, the Heidelberg Sanskritist, argues that the same prototypes are the foundation of the poetry and the religious tradition of the East as well as of the West which latter changes from Antiquity, through the Middle Ages and down to modern times. From his wide reading he seeks to find examples for this, his guiding thought, in the legends and ceremonies of India, Babylonia, Greece, the German Middle Ages, down to the present with its psychoanalytic tendency.

To the basic fact that differences of landscape and climate cause divergent historic development in various centres of culture, he only concedes the significance of variants within the same fundamental forms.

Erwin Rousselle, the Frankfurt Sinologue, gives the problem another aspect. Under the general title: "Seelische Führung im lebenden Taoismus" he emphasizes more strongly than Zimmer the distinctive nature of the different cultures, and is inclined to rate the East higher than the West with regard to the working out of psychological problems, as the East has remained more undisturbed in its historical development. Rousselle has therefore, like his teacher and predecessor Richard Wilhelm, humbly served his apprenticeship in the meditation sects of China and has been initiated step by step into the Taoistic exercises.

The third Orientalist, the well-known research worker in Buddhism, Mrs. Rhys Davids, offers a somewhat differently spiced contribution to this Eranos. She, too, emphasizes the distinctive character of the Oriental cultures. So in the article entitled "Dhyāna" (Jhāna), "Televolution" (Telepathy), and "Mensch und Kommunion" she emphatically calls attention to the differences between the Buddhistic meditation, contemplation, and prayer and the western methods. She gives a well-thought-out analysis of these ideas in early and late Buddhism, which characterizes Buddhism in its religious and ethical value.

Friedrich Heiler, the scholar of comparative religion, limits his investigation chiefly to the history of Christianity, in a wide frame,

however, of Catholic, Lutheran, and Anglican Christianity and its earliest history, which was influenced by the Jewish, Egyptian, and Greek spheres of thought. In this way Heiler finds a broad enough range to disclaim a new fructification of the West by the far East, and points to similar productive ideas already contained in Christianity.

His arguments are amplified, with specific details about the history of meditation and contemplation in Catholicism, by the article of the Church Historian at the University of Rome, Ernesto Buonaiuti, who however does not reveal his attitude towards the fundamental problem: East to West.

R. G. Heyer from Munich expresses his views on this theme from the fundamental standpoint and even introduces the new question of the day.

He entitles his treatise "Sinn und Bedeutung östlicher Weisheit für die abendländische Seelenführung" (Meaning and significance of Eastern wisdom for Western guidance of the soul) and explains that all esoteric doctrines, their cults and legends, do not convey absolute truth and knowledge but are expressions bound by time, place, history, race, and landscape. "Das geheime Wort spricht zu jedem nur in seiner eigenen Sprache, also zu uns gewiss nicht orientalisches, sondern europäisch-germanisch und christlich" (p. 223: The secret word speaks to everyone only in his own language, therefore to us certainly not Oriental but European-Germanic and Christian). To explain more clearly he adds a note, that "der Wahn, bei anderen die Wahrheit erhalten zu können, der gleiche ist, wie die Idee, anderen (den Heiden) sie bringen zu sollen" (The delusion of being able to imbibe truth from others is the same as thinking it one's duty to impart it to others (the heathen)). A pretty example of Indian wisdom follows: he relates that an Italian, striving after Indian understanding, asked an Indian priest for a book on true knowledge. The latter handed him with an oracular smile—as being for him, the European, the most suitable form of knowledge—the Bible.

The leading psychoanalyst C. G. Jung, again, takes up a different position towards the problem of East to West. He contributes to this book not a general exposition of his doctrines, which may be taken for granted as being familiar to the reader, but only the narrative of a single case from his practice. His patient was a woman whom he had helped to regain her physical and mental equilibrium. This narrative contains allusions to the East to West question. In the East this physical and mental unity has so far scarcely been disturbed.

Thus Jung confesses, on page 203, to have learnt from the East the art of "laissez aller" ("Geschehen-lassen"), but adds that others in the West, e.g. Meister Eckhardt, have also recognized this. Nevertheless, Jung, on page 214, closes his treatise with the words that "wir im Westen trotz seiner sogenannten Kultur noch Barbaren und Kinder in bezug auf das Psychische seien" (we in the West, in spite of its so called culture, are still barbarians and children as regards psychics).

So much for the prolific Eranos on the problem which is the most important one to us Orientalists: the basic problem of the possibility and necessity of mutual influence of East and West.

In all the essays we find over and above interesting sidelights on the second problem already mentioned, that of the connection between religious and physiological-psychological questions.

Let us take a few examples from the contributions of the three Orientalistic colleagues.

In his productive description of the eternal mytho-poetry, Zimmer lays special stress upon those essential parts of the myths and ceremonies which cast light upon modern questions of psychoanalysis. India, who hardly ever tears asunder body and soul and who from ancient times up to the present day has busied herself with the understanding of the dark Śaktis (vital powers which urge to propagate), is closely interested in the psychoanalytic question of the connection of the conscious with the subconscious and the non-conscious, and in the question of the unconscious abundance of all possibilities within us. India found the solution of recognizing and affirming the dark powers and of depriving them of their hidden danger by respecting them.

From her studies on Buddhism Mrs. Rhys Davids makes a contribution to psychoanalytic investigation. In Telepathy, which was practised in early Buddhism, she reveals a peculiar psychic attitude, which cannot be classified under our usual ideas of meditation, contemplation, nor introversion but "is an activity apart which represents an emotion not externally perceptible yet tending towards extraversion like the Jhāna" (p. 105).

Further Rhys Davids enriches psychoanalytic knowledge by describing the Buddhistic exercises, which are aimed not at practising feelings and putting them into action, but at controlling them.

Rhys Davids draws attention to a peculiar form of communion in the Buddhistic texts, when she designates it as a personal development ("Werden-machen" p. 119) by which one's own self strives

after and gains a communion of highly personal character with beings of other worlds (p. 129). Through her description of the unburdening of the soul by confession, which has its origin in Buddhism, and of the peculiar form of the Buddhistic prayer, Rhys Davids supplies further valuable contributions to psychoanalytic science.

Rousselle casts a light on psychoanalytic questions through his Taoistic learning. In Taostic yoga, as in the Indian Kuṇḍalinīyoga, the sexual is not suppressed; it is purified, subdued, but taken into account ("einbezogen") by an occasional practice of meditation (p. 169).

Thus a company is assembled at this Eranos with rich gifts which they bestow gladly, and Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn, the hostess and editor of these annals, is right in allowing not only the company of two hundred assembled in August 1933 but also a wider public to share the gifts in this printed form.

BETTY HEIMANN.

VṚTRA ET VṚθRAGNA, ÉTUDE DE MYTHOLOGIE INDO-IRANIENNE. Par E. BENVENISTE et L. RENOU. Cahiers de la Société Asiatique III. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1934.

The authors have in this study notably advanced the interpretation of Indo-Iranian mythology. On pp. 177 fol. the result is given. In Avestan *vṛθra* has conserved the only original sense, that is "resistance", neuter in gender. It was never personified. In the R̥gveda, *vṛtra* is a neuter substantive, the proofs of a masculine *vṛtra* being insufficient. It was then personified. But even so, Vṛtra existed only in formulæ. In Iranian VṚθragna was the god who destroyed resistances, and so gave victory. In Indian mythology Vṛtrahan had originally this same character, but was later absorbed by the hero Indra, become god. It is pointed out that the confused mythological texture has taken up three originally distinct themes, the victorious god, the dragon-slaying Indra, and the liberated waters. The interlacing of these motives differs in the Indian and Iranian developments.

These conclusions are sustained by the exact methodical analysis of the Iranian data preserved in the Avesta and in other sources, and of the oldest Indian material. The method and the result are both satisfactory. The misty uncertainty of the original relationship of these figures can now be pierced.

Incidentally many details of Avestan texts are elucidated. So, p. 7, *vazdar-*, p. 8, *čakuše*, p. 15 *zaya-*, p. 16 *ās*, p. 29 *saoka-*, p. 34 *vārəyna-*, p. 37 *vyāmbura-*, p. 42 *ahura*, p. 44 *vyāxana-*, p. 50 *yaona*, p. 54 *hvāχšta-*, p. 55 *spazga-*; and especially *Čistā* who is interpreted, according to her situation and epithets, as "goddess of ways".

The interpretation of the expansion of *Vr̥θagna* worship gains much from the consideration (pp. 68 fol.) of Hellenistic Artagnēs, Armenian Vahagn, Chorasmian Arθaγn, and Sogdian Vašaγn (beside *Vunχān*).

The recognition of "la véridicité de la seule tradition iranienne" (p. 182) in regard to the Indo-Iranian form of the myth of *Vr̥trahan-Vr̥θagna* is the basis of the whole study and of the brilliant concluding synthesis.

H. W. B.

ARCHAEOLOGISCHE MITTEILUNGEN AUS IRAN. Bd. IV-VI (1931-4).

Herausgegeben von ERNST HERZFELD. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Ernst Vohsen.

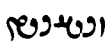
The three volumes here noticed contain much of interest. Vol. iv, pp. 1-116, gives a study of all available evidence for the Saka immigration into Sistan and their settlement there, directed to show the historical background of the castle on the Kūh i Khwādja. This castle is assigned on all grounds to the first century A.D. In the course of this historical study the sources are critically sifted. Their variety is considerable: Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Iranian, Arabic, Chinese written documents, legends, coins, and other archaeological materials. For the vexed question of Yueh-chi, Ta-hia, Tocharoi, Ārsi, it is stated on p. 27: "ob namensgleich oder nicht, die Tocharer kommen mit den nuat-si," and, on the other hand, *ibid.*, it is denied that the Ta-hia are the Tu-hu-lo (of later authors). Neither of these points, however, can even here be considered proved, and they have been recently denied.

As to the now famous *ārsi* (probably adjectival in use in Dialect A), two new discussions have recently been published by Sylvain Lévi and Pelliot in *J.A.*, 1934. There is even a further possibility, not hitherto pointed out, that *ārsi* could be a form of Sanskrit *ārya-*, as loanword in this dialect, since we are familiar with *ri* > *rs* (though not in *ārya-*) in Saka Texts. Although, therefore, the many hypothetical and always suggestive combinations here worked out must be duly considered, some part will perhaps not stand the test of time. Among the most interesting of the side issues are the interpretations of difficult passages

of Zoroastrian Pahlavi books, in particular those treating of legends or of geography. The complexities of the time of Gundofarr occupy pp. 91-116. The scantiness of the sources here permits only uncertain results, but the importance of the line of succession from uncle to nephew is stressed. The proposed identity (p. 96) of Vonones of the Saka coins with Vonones the Arsacid Great King seems very likely.

In vol. iv, pp. 117 fol., a new inscription of Xerxes in forty-eight lines was published for the first time and was almost immediately re-edited by Benveniste and by Kent, so that we have three important commentaries on the new text. Happily (as Kent's notes suffice to show) no linguistic mistakes need be assumed in this inscription. We now have also *abiyaǰāvayam* in a still more recent inscription, hence here we shall no doubt read *abi* < *ya* > *ǰāvayam*, and a similar emendation is even easier in the *niya* < *ya* > *saya* of Darius. Arguments from these assumed linguistic mistakes, which bulk somewhat largely here, cannot therefore be considered cogent.

The assumption on p. 131 that Greek and Elamite spellings (or, indeed, Akkadian for the North Iranian) suffice to give contemporary Persian pronunciation is surely delusive. Neither Greek nor Elamite could indicate the full Persian pronunciation in their scripts even if they heard the different phonemes. Armenian, which itself fails, is yet useful in some cases, and precisely for such a name as *Dārayavahus*, to which Armenian *Dareh* corresponds more closely than Greek (lacking medial aspirate) or Elamite. In Armenian we have also *reh*, *deh*, *nerseh* with *-h-* (and *Anahit* in face of Akkadian *an-na-i-tu* beside *a-na-ah-i-tu*).

Two details may be noted. On p. 128 the passage of the Kārnamak with  is quoted. We should probably read *apāk vas ǰīs aβd visāst* "wonderfully equipped with many things"; *visāst* as a derivative of the base *sand-*, *sul-*. Turfan middle Iran. has *vys't* (ZII., 9, 171). On the same page there is a discussion of the name of Khūzistān. Probably the development of *uqa* was different from *au*. Hence *uqa* > *ū*, possibly through a stage with close *ō*, and this probably independently of *au* > *ō*. For Old Persian, *huqaǰa-* would suffice.

The inscription ascribed to Aryāramna has caused much discussion, but the defence here offered against Schaefer's criticism is not altogether calculated to remove all doubts. The few lines contain

unsatisfactory grammar, which the plea of "unclassical" forms does not explain. Since Xerxes' inscription seems to be in order, the analogy with that falls away.

On pp. 140 fol. the inscription in Pārsīy cursive script ("Pahlavi") of Mīl ī Rādkān is interpreted. The form *tīrēst* is on p. 145 considered to belong to a northern dialect which leads to the suggestion that the other words also should be read with northern forms. But as Benveniste has shown in *BSL.*, 32, 88 f. *tīrēst* probably rests upon a form **tišrai satai* and therefore is not dialectically distinguished.

On pp. 147 f. the difficult inscriptions on silver vases are discussed.

Vol. v, in addition to essays on history and prehistory, and a publication of seals, contains a reconstruction of the events and personalities of the famous conspiracy of Darius, from the admittedly scanty and conflicting evidence. It is suggestive and interesting, but one misses the conclusive proof. The note on p. 136 explaining *kltyr*, *krtyr* is important: *kahrēr*, to Armenian *kah*, *kahavorem*, and Arab.-Pers. *qahramān*. It is worth noting also that the word 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 occurs in Kārnamak, xvi, 2 (Antia), in the phrase *haē dānākān ut frazānakān* < ut > 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 ut *kundākān*. It is evidently plural here: *ka(r)hān* if the Frah. Pahl. gloss 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 is correct.

Vol. vi is occupied once more with the interpretation of Iranian legend and mythology. The data resemble pieces of a puzzle, but there is not the certainty here that all the pieces belong to the one puzzle. Myths seem ever capable of new explanations. A case in point may be noted. Whereas to Professor Herzfeld, p. 4, Vr̥agna is an Urgott, identical with Indra, the recent careful and methodical study of Renou and Benveniste (Vr̥tra et Vr̥θragna, *passim*, 1934) reaches a different conclusion. Hence the desired certainty remains unattainable. This granted, the present study has much to suggest. A general objection may be voiced: it is all too familiar that a book can be quoted to fit situations, and the more general the references, so much the more easily. Hence, adaptation of portions of the Gathas to the time of Darius by no means proves that they were originally so connected. On the theory that Zaratrustra conversed with Dārayavahuš and his father Vištāspa, it has always seemed curious that they would seem to have spoken different dialects in which not only phonology but vocabulary was distinct. The evidence we have will fit into another frame, so that this theory cannot yet be deemed proved. There is throughout the discussion a vivid sense of realia behind the words,

which awakens one's sympathy. On the particular problem discussed pp. 60 f., the land of Gōpat, a further contribution is given above in this *Bulletin*. It is clearly not yet decided.

One protest is needed. It is curious that even yet the Indianization of things Iranian should still need to be opposed. One phonetic development which is assured by later dialects independently of graphic transmission is that Iran. *uar-* corresponds to Indian *ur-*, *ūr-* (NPer. *bar*, *barra*, Skt. *uras-*, *urāna-*, Bal. *g̃arm*, Skt. *ūrmi-*, beside Avestan *varəmi-*). It is therefore regrettable to see here *Varu-kṛta-* replaced by *Uru-kṛta-* (Iran. *varu-* = Skt. *uru-*) and **ahūrta-* (taken over from Hertel) in place of *ahvarta-*. Iranian phonology cannot always be regulated to fit Indian. Saka *ysāḍaa-* "old" < **zarta-*, shows independence compared with Skt. *j̄r̄na-*, *j̄r̄ṇa* [Saka *ysīḍaa-* is to be translated "yellow", not "old" as Leumann gave, hence **zarīta-*]. In the case of the verb *par-* "fill" we find two Iranian forms (1) **parna-* attested in NPer. *siparī*, Arm. *spar* with the usual *-ar-* in a disyllabic base, (2) *prna-*, as from a monosyllabic base, in Sogd. *purn-*, *pun-*, Mid. Pers., NPer. *pur(r)*. Neither have the form of Skt. *pūr̄na* with *ū*. To p. 55: NPer. *χusrau* is unfortunately as ambiguous as the other forms quoted, since *ō* before two consonants is confused later with *u*: *ōstāt* (Georgian *ostat-i*, Mid. Pers. *'vst't*) > NPer. *ustād*, as *ōhrmazd* > *hurmuz*. To p. 58, note 1: the MS. K. has 𐭑𐭓 but Anklesaria's edition gives 𐭑𐭓 without note. Possibly TD. has only one stroke. This simplifies the reading. The etymology of *(ērān)vēj* (from **vyačah-*), p. 51, must now be abandoned in view of Benveniste's discussion, *BSOS.*, VII, 265 f., who rightly derives from the widely extended base *vaiḡ-*. To the forms there discussed must be added Arm. *vižem*.

Hefte 3-4 continue the essays to Ancient Oriental Archæology.

H. W. B.

MANICHÄISCHE HANDSCHRIFTEN DER SAMMLUNG A. CHESTER BEATTY. Band I. Manichäische Homilien herausgegeben von H. J. POLOTZKY. W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1934.

The unexpected recovery of Manichean texts in Egypt naturally aroused great expectations. A first promise of these new texts was given in the publication of a few folios with valuable introduction and commentary by Schmidt and Polotzky in *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten*, 1933. The badly preserved Codices cannot easily be prepared for the

reader. Dr. Ibscher has explained the difficulties in a foreword to this volume. Here, however, we have the first edition of texts in Chester Beatty's collection, containing 96 pages of Coptic text. The state of the pages varies greatly—at times almost complete, but again entirely fragmentary.

The contents of the present homilies comprise among other matter a sermon on "The Great War" telling of the calamities expected throughout the world, the restoration of the ekklesia of Manikhaïos, the coming of the "Great King", and of Jesus to judge, then the destruction of the world and the ascension of the beings of light to the higher world, when the Primal Man becomes King of the New Aeon. The "History of the Crucifixion" is, however, of still more particular interest. It narrates the story of the ekklesia from the death of Manikhaïos to the death of Innaïos, the second arkhēgos of the community of "Righteousness". In spite of the grievous lacunæ the story can be vividly realized, and moves steadily forward to the time when Innaïos heals the Persian king, and secures toleration for the followers of Manikhaïos. Many matters of detail are of importance. The mention of Enōkh, with the names of Sēm and Šēm on p. 68 is similar to that in the Turfan text. It is now recognized that the book of Enoch was deemed important by Manicheans also. There are also to be found additions to geographical knowledge.

The volume is finely produced. The Coptic text, in the newly cut Coptic type, faces the translation. Notes are few, but happily appropriate. The work of the editor and translator has been exacting. The folios are hard to read, and the lacunæ seriously interfere with the task of interpretation. The result, however, is a fine tribute to patient scholarship.

Further volumes are announced. A second volume will contain part of the famous Kephalaia. Subsequent Manichean researches must depend largely upon these Coptic texts, but one is happy to see that they also confirm the value of our Central Asian fragments.

H. W. B.

CODICES AVESTICI ET PAHLAVICI BIBLIOTHECAE UNIVERSITATIS
HAFNIENSIS. Vols. III, IV. The Pahlavi Codex K. 35.
Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1934.

The excellent publication of facsimiles in the series of Codices Avestici et Pahlavici, of which the two first volumes were noticed in

BSOS., VII, 704 (1934), is now continued with two further volumes containing the facsimile of the *Dātastān ī Dēnik*, the *Rivāyat* attached to it, and a second *Rivāyat*, and in vol. iv the epistles of *Manuščih*r and the *Čitakihā* of *Zātspram*, so far as these selections are preserved in the Copenhagen MS. It is well known that a fuller text of these selections exists in Bombay, of which a printed text is in my possession, through the kindness of Mr. B. N. Dhabhar.

The high standard of the first two volumes is fully maintained. They are a pleasure to use. It is hoped that further volumes of this series will soon follow.

H. W. BAILEY.

HISTOIRE DES CROISADES ET DU ROYAUME FRANC DE JÉRUSALEM.

I. L'ANARCHIE MUSULMANE ET LA MONARCHIE FRANQUE. Par RENÉ GROUSSET. pp. lxii + 698, 8vo. Paris: Plon, 1934. 60 francs.

The appearance of M. Grousset's history of the Crusades is a considerable event in this field. In mere bulk it will, when the three volumes are complete, surpass the works of all his predecessors, including even Wilken and Michelet. It is exceedingly readable (with one reserve to be mentioned later), a feat which none of them was able to achieve, and yet it finds a place for every minute detail which has been recorded in the sources. It is not a mere recital of events, but groups, analyses, interprets, explains, praises, criticizes, and arraigns before the bar of history, or in other words presents the episode of the Crusades as an organic whole, though at some expense of repetition. It takes into account the main results of critical research in the thirty-five years that have elapsed since the publication of Röhrich's classic surveys, and endeavours, in the light of M. Grousset's previous studies in Asiatic history, to assign their due weight and place to the oriental factors in the historical process.

The two last-named aspects constitute the chief merit of the book from the strictly scholastic point of view. In his history of the First Crusade and the subsequent relations of the Crusaders with the Eastern Empire, M. Grousset leans heavily (as is only natural) upon Chalandon, and his handling of the oriental materials also marks a considerable step in advance. He perceives clearly the intricate interplay between Franks, Muslims, and Armenians, the role of the latter in assisting the establishment of the Crusaders in Northern Syria being especially

well brought out. Minor details apart,¹ it may be said that *on the basis of the materials at present available to Western scholars* this part of the work could hardly have been better done. That a fairly wide field for criticism is still offered by certain of his assumptions casts no discredit upon M. Grousset, but must be laid to the charge of the deficiencies in orientalist research.² For the rest, he has made very thorough use of the historico-topographical studies of M. René Dussaud, the fruits of which are to be seen also in the series of clear and helpful maps appended to the volume.

Essentially, however, the book is not so much a detailed analytical study as a brilliant personal interpretation which, in aiming to present the history of the Crusades as an intelligible whole, takes the risk of occasionally laying itself open to criticism in detail for the sake of bringing out the broad principles, and it is rather on them that it is to be judged. It is not merely a matter of historical evaluations of successive events or phases, about which a certain difference of opinion may be expected, and even welcomed; as one may question, for example, whether M. Grousset does not exaggerate the permanent results of the battles of Dorylaeum and First Dānīth, or underestimate those of the "Ager Sanguinis". He goes much farther than this. He is vividly conscious of the French nationality of the Crusaders, regarding them in a sense as forerunners of the present French occupiers of Syria,³ and makes no attempt to conceal his sympathy towards them. He will have none of this modern notion, most strongly expressed by von Ruville, that the Crusades were magnificent but wrong, even in the milder form that they were magnificent but mistaken. It was the disaster to the Crusading forces of 1101 that turned the scale between success and failure (pp. 332-3). That a wider extension of the Latin States at the outset might only have made the struggle more bitter

¹ E.g. p. 72, the relations between Ruḍwān and Yāghī-Siyān are not correctly stated: p. 351, the capture of 'Arqa must be dated in 1109, since Ibn 'Ammār was in Tripolis until the end of March, 1108; p. 510, Ṭughtagīn captured Rafaniya from Pons, not from the lord of Ḥimṣ (see Stevenson, pp. 98 and 101); p. 574, Balak b. Ortuq was not the governor of al-Athārib; p. 581, Il-Ghāzi is not "le Ghāzi"; p. 597, the Egyptian attack on Jaffa was actually inspired by Ṭughtagīn. M. Grousset does not seem to have used Stevenson's *The Crusaders in the East* (Camb., 1907), which would have been of service to him in regard to many points of fact and interpretation.

² See, for a fuller statement, my article "Notes on the Arabic Materials for the History of the Early Crusades" in another part of this number.

³ Even going so far as to draw a direct and provocative parallel between Baldwin's colonization of Jerusalem by local Christians from Transjordan with the settlement of Armenians in Bairut by the French High Commissioner (p. 286).

and prolonged, without affecting the ultimate issue, does not enter into his calculations, and each successive check to the Crusaders receives the comment of a *malheureusement*.

Into certain other features of his exposition it is rather the province of the Western medievalist to inquire; as, for example, the very strong emphasis laid on the evolution of the monarchy, and the recurring indictment of "Crusading demagogy". There are, however, two features in M. Grousset's selection and handling of the Western sources which force themselves upon the attention of every reader. In that perpetual struggle, familiar to all medievalists, between the conscience of the historian and the more romantic pages of the chroniclers, he has tried to make the most of both. Without allowing his narrative to divagate too widely from the path traced out by strict criticism, he is obviously more attracted to the lively and picturesque detail of Albert of Aix than to the plain matter-of-fact, not to say pedantic, chronicle of Fulcher, and many of his most expansive episodes are little more than transcriptions of the former (the Transjordan raid [p. 250]; the negotiations of Bohemond and Ghāzī [pp. 397-9]; Baldwin's interview with Tancred at Edessa [pp. 451-3]; Baldwin's reception of Adelaide [pp. 300-1]; besides other details, e.g. for the siege of Sidon in 1108 [pp. 253-4]). A more questionable proceeding is his practice of quoting William of Tyre, not in the sober original (except occasionally in the footnotes), but in the romanced medieval French version known as *L'Estoire de Eracles*. This looks like a surrender to mere picturesqueness, and though it may strengthen the French atmosphere of the story, it seems difficult to justify on any grounds. Moreover, the constant jerking of the reader from the language of the twentieth century to the crabbed idiom of the thirteenth and back again, with the minimum of exposition, is disconcerting (to say the least), and likely seriously to diminish the interest and pleasure of the book, at least to readers outside France.

H. A. R. G.

LE MESSAGE DU PARDON D'ABOU'L 'ALA DE MAARRA. By M. S. MEÏSSA. sm. 8vo, pp. iv + 204. Paris: Geuthner, 1932. Fr. 20.

Abu'l-'Alā's *Risālat al-Ghufṛān*, reintroduced to the learned world by Professor Nicholson some thirty years ago, has enjoyed a considerable vogue in Oriental circles since Professor Asin Palacios attributed to it some influence in inspiring the *Divina Commedia*. This somewhat adventitious interest has latterly tended to obscure the real importance

of the work, unique in Arabic literature, and distinguished both by its qualities of style and language and by the audacity of its episodes. M. Meïssa has made an attempt to adapt the book to the taste of a wider circle of readers in an abridged translation or analytical summary, omitting all the philological discussions engaged in by the denizens of Abu'l-'Alā's paradise, and adding numerous explanatory passages in the text. Since most oriental works of literature must either be presented in some such modified form or else remain unread and unknown to the educated public, this version is welcome; although the explanatory passages, inserted as they are without any indication to some extent interfere with the sequence of the narrative. A brief but good account of the author and an interpretation of the work in the form of a preface add to the value of the book.

H. A. R. G.

POLEMICS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE FATIMI CALIPHS. By Prince P. H. MAMOUR. 8vo, pp. 231. London: Luzac and Co., 1934. 15s.

The author of this ingenious piece of special pleading has rendered a doubtful service to the cause which he defends. In face of the statements made in the *Fihrist*, written in 988, and in al-Bērūnī's *Chronology*, written in 1000, he maintains that "no historian before 1011 wrote anything derogatory about the Fatimis' descent"; an awkward remark in Ṭabarī's history (iii, 2218) is discounted on absurd grounds as an interpolation; the conflicting statements as to the genealogy actually claimed by the Fāṭimīs are met by an involved and unconvincing argument on copyists' errors and substitution of names; and in order to make a case he is forced to the untenable conclusion that Muḥammad b. Ismā'il and Maimūn al-Qaddāḥ are the same person—untenable because, as Professor Massignon has shown in the article "Ḳarṃaṭians" in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (unfortunately overlooked by the author), Maimūn and his son 'Abdallāh are well-attested historical figures in early Shi'ite biographies. All these, together with a host of other points—some major, like the bland ignoring of historical realities in the remarks on the Caliphate on pp. 13-14, some minor, like the confusion of Jamāl ad-Dīn Ibn Wāṣil with Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Halabī on p. 188—destroy any confidence in the substance of the argument. Yet, for all these serious defects, something perhaps remains to the good. The examination reveals the hollowness of several arguments employed by anti-Fāṭimid propagandists (e.g. the good disproof of the story that 'Ubadallāh was

impersonated at Sijilmāsa by a Jewish servant), and the arguments for the official genealogy are set out for the first time. To this extent the book helps to clear the ground.

H. A. R. G.

KITĀB AL-MURSHID FI'L-KUHL (LE GUIDE D'OCULISTIQUE) de Muḥammad b. Qassūm AL-GHĀFIQĪ. Translated from the unique MS. by MAX MEYERHOF. 4to, pp. 225. Barcelona, 1933.

TUḤFAT AL-AḤBĀB (GLOSSAIRE DE LA MATIÈRE MÉDICALE MAROCAINE). Edited and translated by H. P. J. RENAUD and G. S. COLIN. 8vo, pp. xxxv + 218 + v o. Paris: Geuthner, 1934. Fr. 150.

AD-DASTŪR AL-BĪMĀRISTĀNĪ (LE FORMULAIRE DES HÔPITAUX) d'IBN ABI'L-BAYĀN. Edited by PAUL SBATH. 8vo, pp. 80. Cairo: Inst. français, 1933.

Three medical works, each of which in its own way illustrates the virtues and the defects of "Arabian" medicine. The first, produced in unusually sumptuous form and containing a translation of the ophthalmological section of a Spanish-Arabic work of the twelfth century, presents a remarkable picture of the advanced state of Muslim ophthalmological science ("Il faut descendre jusqu'au début du dix-huitième siècle—remarks Dr. Meyerhof—pour rencontrer, enfin, . . . un progrès notable laissant derrière lui les productions des Arabes"), but itself does little more than copy the ophthalmological treatises of the tenth and eleventh centuries at Baghdad. It would be an impertinence to praise Dr. Meyerhof's translation, which is completed by an excellent glossary of technical terms and index.

The second, a Moroccan work of the seventeenth century, already twice translated into French from an imperfect text, shows the extreme conservatism of the Arabic writers on *Materia Medica*, differing as it does from its classical Arabic and even Greek predecessors mainly by substituting accessible substances for those no longer available. Since it offers, in consequence, "less a list of synonyms than a glossary of *sucedanea*," its linguistic interest is greater than its medical importance, and the translators, besides giving an improved text based on the collation of four MSS., have supplied under each word a valuable repertory of philological and botanical notes.

The third is a manual of prescriptions for use in the famous infirmary of Cairo by a Jewish physician of the twelfth century, and long remained a popular work. Unfortunately, Father Sbath has confined

himself to editing the text from an MS. of 1469 in his own possession, and it appears to be a very poor one. As there is no MS. of the work in the British Museum, it has not been possible to test this directly, but the fact emerges in the first place from the many emendations which he has thought necessary to make in the text (sometimes rather arbitrarily), and in the second place by a comparison of the prescriptions which it contains with the same prescriptions in the work of al-Ghāfiqī. Thus of two famous recipes for collyria, the "Basilikon" (Sbath 53-4, Ghāfiqī 28) is quite different in the two versions, and in the "Rūshanā'ī" (S. 53, Gh. 95) the former omits several ingredients and confuses the weights in consequence. Similar variations are found in the recipes for pastilles, sternutatories, etc. Some of these are undoubtedly to be explained by differences of practice, but in many instances they are clearly due to the carelessness of the copyist, and render the value of this edition of the text very questionable.

H. A. R. G.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES ISLAMIQUES. Publiée sous la direction de L. MASSIGNON. Tome VII (Année 1933), 4 cahiers, pp. 645. Paris : Geuthner. Subscription price 100 francs per annum.

The present volume assembles, like its predecessors, a valuable and extensive documentation on a wide variety of subjects relating to the modern Islamic world. The study of the judicial institutions of North-West Africa is continued by the re-issue (with facsimiles) of the *qānūns* of the Kabyles of Algeria studied by Hanoteau and Letourneux between 1859 and 1868 (1-44) and the conclusion of M. Paul Marty's exposition of the civil law administered in Morocco (185-294).

Egypt and the Middle East figure more largely than in former volumes. Professor Massé presents a full *compte-rendu* of the Second Congress of Muslim Women, held at Tehran in 1932, translated from the Persian journal *Īrān* (45-142), and in a later part adds the translation of the Resolutions passed at the First Congress, held at Damascus in 1930, and the additional resolutions passed at Tehran (417-423). The value of such a report, despite its official tone, needs no emphasizing and it is to be hoped that it may be supplemented in due course by an analytic study of the movement in its general aspects. The same remark applies also to M. Henri Laoust's *Introduction to a Study of Arabic Education in Egypt* (301-352), which practically confines itself to an historical description of the syllabuses in the schools and institutions for higher education, exclusive of al-Azhar.

The analytic method is more in evidence, on the other hand, in a survey of the political and social evolution of the "Arab countries", Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and Arabia, by M. Louis Jovelet, to which the whole of the fourth part (426-645) is devoted. This article is of special interest as the first attempt at a systematic presentation, on the basis of an immense number of reported events, rumours, and expressions of points of view, of their currents of opinion and trends of social development since 1930. The extreme complexity of the factors now in operation and of the conflict of ideals is well brought out, as well as the limitations of the intelligentsia and poverty of the economic and technical equipment of these lands. In signaling "la désordre de la pensée" as the true weakness politically of the present-day Orient, M. Jovelet undoubtedly puts his finger on the spot; on the other hand, he is equally right in insisting that criticism shall take into account "les intentions profondes des Orientaux, plus que les résultats, encore modestes, de leurs entreprises". The violent post-war economic transformations and the effects of the intervention of Zionism are only sketched in briefly, but their importance is underlined. In such a survey as this the noisy are apt to get more attention than they deserve, and some allowance must be made for this. Moreover, in what may possibly be the only review of this meritorious article in an English journal, one ought not perhaps to allow certain statements and prejudgments in the exposition of British policy to pass unchallenged, though without questioning Mr. Jovelet's sincerity.¹ But to put matters on a broader ground, it may be questioned whether, in a scientific study whose business it is to keep close to primary materials, it is justifiable to introduce political judgments which are necessarily based on secondhand and imperfect information.

M. Joseph Castagné's article on "Le problème du Turkestan chinois" (153-184), exceedingly interesting in itself, suffers to some extent from the same kind of defect, being based entirely on Russian

¹ In matters of detail, M. Jovelet shows some surprising inaccuracies, e.g. : p. 441, n. 1—the Indian air-route does not touch Masqat; p. 444, n. 1—of the three facts adduced to support a statement in the text, all are misapplied: the Archbishop of Canterbury's visit was in a purely private capacity during convalescence from an illness (M. Jovelet evidently does not read the Church of England journals!), the Y.M.C.A. building was the gift of an American citizen, and the Arab College gives its instruction by Arab teachers in Arabic throughout; p. 491, n. 4—Mr. Philby would doubtless be surprised to find himself described as "représentant officieux de la G.B. auprès d'Ibn Séoud".

and English newspaper reports, uncontrolled by direct personal contact. (A more recent account of the same events by an anonymous eye-witness from Hami will be found in the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* for January, 1934.)

The remaining articles consist of the first part of a summarized translation of 'Alī 'Abdarrāziq's work on the Caliphate, which resulted in the exclusion of the author from his religious office on its publication in 1925, and is now made available to European readers for the first time (353-390); a translation of a short article by the late Professor Barthold (295-300) on the little-known sect of the Marwāniya of Chitral and Kanjut, in which he expresses the hope that English investigators will make a further study of this group on the spot; some extracts bearing on the medieval history of Aleppo, translated by M. Jean Sauvaget from an MS. of Ibn al-'Adīm's *Bughyat at-Talab* in Istanbul (391-409); a note on the transcription of Kurdish in the Russian Armenian character (411-15); and a note on the history and administration of the Zāwiya of Sīdī Ben Ashīr at Salé by M. Marty (143-152).

H. A. R. GIBB.

PERSIENS MYSTIKER DSCHELÁL-EDDIN RUMI. Eine Stildeutung in drei Vorträgen von Gustav Richter. 8°, 77 pp. Breslau 1933. 6s.

As the title indicates the author in his lectures proposes to study the poetical style of Jalāl ad-dīn's didactic and lyric works. With the aid of some passages of sufficient length Dr. Richter tries to penetrate into the connection of the images as they come up to illustrate the intricate line of mystic reasoning moving out of Time and Space. The author's observations (cf. pp. 39-49) are evidently the result of a close study of the texts quoted by him, but his own style is unfortunately very remote from simplicity and only a privileged few will be able to appreciate the subtleties of his "causeries". He himself admits that "it lay far from him to say in a popular way things which obviously must remain protected (geschützt) if they are to be understood in a strict order according to the highest exigency of the cognoscent spirit (erkennender Geist)". Just an example of the authors' conclusions (p. 64):—"Unter mystischer Poesie ist bei Rumi ein literarischer Typus zu verstehen der die religiösen Gegenstände in einer bestimmten, rhythmisch veranlassten, ästhetischen Anschauung enthüllt und zum Zweck einer charakteristisch-psychischen Haltung der teilnehmenden Gesellschaft umdeutet."

Strained through the filter of a foreign tongue it means:—"Under mystic Poetry in Rumi's (work) must be understood a literary type which reveals religious subjects in a certain aesthetic conception, conditioned rhythmically, and retells them in view of a characteristically psychic attitude of the society partaking (in the intercourse)." A further development of this painstaking formula is still less easy to assimilate.

V. M.

ENGLAND'S QUEST OF EASTERN TRADE. BY SIR W. FOSTER. The Pioneer Histories. pp. 355. London: A. and C. Black, 1933. 15s.

This history of English trade with the East is the history of the initiation of the British Empire. This important and engrossing subject has been treated with great skill by the author who, as president of the Hakluyt Society and former historiographer to the India Office, had exceptional qualifications for handling the annals of English enterprise. The materials were surely available in a handy form in such great collections as Hakluyt's *Purchas's*, etc., but the graphic presentation of this mass of facts required the mastery of a great expert.

Very interesting are the chapters on Persia (1, 2, 3, 7, 17, 30, and 31) which give a complete picture of the English efforts to establish trade with that country. First, by a roundabout way through the White Sea and Russia, in the hope of the eventual extension of operations even to India ("The Moscow Co." incorporated by a charter signed on 6th February, 1555). Then by competing with the other nations in the Eastern Mediterranean ports ("The Levant Co." founded on 11th September, 1581). Then finally carrying the trade into the Persian Gulf as a further development of the activities of the East India Co., or more precisely of its Surat factory (towards 1619, and definitely since 1622). The possibility of a revival of the first route (in a modified form) was debated down to 1914: the Persian Gulf (now connected with Europe through Suez) still retains its importance, but the war and the subsequent development of motor and air traffic have created an entirely new situation on the Syrian and Palestinian seaboard, and on the ways first explored by the Levant Co.

It would be a great help for the general reader if in the subsequent editions of this excellent book the author laid more stress on the general needs of England's commerce, both as regards exports and

imports, and added some explanations as to the political situation and interests of the countries through which, and with which, the pioneers opened up trade in the sixteenth century.

V. M.

A CHRONICLE OF THE EARLY SAFAWĪS BEING THE AḤSANŪ'T-TAWĀRĪKH of ḤASAN-I RŪMLŪ. Vol. II (English translation). Translated by C. N. SEDDON. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXIX. Baroda, 1934.

Mr. Seddon's edition of the Persian text of the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* was reviewed in this *Bulletin*, VII, 2, 1934, pp. 449-455. The English "concise translation" is a welcome supplement to the original text, full, as it is, of facts, dates, and names. Mr. Seddon was certainly right in throwing overboard all the tedious embellishments, bombastic titles, similes, and verses, but here and there his translation looks more like a résumé and some useful details have been omitted in it. I take at random p. 3, where the alternate name of the Aq-dagh (چيچاكلو Chichäklü) is left out; p. 97, "3,000 horse," left out *الچين پوش "clad in cuirasses" (?), cf. text, p. 462, جنود الله حيان, probably for *اللهجينان; p. 195, left out the mention that Dubāj was killed. In the description of Lepanto "three hundred ships" correspond to *kashī-hā-yi bisyār* of the original; the name of Don Juan left out under its disguise (see previous review); p. 205, after *Khānashīr* (as the name is now pronounced) the stage of *Tütünsiz* has been omitted; p. 208. Shāh Tahmāsp "thought all things unclean and often he would spit out [*add*: into the fire, or water] what he was eating"; the detail about the fire is unexpected for popular practices. The following translation (*ibid.*) casts an unmerited aspersion on the Shāh: "when he drank, he drank to excess. He would dissolve nearly 500 tomans' worth of opium in water." The text (p. 489), on the contrary, says that "he was extremely particular about not drinking wine and he [once?] dissolved in water (i.e. destroyed) nearly 500 tomans' worth of opium"; p. 214, "Howbeit, many Ghāzīs, who had dismounted were killed." It is interesting to know that they had dismounted in order to cut off the heads of the enemies بواسطة بریدن سر and the situation is not clear without the detail that the Ottomans counter-attacked the Ghāzīs. Consequently the readers of the translation will not be able to dispense altogether with the original.

The translation (pp. 1-214) is followed by extensive "historical and general" notes (pp. 215-301) containing much valuable information culled out of such palmary sources as the *Zafar-nāma*, the *Habīb al-siyar*, the *Sharaf-nāma*, the *Jahān-ārā*, the *Bābur-nāma*, the *Ta'rikkh-i Gīlān* (by 'Abd al-Fattāh Fūmini), the *Āthār-i 'Ajam*, the *Ta'rikkh-i Rashīdī*, the *Ālam-ārā*, the *Haft-Iqlīm*, and the less known *Lubb al-tawārīkh*, *Ta'rikkh-i Qipchāqkhānī* (1137 A.H.), *Ta'rikkh-i badī'a*, Shāh Tahmāsp's *farmān* dated 1194 A.H. (see p. 272), the *Travels in Central Asia* by Mir 'Izzatullāh (1812), etc. The commentator does not use the *Encyclopædia of Islam* which would have rendered him service for many events and places. On the other hand the works of Charmoy and Barbier de Meynard can no more be quoted with confidence as regards details.

p. 271 (*ad* 136). The Governor of Dizfūl 'Ala al-daula-yi Ismā'ilī, or Ra'nāshī, mentioned under 948 A.H., did not belong to the family of the Musha'sha' which ruled in Ḥuwaiza and of which the then ruler was Sajjād ibn Bakrān (not Sajjādīn), see W. Caskel's interesting articles "Ein Mahdi des XV. Jahrhunderts" in *Islamica*, iv, 1, 1929, pp. 78-93, and "Die Wālis von Huwezah", *ibid.*, vi, 4, 1934, pp. 415-434. According to the *Tadhkira-yi Shūshtar*, p. 35, Shaikh Muhammad Ra'nāshī was the son of the teacher of the Musha'sha' princes, and he instigated Shāh Ismā'il to kill them. 'Alā al-daula was a grandson of his. [The name Ra'nāsh is not in Yāqūt's dictionary, but the *Ālam-ārā*, 72, says it was a village in the region of Dizfūl]. Contrary to my previous supposition, the family of the Mar'ashī sayyids (in Māzandarān and Shūshtar) must be distinguished from the Ra'nāshī family.

p. 289-290 (*ad* 194 and 196). Under the year 979 (26.v.1571-13.v.1572) in the description of the destruction of Moscow by the khan of the Crimea it is hardly right to translate *wālī*, both with regard to the khan and the tsar, by the word "governor", whereas it means *ruler*. *ایوان بلبه* (or *بمکه*) is [Prince] Ivan Belski. *قلو موله* = Kolomna? Under the events of 980, Ivan the Terrible is called in the original *Kinnāz* [Russian *kniaz* "prince"] *Ivan*, known as *Ulugh Beg* [usual Turkish title "Great Prince" of Russian Tsars]. The place of the Russian victory was on the river Lopasnia, of which name *ستنا* or *شتنا* seems to reproduce the second part (Soloviev, *History of Russia*, vol. v, ch. 5).

p. 293 (*ad* 204). The state prison of Qahqaha lay certainly west of

Ardabil, probably in Qaraja-dagh for the garrison consisted of the men of that district, and it took Ismā'il two days to arrive from Qahqaha at Yāft (on the Qara-su).

In the previous review attention had been drawn to the difficulty connected with the transcription of Turkish names. The Indian tradition which the translator invokes in his Preface is very often faulty and needs a drastic overhauling. Raverty, without compunction wrote *Altamsh* instead of *Il-tutmish*, but we cannot nowadays acquiesce in p. 2, *Vīrmash* for *Vermish*; p. 11, *Guzil* for *Güzel*, or rather *Gözül* (so in Persian Turkoman dialects); p. 41, *Qapalan* for *Qaplan*, and *Qaytams* for *Qayitmas*; p. 63, *Artughral* for *Er-Tughril*; p. 74, *Bīghlu* for *Biyighlu*; p. 109, *Urkamz* for *Orkmāz* "he does not get frightened, does not shy", and *Ulma* for *Ulama*, or perhaps *Ülämä* (for the *alif* in *اولامه*, as in many Turkish names, may be only a *mater lectionis*); p. 112, *Ughalan* for *Oghlan* and *Ughali* (!) for *Oghli*; *Aqcha Siqal* for *Saqal* "greyish beard"; p. 134, *Qarāwālī* for *Qarāvūlī* (from *qara'ul* "sentry"); p. 183, *Ūr Khān* for *Orkhan*; p. 294, *Sulaq* ("watered") for *Solaq* ("left-handed, or archer"). All the names like *سلطانم خاتم* must be read *khanum*, *sultanum*, with Turkish *-um* "my" as attested by the contemporary travellers, such as Olearius. pp. 8 and 9, *musammāt* is no personal name, but means simply "the above mentioned".

The geographical names, especially in Northern Persia, Transcaucasia, and Armenia, written in unsuitable Arabic script, cannot be read unless known beforehand. Many of them ought to be checked: p. 2, *Bughrū* read *Baghran* pronounced *Baghrow*; *Gurgān* probably *Kargān* (village in Tālish); *Dunyā Chār* very probably *Dīnāchār*; p. 5, *City of Sabz* read *Shahr-i Sabz* "Green City"; p. 12, *Qizil-Uzun* read *Qizil-Uzān* ("Red River", as confirmed by Mongol *Hulan-Mören* in the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*); p. 102, *Sarū-Qumish* read *Qamish* ("Yellow Reeds", not "Yellow Silver" (p. 259) for "silver" is *gümüsh*); p. 157, *Kūkar Chang* read *Gügärchin* ("Pigeon Castle"); p. 112 (163), *زاویه کرخ*—there are no *K.rkh* in that part of Persia, but several *Karaj* *کرج*; p. 135, *Bärgüşat* (lies on the Kur, downstream from Ganja); p. 136, *Uskūya*; p. 138, *Saraband*, between Burūjird and Sultāniya; p. 145, *Khunāliq* read *Khinabūq*; p. 143, *Zakam* and *Giram* = Dzaghn [better than Dzegam, of which place I first thought] and Gremi; p. 145, *Qītaq* read *Qaytaq* (west of Darband);

p. 147 (275). *Fīlān* is the village east of Shakī *Filiflan* < *Fīl-i Fīlān* (very important for the identification of an ancient people); p. 149, *Chāpni* Turcomans; p. 155, دوايلى *Dāv-eli* "the country of Dāv (Dāo), most probably *Tao* on the upper Chorokh, not *Dāvālū* (p. 277) near Erivan, which lay entirely outside Quarquaré's dominions; p. 157, read *Tergever* and *Mergever*; p. 205. *Yāfat*, read *Yāft*; *Urshaq*, read *Arshaq*; *Chaman-i Sarū Qumish* read *Saru Qamish* (cf. above); *Chaman-i miyana-i qubba* read "he pitched the dome (*qubba*) of his tent on the meadow of *Miyāna*; p. 210, *Pilangān* read *Palangān*.

It would have been a great convenience if on the margin of the translation were found references to the pages of the original, and if the book had an index. Even now the publication of an index incorporating the necessary corrections of names would be highly desirable. Only then, for example, would the conspicuous role played in contemporary politics by each separate Turkish tribe be evident.

But Mr. Seddon has already put his readers under a great obligation by facilitating the use of the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*. Particularly the historians will be thankful to him for freeing them from purely philological cares.

On p. 141 (trans. p. 66) *Hasan-i Rūmlū* mentioned vol. vi of his history. This part, supposed to be lost, has happily been rediscovered among the Leningrad MSS. by Dr. Hinz (Berlin) who is going to write on its contents. Meanwhile he has published an able essay on the reign of Ismā'il II. *M.S.O.S.*, xxxvi (1933), pp. 19-100, in which he has utilized the text of vol. vii edited by Mr. Seddon.

P.S.—The word غفجیال which puzzled me in my first review is surely Persian " (horse) with a long mane ". On the other hand for the word *olum* I find a confirmation in Ch. Marvin's book on the Russian campaign against the Akhal Tekke Turcomans, 1880, p. 112: " We reached the ferry of Goodri Oloum, on the River Atrek. The word *Oloum* means a ferry, or crossing. As the banks of the Atrek are steep and precipitous every locality offering a descent to a ford has appended to its name the word *Oloum*."

V. M.

A HISTORY OF THE GEORGIAN PEOPLE. By W. E. D. ALLEN, with an introduction by Sir DENISON ROSS. 429 pp. London: Kegan Paul, 1932. 31s. 6d.

Mr. Allen is a very able writer and his gift of creative imagination is clearly attested in his presentation of the Caucasian geography (chaps. i and v), the entertaining and penetrating comparison of Georgian and Irish national features, the antithesis of the hedonistic Georgians and the "martyr" Armenians (pp. 71-4), etc. Mr. Allen has been captivated by the lovable traits of the Georgian character, but his natural sympathy has not rendered him blind, and when necessary he is not afraid of stating the more bitter part of the truth (pp. 103, 105, 164, 170, 187, 282-8, 332, 347, 349, 356).

As the motto of his historical part the author has adopted Spengler's saying: "Nature is to be handled scientifically, History poetically." We know how often such a flippant discrimination between "historical spade-work" and "historical vision" leads to a substitution of Politics for History. In Mr. Allen's case the doubtful principle entails no particular harm for his Books II and III chiefly resume the data of Brosset's amazing "spade-work" *Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Petersburg, 1849-57. He does it certainly with his usual talent, suffice to quote his short but excellent comparative characteristics of the two Davids, homonymous friends and co-regents of the Mongol times (p. 114). Only occasionally the natural facility of the author's pen leads him to some affectation (p. 181, the phrase about "the South Sea Bubble").

For the early period of Georgian history no trace of utilization of J. Marquart's essential works is found in the book, and it is a pity that the author, who was helped by Georgian scholars, could not acquaint his readers with the results of the general overhaul of the Georgian history by the greatest living authority Professor Javakhishvili (Tiflis).

The historical part stops at the moment of the incorporation of Georgia in the Russian Empire in 1801. Here is not the place to discuss the controversial theory about the exact juridical qualification of this historical event. Speaking of the treaty of 1783 by which King Irakli acknowledged Russian sovereignty Mr. Allen very soberly (p. 210) attaches more importance to "the blank reality of the position into which Irakli, by force of circumstances, had been compelled"¹

¹ Already in 1563 when A. Jenkinson was in Shamākha he received a message from the King of Georgia who, sorely harassed by both Turks and Persians, was desirous of securing the Tsar's aid, and Jenkinson encouraged him to send an envoy to Moscow.

than to the subsequent interpretation of the obligations contracted. However Mr. Allen once occasionally (p. 315) uses the term "Russian conquest" which is not supported by the facts. For the sake of historical completeness the author ought to say a word about the negotiations having preceded the changes in 1801. King Georgi's instructions to his plenipotentiaries sent to St. Petersburg (dated 7th September, 1799) ran as follows: "Place my kingdom and my possessions . . . not under the protection of the Imperial throne but give it to Its full power . . . so that henceforth the kingdom of Georgia should occupy within the Russian Empire the same position as the other provinces of Russia." In the note presented by the Georgian plenipotentiaries in April 1801 it is said: "The nobles, clergy and people of Georgia desire once for ever . . . to become subjects of the Great Russian Empire acknowledging the Emperor of all Russias as their own inborn (*prirodny*) Sovereign and Autocrat" etc. Apropos of the Russian affairs, it would be just that in chapter xxvi ("The slave trade; decline of the population") be mentioned art. 23 of the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1774 by which the Sublime Porte took an obligation with regard to Georgia and Mingrelia "solemnly and forever to renounce the tribute of young boys and girls". Equally (p. 183) the author speaking of Peter the Great says: "The uncouth bully had more genius than all his successors who for the next two centuries gloomed upon his Will." One cannot let this occasion pass without expressing a pious wish that the story of the famous Will—a notorious forgery of Napoleonic times and no more quoted by historians—should finally cease to be mentioned *en passant* as an axiom.

Book IV ("The People and the Power") which as the author says was completely "revised and recast" by a collaborator of his, is in fact a direct résumé of Professor Javakhishvili's *History of Georgian Law* (as shown by Mr. Avalishvili in the *Slavonic Review*, July 1933, p. 225). However the fact remains that in this part of the book the original author's wide erudition has now become available in a Western tongue. The facts are new and interesting.

Geography, History, and occasionally Politics, are the best parts of Mr. Allen's work. He had evidently more difficulties in dealing with Literature, Religion (p. 206: "the vastness of the influence enjoyed by the Churches during the Middle Ages . . . is a monument to the credulity, to the intellectual laziness and to the pathetic kindness of the human mind"). Art. and even Archæology. In the absence

of responsible ground-works on such subjects it is an ambitious enterprise to reconstruct a general picture out of scrappy European materials hardly admitting of an integration. A few pages on the positive characteristics of the Georgian language would be welcome to a general reader who, on the contrary, will only be baffled by the doubtful passages on the derivation of Caucasian names (pp. 21-32, 368-9) which are far from representing accepted views. Mr. Allen's transcription of Georgian names does not reflect the essential opposition of Georgian aspirates and ejectives (p^h, p' , t^h, t' , k^h, k' , etc.) but is sufficient for a general reader.

At the end of the book (pp. 359-393) are found Bibliographical notes with many valuable indications, especially of the present-day literature in Russian and Georgian. However this Bibliography is by far not so thorough as for instance that of H. F. B. Lynch's *Armenia*, and not devoid of omissions and misunderstandings: (p. 373: G. Khalatyantz (not *J. Kalatyantz*!) published his work on the Armenian Arshakids not in the *Trudy Vost. Otdeleniya* but in the *Trudy Lazarevskago Instituta*; p. 390: Yāqūt is called "Yakuti, ibn Abd 'Allah (el-Bakuli)", with an evident confusion of Abū 'Abdallah Yāqūt (13th century) with 'Abd al-Rashīd al-Yākūtī al-Bākuwī (15th century).

The book is beautifully illustrated; most interesting are the drawings of the Italian priest Castelli (17th century), which the Biblioteca Comunale of Palermo has so unselfishly allowed the author to reproduce. One is sorry not to find in the book any particulars about Castelli and his still unedited manuscript. The maps are very helpful and to prepare them Mr. Allen must have gone to a good deal of trouble.

There are many slips throughout the text, both in spelling and in matter. To quote only some examples:—

p. 15. There are no proofs for the Aryan origin of the Urartian dynasty and aristocracy. p. 17. The names KURD and KARDUCHOI since Nöldeke have been treated separately. p. 30. Azov < Turk. *Azay* is a late name having nothing to do with Ās (Ossets). p. 62. The Tushes are not "Georgian" mountaineers. p. 63. Her (in Kakhetia) as a survival of Harri of the Hittite inscription is not supported by any evidence. p. 64. Armenian names given in the misleading western form; Hübschmann's special work on Armenian toponymy ought to have been consulted. p. 65. The Persian Arsacids fell in A.D. 224, not in the 4th century. p. 66. *M.sq.t.* is probably to be

read *Masqut* (not Maskrat !). p. 119. Arghun was the nephew (not the uncle) of Abagha. p. 120. It is hardly accurate to call Öljeytü and Abū Saʿīd "petty Muslim rulers". p. 136. The caption of the picture seems to be wrong. p. 160. From Yedikulé one does not see Thrace ! p. 168. Read : Iskandar *Munshī* instead of the irritating *Munji*. p. 185. Okzakov, read : *Oczakov* (pronounce Ochakov) ! p. 185. Russians did not struggle in Māzandarān ! p. 190. Kara-Kaituk, read : *Qaraqaytaq*. p. 327. "Shulaverdian" battle-axes is a mistake ; Masʿūdī, *Muruj al-dhahab*, II, 75 (not I, 461) refers not to the town of Shulaveri but to the people Siyāwurdiya, in Armenian *Sēvordikh* who lived in the neighbourhood of Shamkhal, etc.

However to write a perfect book on Caucasian lands is still an impossibility. Who among the living authorities would be equally at home in the three fields composing Transcaucasia, namely Georgia, Armenia, and Muslim territories, (to say nothing of Ciscaucasia !). We must not therefore stint our applause to the author on his achievement. He has produced a book in which in a convenient, and often eloquent, form a great number of recondite facts have been popularized. If used with due caution the book will render services even to scholars.

V. MINORSKY.

THE BOOK OF INSTRUCTION IN THE ELEMENTS OF THE ART OF ASTROLOGY. By ABŪ'L-RAYḤĀN MUḤAMMAD IBN AḤMAD AL-BĪRŪNĪ. Written in Ghaznah. A.D. 1029. Reproduced from Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 8349. The Translation facing the Text by R. RAMSAY WRIGHT. pp. xviii + 333 + 333 + 8. London : Luzac & Co., 1934. £2 2s.

Le présent volume contient une première édition du *k.al-tafhīm* de Bērūnī dont les bibliothèques occidentales et orientales possèdent nombre de manuscrits et qui avait été, il y a plus de 25 ans, brièvement analysé par E. Wiedemann. Il faut savoir gré au regretté R. Ramsay Wright d'avoir mis tant de soins à la traduction et à l'explication de ce texte capital et de l'avoir rendu accessible à l'intérêt des lecteurs. En fait, le *k.al-tafhīm* appartient à la longue série d'ouvrages du grand savant qu'est Bērūnī et nous fait connaître un nouveau côté de son vaste esprit. On y trouve l'ébauche de toutes les idées que Bērūnī a traitées dans ses autres livres déjà connus. Un chapitre

entier (§§ 269-323) contient un exposé de la chronologie (cf. *al-âthâr al-bâqiya*, éd. Sachau), un autre (§§ 324-346) donne une description de l'astrolabe (cf. *k.al-isti'âb*, Brockelmann, i, 476, no. 6).¹ Les références nombreuses ayant trait à la terminologie mathématique et astronomique indoue appartiennent au domaine que Bêrûnî a traité dans son livre sur l'Inde ; enfin l'excellente classification des matières qui n'a pas de pareille dans les livres qui traitent du même sujet, rappelle la disposition du *k.al-şaydana*² et du *k.jamâhir al-jawâhir*.³ Sans doute les points de contact avec le *Qânûn Mas'ûdî*, œuvre capitale de Bêrûnî qui attend encore son éditeur, ne sont pas moins nombreux.

Avec tout cela le *k.al-tafhîm* possède un caractère particulier. C'est un manuel qui ne prétend pas donner les résultats de recherches nouvelles, mais veut exposer d'une façon systématique et condensée toutes les données d'une science. L'objet principal du livre est l'astrologie, mais pour fournir les bases à cette science Bêrûnî trouve nécessaire de traiter en détail les principes fondamentaux d'autres disciplines telles que la géométrie, l'arithmétique, l'astronomie, la géographie physique et la chronologie. Les problèmes de chaque discipline sont traités sous la forme de questions et de réponses. J'ose dire que l'exposé de Bêrûnî est le plus clair et le plus lucide et qu'il sera désormais un manuel indispensable à tous ceux qui cherchent des renseignements quelconques dans ce domaine de la science musulmane.

Le texte du *k.al-tafhîm* pose un problème délicat que l'éditeur a essayé de résoudre dans la préface. À côté de la recension arabe il en existe une autre en persan. Celle-ci n'est pas une simple traduction du texte arabe ; elle en diffère souvent et est caractérisée par nombre d'additions. Il semble que cette traduction amplifiée est due à Bêrûnî lui-même. Car autrement les variantes ne se laissent pas expliquer. Notons que le texte du *k.al-şaydana* existe également en arabe et en persan ; cependant dans ce dernier cas la traduction persane est très abrégée.

R. Ramsay Wright a reproduit le texte d'après le beau manuscrit Brit. Mus. Or. 8349, daté de l'an 839 de l'Hégire. Dans les notes qui accompagnent la traduction il mentionne les variantes importantes

¹ Au mss. cités par Brockelmann il faut ajouter : Téhéran, medjless, no. 150 et Br. Mus. Or. 5593.

² Cf. M. Meyerhof, *Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Bêrûnî* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin III 3, Berlin, 1932). Cf. *OLZ*. 1934, 537-541.

³ Cf. Fr. Krenkow, *Islamic Culture*, vi, 4 (1932), 528 suiv. et *ibid.*, vii, 3 (1933), 464 suiv.

des autres mss. et notamment de la version persane. Comme il le dit dans la préface, la traduction a été faite primitivement sur le texte persan, et malgré la collation avec le manuscrit arabe reproduit nombre d'incohérences ont subsisté. Ce procédé n'est pas trop heureux et ne facilite pas le contrôle de la traduction. Les divergences entre le texte et la traduction anglaise sont souvent très grandes (cf. p. ex. p. 164, § 272) et à maint endroit on se demande si la traduction suit le texte persan ou si elle est simplement erronée. Donnons quelques exemples :

p. 43 (§ 120) : *مشمتمل في جوفه على أشياء غير متحرّكة بطبعها كحركته*
 “ It contains within its interior objects whose movements are different from those of the sphere itself.” Le texte arabe signifie : “ (La sphère) comprend dans son intérieur des choses qui ne se meuvent pas de par leur propre nature comme le fait la sphère (mais le mouvement de ces choses est un mouvement dérivé).” p. 45 *suprà* : *ولكنه يجب أن لا يكون ايضاً جسماً لأن ذلك يقرب بالبراهين فتسميته بالفلك*
 “ But it is possible that it is a body like the other spheres, otherwise its existence could be demonstrated, and that to apply this name to it is an error”. Le texte arabe signifie : “ Mais (le premier Moteur) ne doit non plus être considéré comme un corps ; en effet il y a de cela des preuves approximatives. Il en résulte que c'est inexact de l'appeler sphère.” p. 45 *infra* : *فإنّ الماء وإن شارك الأرض في*
التقل وفي الهوا (الهوىّ leg. نحو السفلى
وأمّا الماء . . . واتما يسيخ فيها تخلخل منها واختلط
بالهواء والماء اذا اعتمد على الهواء المالىّ للخلل نزل فيها وخرج الماء منها
 “ Moreover water . . . sinks into the interstices thereof, and there becomes mixed with air, and as a result of the intimate contact becomes suspended in the air. When air escapes to the outside the water regains its natural state.” Le texte arabe se traduit : “ Quant à l'eau... elle s'enfonce dans les parties (de la terre) qui sont ébranlées et sont mélangées avec de l'air ; lorsque l'eau s'appuie (de toute sa force) sur l'air qui remplit les interstices, elle arrive à y entrer pendant que l'air en sort.” p. 55 (§ 138) : *من باب المضاف* : “ have already been discussed ” au lieu de “ ont une valeur relative ”. p. 162 (§ 270) *أوّدّيل* “ predecessors ” ; plutôt : “ les anciens ”.

Les notes explicatives qui accompagnent le texte sont quelquefois

trop laconiques. On désirerait des références plus abondantes aux publications modernes (cf. p. 165 et 172 au sujet des Ḥarrāniens) et notamment aux sources grecques, ce qui aurait aidé à préciser le sens exact de certains termes techniques. Aussi est-il à regretter que l'ouvrage ne soit pas accompagné d'un index de tous les termes qu'il contient. Peu de textes se prêtent autant à l'étude de la terminologie des sciences exactes chez les Arabes que le *k.al-tafhîm*.

Malgré ces petits défauts d'ordre purement méthodique le travail est une précieuse contribution à l'histoire des sciences dans l'Islam et il faut savoir gré à ceux qui ont assumé la tâche d'éditer cette œuvre posthume d'un grand savant.¹

PAUL KRAUS.

SUMMA PHILOSOPHIAE OF AL-SHAHRĀSTĀNĪ: Kitāb Nihāyatu 'l-Iqdām fi 'ilmi 'l-Kalām. Edited with a translation by A. GUILLAUME. pp. xvi + 173, 514. Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1934. 42s.

Students of Islam will congratulate Dr. Guillaume on having finished this book and will thank him for it; it is a solid piece of work, well done. There is nothing to add to what was said about the text in an earlier review (*Bulletin*, vi, p. 1019); there may be six misprints, all minor ones. Apart from the subject the book is difficult, for several reasons. The author's method is indirect, his argument eddies round the subject, approaching it now from one side, now from another. He states the views of his opponents sometimes singly and sometimes in groups and, as he is not careful to make clear whether he is speaking or quoting someone else, it is easy for the reader to lose his way. Sometimes also he does not finish his argument neatly, but leaves it with a ragged end.

Al-Shahrastāni was a big man, an acute thinker, and singularly free from prejudice. This book gives the philosophical foundation of Islam; in it the author condemns many errors, often giving the names of their authors. Now Bishr al-Marīsī was the bad boy of Muslim theology. Many writers tell nasty tales about him. One is that his mother asked al-Shāfi'ī to reason with her son and bring him back to orthodoxy because his heresy made him unpopular. He is never mentioned in this book because he was of no account as a philosopher.

¹ Cf. le nécrologe de R. Ramsay Wright par M. R. Burn dans *J.R.A.S.* 1934, p. 216 suiv.

Religion was a real thing to this man ; it is refreshing to hear him declare that the best proof of God is man's need of him. "A man's own need is more apparent to him than an external potentiality's need of a necessary" (50/125). The statements of his faith are often noble and inspiring. His view of man's duty is a paraphrase of: "When you have done all that is commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants for we have done that which it was our duty to do."

In addition to editing the text Dr. Guillaume has interpreted it. He has translated the first two chapters almost in full and given of the rest a summary which varies from a translation to the barest epitome. The version is easier than the original. The mixture of translation and summary enables the reader to follow the argument, though here and there he may have to refer to the Arabic to explain some phrase. A few corrections may be suggested.

p. 44/105 for *المتوال* read *المثال* and translate: Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥaiṣam laboured at all the problems of anthropomorphism till he reduced the divergence to what could be discussed and was not nonsense, except that of phenomena. He left that on the first loom, i.e. unchanged, following his master (cf. *Milal*, p. 83, ll. 9-14).

p. 23/48. Because what he does is more perfect than what he does not do. *Read*: What can act is more perfect than what cannot act.

p. 131/410. The Mu'tazila held views, etc. *Read*: The Mu'tazila have a theory about pain. According to al-Ash'ari it can happen only by God's decree.

p. 107/323 conversations, but they do not determine, etc. *Read*: Often we call them psychic conversations, metaphorically or really; but they are suppositions connected with the expressions on the tongue.

In several places the variant in the notes is translated, not the text. Twice the text is tacitly corrected; on p. 89/257 Abu'l-Ḥusain stands rightly for Abu 'l-Ḥasan.

Chapter 17 deals with the moral law, so right and wrong are better suited to the subject than honourable and base, which stand in the title and elsewhere in the chapter. Other suggestions are:—

p. 5/13 in finitude; *read*: by a finite quantity.

p. 12/29 twice that of the moon; *read*: many times that of the moon.

p. 31/69 the one does not destroy the other; *read*: he is never without this.

p. 43/103. Hāshimiyya; the variant Hishāmiyya is right.

p. 60/151. Juhm is a slip for Jahm.

p. 101/303 al-Kilābi; *read*: al-Kullābi.

p. 104/311 whether the words; *read*: whether the sense underlying the words . . .

p. 118/369. The mind cannot rest entirely at ease as to the necessity of the vision; *read*: The mind is not entirely satisfied with the answer to these (difficulties).

p. 137/428. 'Ādhīmīm; *read*: 'Ādhīmūn.

These proposed changes may amount to half a page, a very small proportion of the book.

This book took twelve years to prepare; a quick reading with an eye on a review has not done justice to the labour involved.

A. S. T.

KITĀB AL-SULŪK LI-MA'RIFAT DUWĀL AL-MULŪK. By AL-MAKRĪZĪ.

Edited by M. MUSTAFA ZIADA. pp. xviii + 261. Egyptian Library Press, Cairo. 1934.

Part of this book has been well known for years through the translation by Quatremère. The first part now published in the original is less important because it is only a compilation; still, it is nice to have it, especially as it is printed from the author's autograph with his own corrections. The editor has done his work carefully and well, with frequent references to the *Khīṭat* of al-Maḳrīzī, Ḳalkāshandi, the historians of the Crusades, and to modern works. Full use is made of the translation and notes by Blochet, which are buried in the *Revue de l'Orient Latin*. The type is good, the printing good, and misprints creditably few.

The subject matter is like many other chronicles. It would seem that at times the author was bored and did his work perfunctorily, taking a fact here and another there without troubling to work them up into a story. There is not much new in this book. It gives a full account of the squabbles of Saladin's descendants, but that is dull reading. Yet there is much of interest. In A.H. 612 the Jacobites could refuse to receive the government's nominee as patriarch, though the see had to remain vacant for nineteen years. In 604 a descendant of the last Fatimid caliph died in gaol. Permission was given for a grand funeral so Ismailis came from all over Egypt. The government seized all the prominent ones, the rest fled, and that was the end of

the sect in Egypt. It is a surprise to find that the sect of the Karrā-miyya still existed in 575.

Some light is thrown on social conditions. We hear of a court jester, attempts to restrict the sale of beer, forced loans, and of money borrowed by the sultan from amirs who were repaid by bills on the poll tax of the following year.

It will be a great disappointment if Dr. Ziada is not able to publish the rest of this text.

A. S. T.

KITĀB AL-ZAHRA. By MUHAMMAD IBN DĀWŪD AL-ISFAHĀNĪ. Edited by A. R. NYKL and IBRAHĪM TŪQĀN. pp. viii, 406. University of Chicago Press. 11s.

A few pages of this book were printed in the *Receuil des Textes Inédits concernant l'Histoire de la Mystique en Pays de l'Islam*. It is odd that the editors do not mention this, especially as in a note to p. 66, l. 18, they suggest as an emendation a reading found there. It is hard to understand Professor Massignon's enthusiasm for this author's prose (*Passion d'al-Hallaj*, i, 169 ff.) because much of it is so clumsy as to be almost unintelligible. Here is a specimen:—

He wants his friend to be generous in associating with one who, he knows, will love him, that this may be a cause for him of associating with him and a facilitation of the path to companionship with him. And when his love takes possession of the soul of his beloved and he perceives a response in him, and entrusts his guiding to him, none of his affairs are an obstacle to him in getting this because he loves him and helps him.

He can tell a story but here he is probably quoting. The book is an anthology of love poetry, arranged according to subjects. A hundred verses of doves and another hundred of zephyrs become rather boring. The author's theorizings are not profound and the value of the book is in the poetry. Much of this does not rise above conceits, though some are pleasant; thus one, who is more famous as a heresiarch, says of a lovely face, "It looks on an ugly face and clothes it in lasting beauty."

Many of the selections come from well-known poets though there are often wide differences from the accepted texts. Not all those which are found in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* have been identified by the editors who have also neglected the *Lisān al-'Arab*. Al-Buḥṭuri,

whose name was al-Walid ibn 'Ubaid, appears as Abu 'l-Walid ibn 'Ubaid and Abu 'l-Walid 'Ubaid, without comment.

The text is fully vocalized but there are many misprints besides those corrected in the notes. The worst errors may be noted.

7, 14. An accusative after a construct participle.

41, 10. *تَشْكُو* is ungrammatical and does not scan.

53, 12. The first half-line does not scan.

115, 11. The text is right and the correction in the note wrong.

119, 6. The text is wrong and the note omits the important vowel.

145, 3. The cæsura is in the wrong place.

81, 3. The MS. has *الاي*. This is changed to *اليت*. All the editions have *الاتب*; so the editors' theory of a copyist writing from dictation falls through.

A. S. T.

INTRODUCTION TO SEMITIC COMPARATIVE LINGUISTICS. By L. H. GRAY. pp. xvi + 147. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. 16s. 6d.

An introduction in English to Semitic comparative grammar is badly wanted, though it is doubtful if this book will supply the want. All, or nearly all, that ought to be in such a book is here, but it is not always easy to find. The author has written for students of Hebrew and in so doing has put the emphasis wrong. A rare Hebrew form has a paragraph to itself, while a standard form in other languages is hidden away at the end of a section, because it does not happen to occur in Hebrew. The result is that one who approaches the subject from Arabic will find this book confusing.

There are two big omissions. Compensatory lengthening is mentioned, but a separate section on compensation is wanted. The frequent addition of the feminine ending to the infinitives of weak verbs to bring them up to standard length is one example. Again, no mention is made of sporadic variations of sounds: e.g. of *m* and *n*, as in Hebrew *dshn* and Arabic *dsm*. The section on determinants would have been strengthened by an example from Arabic, such as: *lzz*, *lzb*, *lzm*, *lzz*, *lzk*, all with closely related meanings.

The chapter on phonology is open to criticism. The key to the transcription does not contain the signs *p* and *ð*. In classifying some sounds as emphatic a new basis of division is introduced. To be

consistent *t* should be called an emphatic coronal alveolar. On p. 8 *ǰ* should be a palatal alveolar and *ϕ β* bilabials. On p. 10 *ħ* should be a uvular fricative. On p. 9, lines 21 and 22, *h* and *ħ* seem to be slips for *h* and *ħ* respectively. On p. 12 the name—a very unsuitable one—velar sonant is not opposite the first line of signs to which it refers. It may seem ungracious to dwell on these things, but the text as it stands would puzzle a beginner. The section on the accent is not easy reading and § 79 seems to contain an error. There is a good bibliography and an index of Hebrew words. This book should be very useful to students of Hebrew; one is annoyed, perhaps unjustifiably, that it will not be equally useful to others.

A. S. T.

CATALOGUE : BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE MANUSCRITS PAUL SBATH. Vol. III. pp. 146. (Cairo, "Au Prix Coutant") 1934.

This third volume is arranged on the same lines as the first two (cf. *Bulletin*, vii, p. 442) and contains two hundred volumes, several being duplicates. A curiosity is a history of the Arabs before Islam. The author met in 1864 in Calcutta a man from South Arabia who had visited a people living ten or eleven marches from Tibet. These spoke Arabic and were descendants of those who had been left behind by Tubba' during his victorious march through Asia!

Several books deal with religious controversies. One writer declares that 'Umar I gave a pension to a blind Christian beggar; as he, in his youth, had supported the State by paying tribute, so it was only right that the State should support him in his old age.

Attention may be called to two books:—

No. 1200. *The Agriculture of Anatolius of Berytus*. Translated in A.H. 179 for Yahya b. Khālid b. Barmak.

No. 1201. *On the Diseases of the Horse*. Translated from the Armenian.

A. S. T.

EDWARD HINCKS : A SELECTION FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE, WITH A MEMOIR. By E. F. DAVIDSON. pp. 273. Oxford University Press (London : Humphrey Milford). 20s. net.

Edward Hincks had a gift for interpreting unknown tongues; with a knowledge of Hebrew and mathematics he attacked Egyptian, the Cuneiform inscriptions, and ancient chronology. Brugsch praised his work on Egyptian, Renan spoke highly of his Assyrian studies, and

the King of Prussia gave him the *Ordre pour le Mérite*. Far from libraries, too poor to buy books, Hincks corresponded with the first scholars of Europe. It is true that some of them squabbled as bitterly as sportsmen do now. Rawlinson is the villain of the piece and Oppert the clown. Reference is made to Hincks' caustic pen; it is a pity that there are not more samples of its power.

A. S. TRITTON.

SELF-GOVERNMENT OF THE JEWS IN PALESTINE SINCE 1900. By MOSHÉ BURSTEIN, M.A., Ph.D. pp. 298. Tel-Aviv, 1934. (London Agents: W. & G. Foyle, Ltd.) 7s. 6d.

The modern return of the Jews to Palestine began for practical purposes a little more than fifty years ago, when the first agricultural settlements (generally called "colonies") were established by groups of Jews from Eastern Europe. Palestine was at that time under Turkish rule, which had the negative merit of interfering little with the inhabitants of the country so long as they paid their taxes, but showed little or no positive interest in promoting the welfare and progress of Palestine. In such conditions the Jewish colonies were largely left to fend for themselves, and they enjoyed a fairly high degree of local autonomy, electing their own local Councils (by equal suffrage of men and women), providing their own public services out of local taxation, and even establishing their own courts of law, which, though without any means of enforcing their decisions, were often preferred to the official Turkish courts. Early in the present century attempts were made to unite both the colonies and the urban Jewish settlements in a single representative organization, but these attempts met with only a short-lived success. The last of them began to take shape only a few months before the outbreak of the World War, which, of course, put a peremptory stop to all such efforts for the time being.

After the War the situation was entirely changed. Great Britain was now in control of Palestine as Mandatory Power, and one of the objects of the Mandate was to facilitate the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine. Thus the Jews of Palestine were given a definite status as one of the constituent elements of the country's population, and their right to organize themselves as a distinct community, with the largest possible measure of internal autonomy, seemed to follow as a matter of course. In practice, however, the attainment of this aim proved far from easy. The principal

stumbling-block lay in the dual character of Jewish unity, the basis of which is partly religious and partly national. The ultra-orthodox section of the Jewish population would have nothing to do with an organization which was not purely religious in character ; at the other extreme were groups which wanted a purely secular organization, while the majority in between desired a framework which would at once recognize the essentially national character of the Jewish community and provide for its specific religious needs. The British Government, swayed possibly overmuch by the representations of the ultra-orthodox minority, at first inclined to a scheme in which the emphasis was decidedly on the religious aspect. It took years of negotiation to arrive at a compromise more or less satisfactory to all parties. Thus, while an Elected Assembly of Palestine Jewry met as far back as 1920, it was not till the end of 1927 that the Regulations for the Organization of the Jewish Community were promulgated. These Regulations provide for a triennially elected Assembly representing all the Jews of Palestine (in so far as they do not avail themselves of the right to contract out of the Jewish Community) and for the annual election by the Assembly from among its members of a General (or National) Council ; and they give the Assembly and the Council fairly wide powers of taxation and of supervision of the affairs, both secular and religious, of the local Jewish communities. For various reasons the powers vested in these representative Jewish organs did not become really effective till 1931. Since then the Council has taken over from the Zionist Organization responsibility for Jewish education in Palestine, and to a considerable extent for health and social welfare activities. Meanwhile a good deal of progress has also been made in the field of Jewish local self-government.

The history of these developments since 1900 is told by Dr. Burstein in full detail. He has mastered an enormous and complex mass of material, which he handles judiciously and in a thoroughly objective spirit. The book is admirably "documented" and fully indexed. It will long remain the standard work on a subject of great importance to those who follow with interest the fortunes of Palestine and of the Jewish people now once more reunited to Palestine. Incidentally, it shows that an English book can be quite well printed and produced in Tel-Aviv, the first Hebrew city of modern times.

LEON SIMON.

FOLK-MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT. Selections from the *Tibb al-Rukka* or *Old Wives' Medicine* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ismā'il. By JOHN WALKER, M.A. London: Luzac, 1934. 7s. 6d.

The Arabic text from which these selections are translated was published by an Egyptian physician in Cairo in 1892-4. As a qualified practitioner Dr. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ismā'il regards the employment of these folk-remedies in modern Egypt as an abomination, "a low trade and mean occupation which the charlatans engage in as a means of obtaining spoil and as a source of plunder." The author considers the word *Rukka* or *Rikka* to be derived either from *Rukka*, a piece of wood on which flax is shaken in order to rid it of foreign substances, or from *rikāka* (an old woman of weak understanding), though the charlatans whom he mentions include also men who claim to be wise Shaykhs and Faqīhs.

The author proceeds to deal with different diseases and afflictions and the popular remedies which are applied to them, often with disastrous results to the patient. In the Arabic text the author has included the orthodox treatment applicable to each case, with appropriate remedies easily available in Egypt, but these are, in most cases, omitted by the translator, as well as the author's expression of his political opinions. In addition to dealing with folk-medicine proper, the author includes sections on sand and shell-divination and bibliomancy (*fath al-Kitāb*) in which the practitioners are mainly Sudanese, and amulets and talismans (cf. H. A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der Muhammedanischen Zauberei*). He notes the use of the cross as a charm among Muslims (cf. S. Zwemer, *Influence of Animism on Islam*, p. 230); while this, as the translator observes, may in some cases represent sympathetic magic, the fact that the use of the sign of the cross and of the cross itself, as a charm having magical power, was prevalent in Egypt when the Muslims settled there, would be an inducement to them to imitate their Christian neighbours in the use of so potent a protection against the powers of evil, whatever their origin.

Among the popular treatments which the author describes is that of sciatica, in which the practitioner takes a piece of the box-thorn and having recited charms over it, pulls it up by the roots. He proceeds to cauterize the bush with hot iron pins, in every one of its joints, while still reciting charms and in the end digs a hole, buries the shrub, and the patient is "cured".

For the cure of external tumours, the patient must seek out a

hen, free from blemish, without a single white feather, and watch until she lays an egg in a place unreached by the sun. This egg the patient must empty of its contents, replacing them by lentils, each of which has been placed on a tumour and a charm recited over it. The egg, containing lentils to the number of the tumours, must then be placed inside an eastern wall on which the rays of the sun strike, and the tumours should be cured within a week.

Among the methods of treatment mentioned which to some extent correspond to orthodox remedies is the cauterization of dog-bites by the Fargān, a group of the Awlād 'Alī tribe, and it is interesting to note that this and the use of cauterization for other complaints, which the author deprecates (pp. 46, 61, 67, 77, 101, 107, 119), is advocated by Mannucci, working as an orthodox physician in India in the seventeenth century (cf. *Storia do Mogor*, ii, 48, 128 ; iii, 186). Other remedies to which the author gives a qualified approval are, for rheumatism, marrow taken from the feet of a dead donkey and rubbed on to the affected parts, and the use of a red silk shirt called *al-qamīṣ al-Iskandirānī* for the cure of measles, which the author thinks might have an alleviating effect on the skin, if it were not passed about from child to child.

There are one or two trifling misprints to be noted, e.g. the somewhat mysterious substance called *manāstir* is spelt *manistir* on the same page (p. 111) and on p. 96, and *prepartion* appears for *preparation* on p. 25.

The book is very readable and forms an interesting addition to the existent literature on the folk-lore and belief in magic of the Egyptians, and is the more valuable because the spread of medical knowledge and the efforts of the Egyptian Ministry of Health to deal with the vast mass of disease and suffering in Egypt in course of time will render most of these popular remedies obsolete, and it is well that a record of them should be made while they are still prevalent.

MARGARET SMITH.

A COPTIC DICTIONARY. Compiled by W. E. CRUM. Part IV, ТАКО-
УГОРТ. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1934. 42s. net each part.

I noticed Part I of this dictionary in Vol. V, p. 611 of the *Bulletin* and Parts II and III in Vol. VII, p. 243. It was stated at the first entry that the price to subscribers for the whole was seven guineas, and that it would be completed in five parts ; it is now announced

by the Oxford Press that it has been found necessary to arrange a sixth part, in order to include the Greek and English indexes now in course of preparation. This will be published at 42s. net like the others; but subscribers to the whole work will receive the extra part free of charge.

The part now before us completes the Greek alphabet and begins the specifically Coptic letters, which happen to include a heavy proportion of the words of the language: τ and οϣ (*w*) account for more than half of the part: ϑ, ϣ, ϣ̄ are light, ω of fair length, and the rest of it is occupied by the first part of words beginning with υϣ, which represents not only words in the old language beginning with *ś*, but even oftener those with initial *ḥ*. The newly discovered Manichaean Homilies in Fayoumic dialect, edited by Polotsky, are now brought under full contribution, and Mr. Crum says in his prefatory note that "the appearance of Professor Lefort's edition of the Sa'idic Lives of Pachomius and of Fr. Halkin's of the Greek texts have been important events for us".

Among entries of major importance, showing the lucidity and power of arrangement which are Mr. Crum's strong points, mention may be made of ορωϣ, ωπ, υϣα, and υϣε, the last a homophone of several different meanings. (Has it ever been suggested that there were "tones" in ancient Egyptian and Coptic, and if there were, could anything be recovered by an examination of the present pronunciation in church, in which I recollect a curious sing-song? Probably not: we get no help as to the pronunciation of ancient Latin from the services of the Roman Catholic Church.) The part maintains the high standard of its predecessors, and it must be as true a satisfaction to Mr. Crum as it is to his readers to have the end of this great undertaking now at last in sight. The concluding sentences of each entry, giving the personal and place-names formed from, or compounded of, the word under treatment, seem to me even better in this part than in its forerunners: a task never even attempted by previous Coptic lexicographers.

S. G.

COPTIC SOUNDS. By WILLIAM H. WORRELL. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series vol. xxvi.) Ann Arbor, 1934. \$3.

This book could not be fully reviewed by any one who is not at the same time a Coptic scholar and a phonetician; and the combination is so rare that it possibly exists only in Mr. Worrell himself!

I must therefore be content with an indication of its substance, only remarking critically on one or two small points.

I. (1) What is the meaning of the supralinear stroke (Sa'idic) or dot (Bohairic) which we find in Coptic script above certain consonants? It has usually been considered to show a helping vowel or *Murmelvokal*, especially the toneless ϵ . Mr. Worrell denies this: "It indicates not a vowel of any sort but rather the lack of it." I do not think that this is proved: he cannot satisfactorily explain away all the cases in which there are alternative writings, $\epsilon\omega\tau\alpha$ and $\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\alpha$.

(2) Unvoicing and deaspiration were complete in the south of Egypt, incomplete in the north.

(3) On the contrary, the "new palatisation" of velars was complete in the north, incomplete in the south.

(4), (5), (6), and (7) The "old palatisation" [which had taken place before the final separation of Egyptian and Semitic], ancient pressure articulation [stops], fricatives, and vowel supports.

(8) The testimony of Canaanitish words in Egyptian 1550-750 B.C.

(9) Review and criticism of previous studies of Egyptian vowels.

[See criticism of all this part by Till in *AZ.* 68, p. 121 and the author's reply, *ibid.*, 69, p. 130.]

II. (1) The geographical genetic relationship of the Coptic dialects. Mr. Worrell argues—and probably rightly—that Akhmim formed (dialectally) almost as much of a "pocket" as the Fayum.

(2) The phonetic character of the five major or distinct dialects.

(3) The evidence of dialectical mis-spellings in Theban non-literary documents of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.

(4) The evidence of Arabic words in Coptic in the ninth and tenth centuries. They are not ordinarily transliterations, but records of the spoken word.

(5) Late Bohairic-Arabic letter values (mostly from a reversed "karshouni" MS.—i.e., an Arabic text in Coptic script).

Appendix by Dr. Hide Shohara: Some biological factors involved in Coptic sound-changes. Interesting but difficult, requiring some physiological knowledge in the reader.

It will be seen that this is a very important book, breaking much new ground. I suspect that it will not be appreciated at its full value for some years yet. But Mr. Worrell can afford to "wait and see".

THE STORY OF MIQDAD AND MAYASA, from the Swahili-Arabic text. By ALICE WERNER, C.B.E., D.Litt., Sometime Professor of Bantu Languages, School of Oriental Studies, University of London. pp. 90. The Azania Press, Medstead, Hampshire. 8s. 6d.

THE ADVICE OF MWANA KUPONA upon the Wifely Duty, from the Swahili texts. By ALICE WERNER, C.B.E., D.Litt., Sometime Professor, etc., and WILLIAM HICHENS, late of the District Administration, East Africa. pp. 95. The Azania Press, Medstead, Hampshire. 8s. 6d.

These two small books form vols. i and ii of the series of Swahili classic poems projected by Mr. William Hichens of Medstead, Hampshire, and now in course of publication by him under the general title of *The Azanian Classics*.

The appearance of this series is most opportune, the study of Swahili literature having arrived at the stage where it is absolutely necessary that its classic works, in poetry and prose, existing until now mainly in manuscript form in comparatively few copies, written in a character now rapidly falling into disuse and in a dialectic already become archaic, should be made easily accessible, with transliteration into roman character and translation and with critical notes and glossary aiding the student to fuller knowledge of its forms and its vocabulary.

This is exactly what this series sets out to do, and, from the excellence of the get-up of these two volumes and their varied contents, it is manifest that no labour or expense has been spared to make it effectual to this end and worthy of its purpose, whilst the size, binding, type, and general arrangement of their contents make them most handy for use, agreeable and pleasing to hand and eye.

As a beginning of the series the poems dealt with in these two volumes have been well chosen. They both belong to that genus of poems called in Zanzibar *tenzi* (sing. *utenzi*) and in the northern dialects *tendi* (sing. *utendi*) but belong respectively to different subdivisions of it.

Miqdad is an example of the class of epic poems based upon Muslim tradition, some of which seem to be Swahili versions of Arabic originals, bearing, however, marked indications of the influence of native thought and imagination upon the source material; whilst others undoubtedly are original poems based upon (mainly Muslim) traditional and legendary

matter, at first orally transmitted. Dr. Werner, in the Introduction, says that Miqdad and Mayasa "may be accepted as an original composition based on traditional matter which has no doubt undergone considerable modification in the transit between the Hejaz and the Swahili coast."

Mwana Kupona, on the other hand, is an original poem of a didactic and hortatory character. But, though original, one cannot call it purely Bantu, for it is thoroughly impregnated with the culture of Muslim thought and custom.

Both kinds of poem are included in the designation *utendi*. The metrical forms of these poems are obviously based upon Arabic classical models. These two are of the same metre, the most favoured of Swahili poets.

Besides these *tendi* there exists a great number of lyrical poems, mostly of shorter length in various metres.

Besides the transliteration and translation Miqdad contains a most useful and scholarly Introduction on the origin, authorship, form, and contents of the poem, and an exhaustive Glossary consisting of Notes and Vocabulary. The Glossary (as also that of the companion volume) exhibits the fulness and accuracy of scholarship and the diligent research one expects from Dr. Werner.

Mwana Kupona is a shorter poem than Miqdad. Its comparative brevity affords the compiler space for the introduction of a more varied content. There are both Foreword and Introduction (the latter being much fuller than in the other volume) three Appendixes (all throwing interesting and valuable light upon the poem itself or the circumstances of its production), and five plates. One especially welcomes the inclusion of a facsimile print of a page of one of the MSS. It would have been a good thing if the whole MS. had been made available in facsimile, since the original can only be accessible to very few. But that would have added considerably to the cost of production. There is, however, a reproduction in facsimile of the whole bound up with the reprint of the Harvard African Studies publication of this poem.

Both poems have had previous publication (with translation, notes, etc.); Miqdad in *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenensprachen*, vol. xxi, Hamburg, 1930; Mwana Kupona in *Harvard African Studies*, vol. i, Cambridge (Mass.), 1917. Both are obtainable in separate reprints. The present republication of them has afforded Dr. Werner opportunity for thorough revision of her translations, of which she has fully availed

herself. Without disparagement of her learning and skill in this matter of translation I append a list of suggested emendations which I think merit at least careful examination.

In both volumes the vocabulary does actually contain almost all the words which are not to be found in the standard dictionaries. In *Mwana Kupona* I note about half a dozen only which I think ought to have been included. though, as my Krapf is the original (1882) edition, perhaps not all of these are really omissions.

In *Mwana Kupona* a capital letter is used for the subject prefix of the verb when the Divine Being is addressed, e.g. *Mola ndiye Awezao* (st. 67), *Ovu Ukinepulia* (st. 86). This is, of course, a matter of taste but I hardly think it a usage to be generally adopted. If the subject prefix, why not the object, e.g. *naKuomba*? This looks more peculiar only because *ku* is an internal syllable.

SUGGESTED EMENDATIONS OF TRANSLATION, ETC.

(1) *Miqdad and Mayasa*

st. 5, 2. "Entertain us *Miqdad*." *tupumbaze*, v. imp. causative; *tu* is the object.

11, 3. "I cannot provide you anything (to wear)." The next two stanzas are a reply to this and deal with questions of bodily adornment.

13, 1, 2. "How many things have I already used
Which I have worn as ornaments?"
zingapi agreeing with *hulia* or *zitu* (understood).

15, 4. "And filled with joy. Cf. *nguo zimengia maji*, the clothes have become wet.

27, 3. "Thereupon I faced them." (*ni*)-*kavakabili*; subj. *ni*, obj. *wa*.

31, 4. "Among them all with my dagger." *wote*, 1st Class.

38, 3, 4. "Or I will come among you
And slaughter you at once."

(*ni*)-*tawangia* is not causative.

43, 1. "When I shouted at him
The stranger fell,
And when I looked at him
He was already dead."

(i.e. without a blow having been struck.) *kupiga yowe* = to shout, cf. st. 100, 3.

46, 2. "Reaching as far as the plain."

56, 1. "We fenced desperately." In one of Taylor's notebooks in my possession he gives "*kupembana kwa upanga* = to fence with intent to kill".

57, 2, 3. "And he said, 'As for you, what is the reason

That you put yourself to such trouble?'"

n'nini?, what is it? or, what is the matter?

63, 2. "Let us go together anywhere, to any distance." *kote* = anywhere, everywhere.

65. "And then he said to me
'Do you hear those drums?
There is no need to enter;
We will settle here'."

70, 1, 2, 3. "When he entered the town
People met him, saying 'We tell you
The wedding is about to begin'."

In *hukwambia* the object is *ku*.

76, 1, 2. "When Abdallah had already been
Enwound with ropes."

Abdallah kisa kuwa ametatiwa is idiomatic Swahili.

83 (and Vocabulary).

"The wedded couple were sleeping together;
Neither of them was awake;
The people [outside] were dancing furiously,
Having returned to the dance."

aengezewo: old perf. of *angaza* (to keep the eyes open, to fix the eyes), with rel. suffix.

84, 1. "I paused within (the chamber)."

87. "We went forth together hurriedly
Carrying Salima.
Abdallah was serene,
As though he had not done these things."

In line 2 read *tumtukuziye* (as one word): old perf. of *-tukua*.

90, 4. "Has been slain at a stroke."

101, 4. "You are. all of you. my fathers."

nyute must refer to persons.

103, 3. "Do not expect it." *-tulubu*. v. Vocabulary.

106, 1. Read *hatomtoa*. fut. neg. (Kiamu).

110, 3, 4. "That you suffer not loss
Together with us all."

-khasirika = suffer loss.

133, 2. (read *hakuwacha*)

“He had not feared a hundred men”

(referring to his first exploit).

137, 2. “Quickly yield the maiden to him.” *mpe*, imper.; *pa* takes for object not the thing given but the person to whom given.

143, 3. “In the morning, mark you!” *fahamu* imper. addressed by narrator to hearers.

158, 2. “Why should I go with you?”

(2) *Mwana Kupona*

4, 3. “Name him also the Beloved.”

10, 1. “I desire to give you a clasp.” *p'enda* = *napenda*.

12, 2, 3, 4. “Do not neglect the obligatory observances [or, the Faradh],

And the optional ones [the Sunnah], when possible,
You ought also to perform.”

K 1 and K 3 both read *ni wajibu* (not *na wajibu*).

Note.—This is practically the same as Dr. Werner's rendering in the 1917 translation.

20, 4. “Perhaps I have told you” (not “as perhaps”); an expression very common both in speech and in poetry at the conclusion of an admonitory address, meaning “You will find I have told you the truth, now it's your look-out!”

24, 3, 4. “That on the day when ye are chosen

He may be pleased with you.”

awe amekuwia radhi is idiomatic Swahili. *siku ya kukhitariwa* is the day of death, cf. 53, 4.

25, 3. “That you may go forth bearing it.”

uitukuzie = *umeitukua*. Stigand (p. 44) writes *zii*, calls it “the *zii* tense” and says it means “to be in the act of —”; but it is in reality an instance of the old perf. in *-ziye*.—V. Tlr., p. 166.

63. “Do not show preference for the well-bred

And the glory of possession;

Whilst you despise the poor

And disparage to them their estate.”

In line 3 *ukawadhili* taken as 2nd pers. sing. not 3rd pers. agreeing with *utukufu*.

77, 3, 4. “A fate without the consolation

Of recovery and health.”

In this and the two following stanzas *Mwana Kupona* is praying

primarily for recovery from her sickness, and for the forgiveness of sins because she regards her physical ills as consequent upon the Divine displeasure.

79. "Although these things appear hard to us
To thee they are but small matters."

Words Omitted from Vocabulary—Mwana Kupona

- 18, 3. *ikiraha*. M. gives *kirihi*, *ekerahi*, *ikirahi* with a note that the *e* or *i* represents Alif; Kr. also gives *kirihi*.
45, 4. *ikasiya*; *-sia* (Kiamu) = finish, come to an end.
52, 3. *mbeko*: Kr. and M. both give *mbeko*, but with a different meaning.
61, 1. *umini*; Kr. gives *amini*, faithful, trustworthy.
86, 1. *taisiri*.
89, 2. *wahusini*.

W. G. HOWE.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF THE BANTU. By ALICE WERNER, D.Lit.
pp. 335, with 32 illustrations from photographs. London:
G. G. Harrap & Co., 1933. 15s.

The problem in all books of this nature is how to sort out the material at one's disposal and make a representative selection, the main task being always what to discard rather than what to leave in. One glance at the bibliography at the back of the book—which has to include odd corners of dictionaries and grammars as well as straightforward mythological and anthropological treatises—will convince the reader of the huge store from which the author had to make this selection. This she has done in the only possible way, namely by grouping the material under headings, but her choice and arrangement of these headings has been particularly fortunate, in that we are given at once a progressive analysis of Bantu mythology and a reference book in which any one particular phenomenon may be looked up with a minimum of trouble.

The theme of the book is developed along the following lines: First, legends connected with man's origin and the origin of Death and Life; thence we pass to the supernatural—gods and ghosts and the cult of the dead; from this to tribal heroes who have attained the status of demi-gods, and tribal notorieties, such as the tricksters Hlakanyana and Huveane, whose pranks at least have become immortal.

There follows now a sudden break to discussions about cannibals, werewolves, half-men, and other monsters, linking up to myths behind the unexplained phenomena of nature—lightning, rainbow, etc.

The chapter on Doctors, Prophets, and Witches might almost be regarded as intrusive, dealing as it does more with sociology than mythology, were it not that these very people attract legends to themselves and act as the interpreters of the supernatural.

We are then brought to the animal fables, in which the Lion is invariably the dupe, while the Hare and the Tortoise are aspirants, according to locality, for the position of arch-mischiefmaker. The book ends with a suggestive chapter on "Some stories which have travelled". The whole volume is very well set out and the illustrations are excellent. The absorbing style in which it is written causes one often to forget that the book is fundamentally a "scientific" one!

A previous reviewer has expressed the hope that similar works should be compiled on the myths of the Sudanic and Semi-Bantu peoples. This will not be possible for some time, but already, from what material is available in those fields, the correspondence between Dr. Werner's Bantu myths and known Sudanic myths is startling. For instance, the origin of Death, the fear of the Rainbow, the mysterious country up above which mortals may sometimes attain by climbing up a spider's thread, the cleverness of the Hare as against the stupidity of the Lion, the fact that animals in myths talk freely with human beings and even intermarry with them, the fact that a good—or even phenomenal—appetite is the sign of a hero (in legend at least!)—all these and many other aspects point to a substratum of common Negro thought, more consistent and more convincing than the mere proto-Negro *word* roots which have been engaging the attention of African philologists lately.

A. N. TUCKER.

AFRICA AND THE MAKING OF BOOKS. By MARGARET WRONG. International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W. 1. Price 6d.

Miss Wrong has put out in this small pamphlet a summary of her investigations during a seven months' tour of West, Central, and East Africa. It is a masterly survey of the whole question of the needs of Africa for Christian literature, for books of general reading, school

books, vernacular and other periodicals, and is not without suggestions as to how these needs could be supplied. The general reader as well as the missionary and the linguist will find interest and enlightenment in this little book.

I. C. W.

MAN OF AFRICA. By SAMUEL Y. NTARA. Translated by Rev. T. CULLEN YOUNG. R.T.S. 3s. 6d.

A large number of books have been written about the African by European anthropologists. This is a revelation by an African—a teacher in Nyasaland—of tribal life with its customs and ritual prescribed for every occasion, of the results of the breaking down of these traditional rites through travel and contact with other modes of life, and of the appeal of Christianity to the detribalized or partially detribalized native. The anthropologist will find the book a vivid document complementary to his own observations and research, and the general reader will enjoy such an introduction to African life and customs. This biography is an imaginative story written in a direct and vigorous narrative style: it was awarded a prize by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures and has been translated from the original Nyanja by the Rev. T. Cullen Young who writes a preface and adds a few annotations. Professor Julian Huxley contributes a foreword which says exactly what a reviewer wants to say.

I. C. W.

GRAMOPHONE RECORDS OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES.

The "Institut für Lautforschung an der Universität Berlin" under the direction of Professor D. Westermann is to be congratulated on issuing gramophone records of African languages with annotated texts. Fante, Yoruba, Ewe have already appeared. The Fante record, for example, consists of a description of Fante religious beliefs and ceremonies and the training of a Fetish priest. The accompanying text is given in a phonetic transcription which shows all the elisions and assimilations, which are a marked feature of this language, in the normal orthography and in a German translation. The record is extremely clear and with the useful annotations of the leaflet should prove of great value to students of the language.

I. C. WARD.

PRACTICAL PHONETICS FOR STUDENTS OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES.

By D. WESTERMANN and IDA C. WARD. Published for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures by Oxford University Press, London, 1933. pp. xvi + 227. 8s. 6d.

The technique of modern language study has now arrived at a point where specialized books on the phonetics of most important languages are available; but there has been up till now a regrettable lack of works on general phonetics written in English.¹ The book under review will go a long way towards supplying the deficiency. It gives an excellent outline of the general theory of phonetics, and illustrates every point by plenty of concrete examples selected mainly from African languages and, where necessary, European languages.

Written as it is by the leading exponent of practical African linguistics in collaboration with one of our foremost phoneticians, we find it to be, as might be expected, an admirable work. On every page one sees the hand of the scientific specialist applying his (or her) knowledge to practical problems which beset the learner of African languages. The scope of the book is restricted to the needs of the practical language learner, and it supplies these needs remarkably well. In spite of its limited size, room is found in it for adequate descriptions of all the most important phonetic phenomena met with in African languages, and the book abounds with instructions and exercises designed to help the European learner to master the chief difficulties of pronunciation.

Considerable attention is also given to the question, now so much to the fore, of constructing good orthographies for such languages; those concerned with this important work will find the present manual an invaluable help.

It is not necessary here to quote details of any of the numerous interesting facts which the book records. Readers of this journal should get the work for themselves. They will find it in descriptions of many strange vowel and consonant sounds, accounts of the synthesis of sounds in various languages (including stress, length, vowel-harmony, and other phenomena of connected speech), and last but not least accounts of the nature and functions of tones and methods of analysing and recording them. Particularly instructive are the

¹ The only ones available in recent years have been Sweet's excellent but very condensed *Primer of Phonetics*, Ripman's *Elements of Phonetics* (which only deals with English, French, and German), and Armfield's *General Phonetics*.

“ phonetic summaries ” of particular languages ¹ given in the latter part of the book. (One would like to see phonetic summaries of Swahili, Hausa, Shona, and a language of the Suto-Chwana group added in another edition.)

One criticism on a matter of detail. In places it is not clear whether an example is written in new orthography or in phonetic transcription. It should be pointed out somewhere that the two are not always identical; and the difference should be shown throughout by a difference of type, using say italics for orthography and black type for phonetic transcription.

Another improvement would be the addition of tone-marks to *all* examples of words taken from tone languages, e.g. the examples of Zulu on page 97 and elsewhere.

In conclusion I can only say that this excellent book makes one wish that Dr. Ward would collaborate similarly with specialists in Oriental languages, and produce similar works for the benefit of students of Chinese, Indian languages, etc.

DANIEL JONES.

¹ Ewe, Yoruba, Fante, Bambara, Ganda, Kikuyu (the two latter contributed by Miss L. E. Armstrong), Zulu (contributed by Professor C. M. Doke), Nuer and Dinka (contributed by Dr. A. N. Tucker).

NOTES AND QUERIES

A MANUSCRIPT FORM OF THE CHARACTER 鼎

In the Topographical Fragment from Tunhuang reproduced on Pl. V of *Bull. S.O.S.*, Vol. VII (facing p. 558), there occurs, at the top of the sixth complete column, the *nien-hao* 元鼎, the second character of which is written 鼎. I fancy I have met this form elsewhere among the Stein MSS.; and in this passage, at any rate, it is easily identifiable with 鼎. After reading my article Professor Moule, of Cambridge, wrote to point out that the very same character is to be found in the Nestorian hymn discovered at Tunhuang and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Pelliot 3847). This manuscript is reproduced in Professor Moule's *Christians in China*, facing p. 53, and the text has also been printed by Lo Chên-yü as the last item in his 敦煌石室遺書 *Tun huang shih shih i shu*, by Saeki in his *Nestorian Monument*, p. 272, and in the *Taishō Tripitaka*, vol. liv, p. 1288 *b, c*. In none of these works has the character been identified, nor is it quite correctly transcribed either by Lo Chên-yü or by Saeki. Professor Moule confesses himself baffled, but translates the verse 其座復超無鼎高 "His throne also is exalted unlimitedly high". Saeki's translation is: "Whose throne is above that of the greatest Prophets."

In K'ang Hsi's dictionary 鼎 is said to be the same as 鼎. Both forms are cited from the 篇韻 *P'ien yün*, and the latter is explained in the following note: 音鼎鎗也三足兩耳 "Pronounced *ting*; a *ch'iang* with three feet and two handles." In the 廣韻 *Kuang yün*, also cited in K'ang Hsi, 鎗 is defined as "a kind of tripod". Thus it would appear that, although pronunciation and meaning were both known to the compilers of the dictionary, they did not realize that the character was actually a cursive form of 鼎; hence they placed it wrongly under the radical 斤, with which, of course, it has nothing to do, in combination with the phonetic 易 or 曷, neither of which could possibly yield the sound *ting*.

But now the question arises: if the word is 鼎 "a tripod", what is its significance in the verse of the Nestorian hymn quoted above? The answer, I think, is that it is used there simply as a homophone of 頂 (the archaic form of which, be it noted, is 鼎頂); and 無頂 is precisely the same hyperbolic expression that we find in Marlowe's "topless towers of Ilium". The whole line, then, may be translated: "His throne, too, rears itself to an immeasurable height."

LIONEL GILES.

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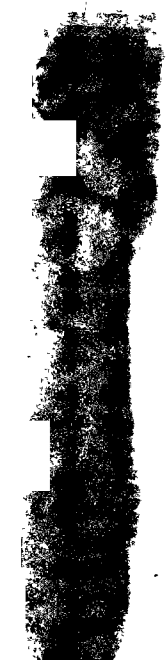
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